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Jahrbuch

der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois

Herausgegeben von

Dr. Julius Goebel

Professor an der Staatsuniversität zu Illinois

Jahrgang 1915

(VOL. XV)

Im Auftrage der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois

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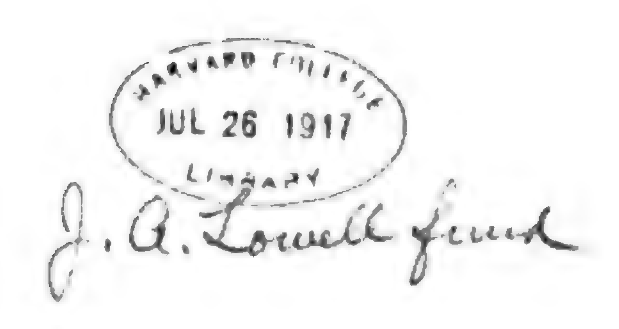
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Vorwort

Es ist nicht zufällig, daß der vorliegende Band des Jahrbuchs sich vorzüglich mit der deutsch-amerikanischen Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts beschäftigt. Wir amerikanischen Bürger deutscher Abkunft fühlen das Große, das die deutsche Volksseele in diesen Tagen des Weltkampfes durchschwingt, nicht nur darum so innig mit, weil uns die Bande des Blutes und des gemeinsamen Geistes mit der alten Heimat verknüpfen. Uns ruft die große Zeit zugleich auch die früheren Erhebungen deutschen Geistes in die Erinnerung: die Freiheitskriege, die politischen Gährungen der dreißiger Jahre und schließlich die deutsche Bewegung des Jahres 1848. Kein anderes Land der Welt ist von diesen großen nationalen Erhebungen, die Deutschland im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts erlebte, so tief und so bleibend berührt worden, als unser Land. Denn es waren die Führer und Träger jener nationalen deutschen Erhebungen, die zuerst als Einzelne, dann zu Hunderten und schließlich zu vielen Tausenden in Amerika eine neue Heimat und neue Wirkungskreise suchten und so eine Fülle vom Besten deutschen Geistes und deutscher Kultur in unser eigenes nationales Leben gossen.

Wenn die landläufige amerikanische Geschichtschreibung bis heute an dieser Tatsache vorübergeht, ja sie überhaupt nicht einmal in ihrer vollen Tragweite zu erkennen scheint, so beweist das den Provincialismus ihres Geschichtskreises und ihren Mangel an historischer Einfühlung. Um so mehr wird es darum zur Pflicht des deutsch-amerikanischen Historikers, den gewaltigen deutschen Einschlag im Kulturleben und in der politischen Geschichte dieses Landes bloß zulegen und an hervorragenden Gestalten und Erscheinungen darzustellen.

Nur der Kurzsichtige oder der blinde Fanatiker kann erwarten, daß der heiße Pulsschlag deutschen Lebens, der die Millionen deutscher Einwanderer seit den Freiheitskriegen beseelte, plötzlich mit dem Eintritt in dieses Land erstarren müsse. Zum Glück für die Zukunft der amerikanischen Nation ist die begehrte Umartung aller Volkselemente in den uniformen Typus englischer Färbung eine psychologische Unmöglichkeit, zumal beim Deutschen von ausgeprägtem Kulturbewußtsein. Wie fest aber gerade die politisch vom Vaterland Verfolgten und Verstoßenen, Männer wie Franz Lieber und Karl Schurz, Franz Sigel und Karl Heinzen, unbeschadet ihrer Treue gegen die neue Heimat, an den Kulturidealen des deutschen Volkes hielten, ja in ihnen die Quelle ihrer Kraft und ihres Wirkens fanden, davon legen die folgenden Aufsätze beredtes Zeugnis ab.



Francis Lieber

FRANCIS LIEBER
A STUDY OF A MAN AND AN IDEAL

By Ernest Bruncken

CHAPTER I.

TWO EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

Among the variety of catch phrases which in endless succession engage the temporary attention of the American public there has now been prominent for several years that of "vocational training." It is said—and nobody will deny that it is said with a great deal of reason—that the ordinary school curriculum does not fit our boys and girls for any particular occupation in life. Therefore, it is necessary to have a series of schools in which this defect can be remedied after the customary subjects have been mastered in the grade schools, and the teaching in the common schools themselves should be so modified as to keep in mind constantly the needs of the pupils when they get into the trade schools. The spirit which is thus endeavoring to make the elementary schools merely preparatory for the institutions where the masses are to be trained in the occupations by which they will later earn their living, has invaded also the colleges and other institutions for what is called the "higher education." In a laudable endeavor to shorten the number of years now required to pursue a full academic course leading up to the liberal and technical professions, that which was formerly prized under the appellation of a liberal education is all too often pushed rudely aside. Hence we have college-bred lawyers with but the scantiest knowledge of Latin; physicians whose acquaintance with history would not prevent them from confusing Alexander the Great with Charlemagne; engineers who have never heard of Keats or Shelley; high school teachers of Spanish who have never read a line of Homer in the original; and college instructors in the classics who read neither French nor German. All of which comes from having to choose, as early as the first

year in high school, between Greek and physics, French and history, Latin and chemistry, according as one or the other branch of study appears to be more helpful to the future lawyer, physician, engineer or school teacher.

We are told, *ad nauseam,* that this is an age of specialists; that nobody can expect to cut even a respectable figure in any field of learning, or in any of the professions requiring scholastic training, unless he carefully avoids the scattering of his energies and never takes his eyes from the details of his specialty. Curiously enough, it is said that specialization of this narrow kind is at the root of all the successes the German people have scored during more than a century, in nearly every field of human activity. The mythical professor of Greek who had devoted his life to the elucidation of the declensions and on his deathbed deplored that he had not confined himself to the dative case is popularly supposed to have been a German. It is far more likely that he was the brother of a well-known American geologist, who is enthusiastically voluble whenever he gets a chance to talk about certain glacial phenomena, but whom nobody has ever heard utter ten consecutive words in company when something else was the subject of conversation.

Within a generation or two, this kind of specialization has in the United States become so common among those who pass for educated people that the lack of general information in professional men no longer excites comment. The opposite feeling is rather apt to be met with. Thus a certain distinguished professional man, himself a gentleman and a scholar in the old-fashioned sense, expressed a pleased surprise on discovering that an able and successful foreign lawyer was also capable of discussing with evident knowledge and insight a passage from Faust. Is it too much to say that in any but an American company such an accomplishment in a man of this lawyer's standing would be taken as a matter of course?

There are by no means lacking the voices of those who appreciate the danger to our national welfare lurking in this gradual diminution of the proportion of men who show an

intelligent and serious interest in things having no bearing on the work by which they make their living. It would indeed be strange if among Americans, of all people on earth, the race of those should die out who know that what is called the practical work of the world is but the necessary foundation for those more spiritual labors which distinguish human beings from mere animals of highly developed intelligence. For the American people have always been distinguished by a strong element of idealism as part of their national character; that is, there may be found among Americans a very large proportion of individuals who are not satisfied with aims in life tending merely towards the providing of material comfort and wealth, but place before themselves some ulterior goal of effort. That goal or ideal may be found in the field of religion, of philanthropy and social service, of political and national progress, in rarer instances in artistic or scholarly pursuits for their own sake.

The leaven of a higher, more spiritual life, was first brought to this country in abundant measure by the early settlers of New England, among whom there was a far greater number of men with broad and well-trained minds and noble ideals than is ordinarily found among the pioneers of a newly-founded colony. In the subsequent streams of immigration, there never ceased to be a fair representation of similar men, though in smaller numbers. At several periods, however, there were again waves of immigration having more than the common share of individuals capable of appreciating the things of the mind. The older German influx, beginning with Pastorius in 1683 and continuing in a steady current almost to the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, never lacked such men, although most of the newcomers, like most of the colonists of the New England states, may have sprung from the humbler classes. Pastorius himself was an example, and among his successors was that remarkable family of Mühlenberg which gave so many eminent men to the country. It is true that a large proportion of the idealists belonging to this group curtailed their influence on American life by directing their ener-

gies into the narrow channels of sectarian separation. Yet who will say that their example may not have contributed a full, though indirect, share towards building up the idealistic element in the American character?

Another conspicuous group of men coming to our shores, not because of economic pressure at home, but because they were seeking a more favorable field for the realization of noble dreams, was driven to America, in one way or the other, by the commotions of the French Revolution. Of this group, a few were Frenchmen, but more came from Germany, Great Britain and Ireland. Their influence, and that of the representatives of similar ideals in Europe, was powerful in producing that highly idealistic body of political and social thought which we are wont to connect, somewhat vaguely, with the name of Thomas Jefferson, and which has played so large a part in our subsequent national life, down to the present day. And again, when the Revolutionary and Napoleonic fever in the old world was over, from 1815 to the Civil war, the American nation received a stream of immigration from Germany and other countries which carried with it a surprising number of highly cultivated men whom the political struggles at home had driven into exile. As a matter of fact, the proportion of such men in the German immigration of that period was much larger than that found among the New England settlers during the first half century after the coming of the Mayflower.

No matter what specific form the idealistic aspirations of men of this type might take, they were all convinced of the inestimable value of a liberal and scholarly training, and could not help but transmit that conviction to their own posterity and to thousands of others who came under their influence. Even where the exigencies of life in a new country made the liberal education of more than a very small number of men an impossibility, there developed a profound respect for scholarly knowledge. This is true practically of every part of the country, with the possible exception of certain portions of the South, where untoward economic and social conditions have prevented the growth of that sturdy and intelligent yeomanry which,

together with the similar class of independent and moderately wealthy merchants and manufacturers, constituted, until recent years, at least, the great body of peculiarly American society. Nowhere was this remarkable form of social life more typically developed than in New England. There have probably been very few communities where the man of better education and mental training has been as highly respected and as influential as he was in the New England states such as they were until the middle of the nineteenth century. There was in those commonwealths no aristocracy based on the possession of land and slaves as there was in Virginia and other Southern states. There were barely the beginnings of an aristocracy of commercial wealth. In few places in the world was there so close an approach to social equality. Yet, at the town meetings, where every adult male citizen was free to speak and vote, and where the affairs not merely of the neighborhood, but, by no means rarely, the affairs of state and nation were intelligently and effectively discussed, farmers and shopkeepers almost invariably expected the wisest counsel, the decisive opinion to come from the little group of their college-bred fellow-citizens, the doctor, the lawyer, and especially the minister. Those self-reliant countrymen and artisans would never have dreamed of deferring to any man on account of his wealth, rank or station, but to the man of education and learning they gave a reasonable deference. Especially the minister's influence in a community where church-going was a matter of course, could be resisted only with the greatest difficulty, despite the fact that Congregational or Unitarian ministers had neither legal authority to compel nor priestly power to bind or loose. Their power, and that of other men of education, was based to a large degree on the profound respect which the entire people felt for the trained intellect, not the intellect drilled into extraordinary efficiency for some particular, narrowly circumscribed task, but the mind that has been cultivated and developed until it is capable of looking at all sides of every matter, of realizing that every subject is connected by an infinite number of threads with the vastness of the universe, and that no question concerning human affairs can be settled without

bringing to bear on it all the information and wisdom of which the mind is possessed.

Thus there was in the New England of that day a sort of intellectual aristocracy. One might call it an aristocracy of country parsons, or as Oliver Wendell Holmes, with good-natured irony, has called it, a Brahman class. It was from now on that New England, for a number of generations, became the teacher of the nation. Her sons were found in every section, giving instruction in school and college, spreading everywhere the profound respect and love for liberal scholarship with which they had become imbued in their native colleges. Moreover, New England was during this period fertilized by contact with the universities of Germany, to which American students then began to flock in increasing numbers, returning full of admiration for German scholarship and zeal to create something similar thereto in their native land. In other ways also—as for instance, Madame de Staël's book, "De l'Allemagne"—a better knowledge of German literature and science was spread among the educated portion of the New England people, and this was one of the chief contributing causes why New England alone, of all parts of the country, brought into flower and fruit during the first half of the nineteenth century, a native, characteristic form of culture, the manifestations of which were an integral part of popular life. Everywhere else in America, there were but individual cultivated men and women, numerous enough perhaps, but isolated from the common life of the people and in no sense the necessary product of the surrounding social conditions. In New England alone, the social environment produced a considerable class whose culture and training was native to the soil and could not have been produced anywhere else in precisely that character.

No wonder that New England became for a time the leader of all America in the things pertaining to the spirit and the intellect, claiming that her specific form of civilization represented American culture as such. If her superiority is no longer so apparent as it was during a considerable period, one reason therefor may be that she has done her work so well. The idealistic strain almost always found in the typical New

Englander, even if deeply concealed under the no less frequent shell of shrewd materialism, with the aid of the specifically New England form of culture has spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, not without finding congenial aid in the idealistic traditions emanating from the other sources we have mentioned. One of the manifestations of this idealism which has now become characteristic of the whole American people is the high value placed on education. We all know how the one thing on which every American community, rightly or wrongly, prides itself, is its school system; how no public burden is borne more cheerfully than the taxes raised for school purposes; how thousands of small cities give outward evidence of the high esteem in which they hold education by making the high school and the public library the two conspicuous public edifices in the town. Nearly every rich man with money to give for benevolent purposes first of all thinks of some educational institution. Appropriations can be obtained from legislative bodies for objects which the average legislator would consider inexcusably extravagant, provided only that they can be shown to have some sort of educational value. There is no doubt whatever, the American people do have a sturdy and unquestioning, not to say a blind, faith in education, and one of the principal causes of that state of mind must be sought in the spread of the New England type of culture.

This specifically New England culture, however, did not find its ideal in the sort of learning, however profound, which is pursued for some ulterior end, no matter how exalted. It was essentially a thing to be sought for its own sake, because it was intrinsically desirable and attractive, and because without it the individual seemed to fall short of the full stature of man. It did not foster the sort of specialism which aims at producing a superlatively efficient practicing attorney, or physician, or engineer. No more did it place a particularly high value on the other type of specialist who prides himself on being a votary of pure science and cares nothing for the possible practical uses to which his labors might be put. New

England culture, as it had developed under German influence, had for its ultimate goal nothing less than the producing of men who were men in every respect, harmonious, many-sided, fully developed personalities. Whether the roads on which this goal was sought have been always the right ones need not be discussed. About the excellence of the ideal there can be no question. Under such circumstances, however, it is no more than could be expected that those who have inherited or acquired the spirit of this fine New England, or let us venture to say American, tradition, should raise their voices in protest when they are told that the aim of the American educational system ought to be the training of youth to be excellent mechanics, or clerks, or lawyers, doctors and engineers.

Moreover, New England culture, as it flourished in that famous generation before the Civil war, was distinctly literary. It is not famous for having produced an extraordinary number of scientists and scholars in the modern sense, although the names of Asa Gray, James Q. Dana, William Dwight Whitney and a host of others are enough to prove that in this field also it was by no means barren. Yet its great leaders, a Longfellow, a Lowell, an Emerson, were scholars rather in the old-fashioned sense, that is, men of wide information regarding the things that may be learned out of books, and superabundantly skilled in making the love so gathered enrich and embellish the mind. They did not, however, add any very appreciable amount to the stock of positive knowledge possessed by the world, which seems to be the simplest and most fundamental test of the scientist or scholar in the modern use of the term. To those who still cherish the earlier attitude, the claims of the modern specialist in pure science must appear no less preposterous and full of danger to the healthy growth of American civilization, than the pretensions of those who would make all education severely utilitarian. To put the matter in an extreme form: Can they witness without indignation a state of things in which a dry-as-dust dissertation on the peculiar dialect of some obscure mediaeval versifier is deemed much more appropriate for gaining the coveted title of doctor of

philosophy for its author than the most appreciative and delightful essay on Dante's glorious poetry? Surely, we cannot be surprised that from this side also the advocates of specialism meet with most determined opposition.

However, even the most convinced opponent of specialism cannot help seeing, if he looks about with open eyes to observe the social conditions surrounding him, that there is abundant need for vocational training in every department of our national life. Notwithstanding the gigantic development of manufacturing industries the greater portion of this country is still distinctly agricultural. There are sections where farming is done as skillfully and scientifically, considering the general economic conditions, as anywhere in the world, but in other regions, and perhaps the greater part of the whole country, farmers are ignorant even of the most fundamental principles of their occupation and till their lands no more skillfully than did the peasantry of Europe four hundred years ago. As a consequence, especially in many portions of the South, the rural districts are a synonym for poverty and general backwardness of civilization. Yet it is still an exception by no means frequent for children in rural schools to be taught the simple facts of plant life or the most patent truths regarding the relations of soils, manures and crops. When we go into the cities, conditions are not very much better. An unconscionable number of boys and girls leave school to enter industrial life without a training that fits them for any skilled work whatsoever, and the opportunities for learning a trade thoroughly after leaving school are, in many branches of industry, pitifully slender outside of the very large cities. Everywhere you hear the complaint that the really well-trained artisan is disappearing, and when one is found he is very apt to be a foreigner, most likely a German. Our own boys are lucky if they find a place in the factory where they may tend a machine with a few easily acquired movements, thus becoming "specialists" of a kind nobody admires. In the mean time, the schools go on teaching nothing but the so-called literary branches, as if all the pupils were going to be clerks and shopkeepers' assist-

ants. All this among the descendants of the Yankees whose inventive ingenuity and manual skill once was world-famous, and the backwoodsmen who with their own hands and an axe knew how to fashion almost every implement they required.

Nobody can deny that there is great need for vocational training among farmers and artisans, and we may add, among the commercial classes, for the details of business are generally carried on, in this country, in such a slovenly, hit-or-miss fashion, that our merchants are seriously handicapped thereby in competition with foreigners. How is it in those occupations requiring more elaborate mental training? We certainly have a number of most excellent schools of medicine and law, by the side of many inferior ones; and there are many very good engineering colleges. Is there need for carrying special training farther than is already being done in these institutions? It is impossible to speak advisedly in these matters outside of one's own profession, but to a lawyer it would certainly seem, without any intention of speaking invidiously of any of his legal brethren, as if too many members of the lawyers' guild had received barely enough professional training to carry on a "law business," while comparatively few show trained capacity or appreciation for the higher functions and social obligations of the profession. As for the engineers of every kind, a layman may be allowed to express surprise that their ability has, generally speaking, appeared to be limited, until now, to the coarser work, the comparatively simple kinds of machines, the less highly finished products. Why, else, was it that at the moment when the European war put obstacles in the way of importation we experienced a scarcity of such articles as chemical dyes, dentists' supplies, highly elaborated drugs, instruments of precision and scores of similar commodities? It cannot be for lack of capital that we do not manufacture these things at home, for we are able to lend many millions of dollars to foreigners. So it would seem that the difficulty must be our lack of skilled workmen and sufficiently trained engineers—in other words, that specialization has not yet gone far enough with us.

Will it be necessary, then, for us to choose the kind of training we shall adopt as our national characteristic—that of the specialist, or that of liberal culture? Shall we strain every effort so to arrange the education of our youths as to enable them, at the earliest possible age, to choose what vocation in life they will follow, and thereafter confine all their energies to that particular channel, in the hope that thereby we may develop a race of men who, by being each skilled to the utmost in one special line, though remaining ignorant of all others, may rise above competing nations in the practical concerns of life? Or shall we prefer to return to the older ideal of developing men rather than specialists, men who have, as nearly as possible, trained all the many faculties that human beings are endowed with, into a harmonious personality without acquiring abnormal skill in any special direction? Thereby we may certainly run the risk of being vanquished in the fight for dominion over the things of this world by nations with less idealistic but more practical aspirations.

In the current discussions of these questions it is nearly always assumed that we must necessarily decide to seize either horn of this dilemma. Rarely do we hear it suggested that both tendencies, that toward specialization and toward liberal culture, may well be reconciled; that it is possible to put into practice, if we do not take it too literally, the old precept about knowing something about everything and all about something. As it is commonly assumed, obviously with a great deal of truth, that Germany above all other countries abounds in thoroughly skilled specialists and owes to them in large measure the astonishing successes she has won in recent years, the advocates of specialization in the United States usually point to her as the shining example of what may be accomplished by following the national policy they favor.

On the other hand, there has been manifested for some time a distinct tendency among the adherents of the ideal of liberal culture towards an aversion if not downright hostility against German intellectual influence in this country. Those who entertain this feeling are quite agreed with the friends of

special training in the view that Germany above all countries is the land of specialism, and that to this she owes the kind of successes she has won in modern times. Instead, however, of looking at these successes as an example for emulation, they abhor them as a national policy to be shunned. Like most of the opposite party, they assume that the two ideals are mutually exclusive, and that Germany, in becoming extraordinarily efficient in practical concerns by her highly developed specialism, has deliberately abandoned those more spiritual ideals of liberal culture and the harmoniously developed personality which to the idealistic strain in the American people must ever outweigh all achievements in the fields of economics or political power.

It would not seem, however, as if the men and women who dread the German influence on American life because of its lack in liberal culture had taken the trouble of acquiring sufficient familiarity with recent phases of German intellectual movements to be profitable counselors for their countrymen. That otherwise well-informed and cultivated Americans display an astonishing ignorance of modern German literature, philosophy and art can be observed every day. Perhaps the grossest public manifestation of this condition of mind was seen when a little while ago a well-known teacher of literature in an Eastern university dogmatically announced that for more than half a century Germany had not produced a single writer really worth knowing, and that the last German of literary importance was Heine. This astonishing pronunciamento must have seemed very plausible to a great many hearers, although we may charitably assume that in the lecturer himself it was the result of heated partisanship produced by the war. For a surprisingly small number of Americans can be found whose knowledge of German literature since Heine extends beyond the mention of one or two names. One of these is usually Gerhard Hauptmann, who certainly ought to be known by every man claiming to be reasonably well informed in literary matters, and the other is Sudermann, who continues in this country to figure as one of the brightest stars in the dramatic sky—for hardly anybody

seems to have heard of his almost total eclipse in the eyes of the judicious in Germany. If further inquiry is made we may elicit the name of Wedekind, usually accompanied by a word of deprecation regarding "decadent art." So powerful a dramatist as Hebbel, to mention an older author, is practically unknown except to specialists, and so are writers of fiction such as Keller, Raabe, Thomas Mann. The great modern lyric poets of Germany, Liliencron, Dehmel, Rilke, Stefan George, Hofmannsthal and the host of others are not even names to cultivated Americans, for they have never heard of them. Yet among the same type of men it is not uncommon to find detailed acquaintance with every little versifier who spouts his precious prettinesses on the Paris boulevards, not to speak of familiarity with Maeterlinck and Verlaine. It is not different in the fine arts. Americans of liberal culture continue to know and admire the works of contemporary French painters and are completely ignorant of the existence of Boecklin, Thoma, Liebermann, not to mention younger men. Yet it is not uncommon to hear American painters express the view that German artists of the present day do far better work than their French fellows.

It may well be that this neglect of an adequate study of the conditions of German life may be the main cause of the prevalent assumptions regarding the incompatibility of liberal culture with the development of "terrible efficiency," as a widely-read periodical recently put it. Our students still flock to Germany, as they have done for several generations, in search of special knowledge or skill; but whatever they may bring back, it is rarely an intimate and sympathetic knowledge of the intellectual life of the German people, its literature and art, its fundamental beliefs and its attitude towards the great problems of existence. In the meantime, the other type of educated Americans ignore almost altogether the country east of the Vosges, and seek in France, or now and then in Italy or Spain, that rounding out of intellectual culture which everybody vaguely feels the purely Anglo-American type of mind requires for its own best development.

It is the purpose of this paper to show, by the example of a great American of German birth, who has touched American life at an unusual number of points and been a very potent influence for good, by his impressive personality and his teaching while living, by his writings published both during his life and after his death, that thorough specialistic skill and broad liberal culture are not mutually exclusive. We shall further make it apparent that it is an error to believe that what is known as special training or vocational education in the United States is the same system of education which has been the source of the greatness of modern Germany. The truth is rather that in Germany all special training proceeds on the basis of a liberal education previously acquired. In other words, the German youth is not allowed to specialize at all until he has acquired, in the proper preparatory school, an amount of training and information almost if not quite equivalent to the work done in American college courses professing to give a liberal education. It would be extravagant to say that the German student just entering the university to begin his specialized work is already a man of liberal culture in the American sense. His youth and immaturity would prevent that, but he has had so many windows opened for his mind that he must be of unusually dull intellect and sluggish temperament if all the specialized drudgery of his later life can prevent the light of liberal culture from coming in.

Francis Lieber was a typical product of the sort of education which German university men have undergone for many generations, an educational system that has been changed in detail from time to time, as circumstances required, but the underlying spirit of which is precisely the same at the present day as it was in the time of Wilhelm v. Humboldt and Goethe. If the ordinary man in the course of his professional or scholarly career in Germany does not accomplish as much as Lieber did, it is because he has not the capacity of mind, as indeed very few individuals could have. However, in sharp distinction from too many American specialists, he has learned to have at least a receptive interest in many of the things for

which men of liberal education care. In fact, it may be asserted that in proportion as the specialization of his own proper life work becomes more intense, he also retains or develops an interest in many other things. It is the ordinary practitioner in law or medicine, in the civil service or in the technical professions, the man who is a specialist only in a very general sense, that is in most danger of succumbing to the routine of daily drudgery and losing interest in cultural matters unconnected with his professional work. Anybody having a reasonable acquaintance with German scholars and professional men will have to come to this conclusion.

How very wide the active interests of Francis Lieber were will become apparent as we examine his life and the record of his achievements. Perhaps we may therefore hear this assertion: His very record shows that Lieber was not a specialist at all, and his example, far from proving that a man may at the same time be a specialist and a man of liberal culture, goes to show how desirable it would be, even from a utilitarian standpoint looking towards social welfare, to have men who are liberally trained rather than those who know how to do a single thing extremely well. The answer to such an objection would seem to be easy. In the first place, Professor Lieber was indeed a specialist. The thing which he could do better than anybody in his own lifetime and better than any man now living, was the tracing of the faint border line between law and morals. That is why of all his works the book on political ethics will probably retain the greatest permanent value, and why he was one of the few men who have carried international law a goodly step forward on the road towards becoming a real body of consistent rules compelling universal acceptance by their inherent reason, instead of being a conglomerate of pious wishes and vague preachments.

The conclusive answer to such objectors, however, is the following: The real character of the special training given by the German educational system is not at all a narrow and mechanical drill in the skill and knowledge directly connected with some particular course of work. That is what special

training in the United States becomes—not rarely, but fortunately by no means always. The special skill and knowledge is indeed imparted by the German system, and nowhere more thoroughly and efficiently, but this is done incidentally, as a by-product, as one might say, of a much wider course of developing the minds of students. The principal aim of every German university teacher is not the imparting of a special technique, but the acquisition by the students of what is comprehensively, if somewhat vaguely, known as scientific method.

This scientific method, as distinguished from scientific technique, is an element which must underlie all really productive work in science and scholarship. It is partly a moral and partly an intellectual quality. A moral one, because it involves before all other things a most intense love of truth—the sort of almost fanatical love that is symbolized in Francis Lieber's famous motto: *"Patria cara, libertas carior, veritas carissima."* This implies a profound reverence for fact, taking that term in its broadest sense so as to include also what is sometimes called "internal facts," meaning those which are present only in the mind—states of feeling, beliefs, desires. No offense can be worse, in the eyes of scientific method, than to fail to take into consideration any existing fact, no matter how disconcerting, which has any possible bearing on the problem under investigation.

There are other moral qualities without which scientific method cannot exist: Patience that will not tire until a subject is pursued to the last point which the state of scholarship prevailing at the time makes possible; thoroughness that never contents itself with half-knowledge or guesswork where a greater degree of certainty is obtainable; generous unselfishness which cares far more that knowledge be carried a step farther than that the investigator himself be the fortunate discoverer, and would much rather co-operate with fellow-workers than enter into ambitious rivalries with them. Perhaps, however, even more characteristic of scholarly method is the intellectual element, which may be summed up in a single phrase: The full use of human reason. Therein is implied first of all

the power of logical thinking, but no less the critical use of the imagination. He who would be a true scholar, moreover, will have to know how to generalize from the data he has gathered, and no less how to resist the temptation of making generalizations, no matter how brilliant, when the data at hand do not render it safe. He must learn how to use an hypothesis in order to find, if he can, additional facts, and shun as he would the Prince of Evil, the besetting sin of clever minds: the building of one hypothesis upon another.

The ideal which the universities of Germany—and indeed all universities that are worthy of the name in the United States and every other country—constantly uphold is the inculcation of this scientific method into the minds of their students until they follow it instinctively in all their professional operations, whether these be in the province of pure or applied science. It is evident that the acquiring of the technique of any special branch of scholarship is a comparatively simple matter after the mind has once fully grasped and assimilated the principles of scientific method. In practice the processes of acquiring the one and the other will usually go on simultaneously, and a properly taught student will learn the technique of his specialty from the same lecture, books, and seminar or laboratory exercises that put him gradually into possession of scientific method. It is also fairly obvious that mere technique could be taught to a person who otherwise might remain quite uneducated. For instance, it is imaginable that some man might by long application and practice become extraordinarily skillful in all the manipulations necessary for removing the vermiform appendix without knowing anything about physiology or pathology; but he would hardly be a person to whom an intelligent patient would entrust himself. Or, if the old common law pleadings were still in vogue in all their ancient intricacies, it would not be impossible for a man with a knack for formal logic to become a skillful special pleader without having any profound knowledge of the law as a whole. That is what, as a matter of fact, happened constantly in England in the heyday of the old system. Such a special pleader was indeed a

specialist of the sort which, it is to be feared, not a few of the American advocates of vocational training have in mind, and the friends of liberal culture are certainly justified in opposing the wholesale breeding of his kind.

From what has been said it is apparent that the German type of specialist has quite different characteristics. For it is obviously impossible to acquire a comprehension of scientific method by mere drill as can be done with technique. The very process of acquiring method implies so broad and many-sided a training that of itself it would confer upon the student something very much like liberal culture even if he had not come to the university with at least the raw material of such culture already in his possession. The German with university training, therefore, combines in his own person the results of the two kinds of education which in the United States are so often believed to be incompatible, while the old-fashioned type of "the gentleman and the scholar," who is still met with in the United States and who is supposed to be bred to perfection in Oxford and Cambridge, is not very common in Germany. In fact, it seems that he is not very highly esteemed in that country because it is said that a man of education without a specialty and without a training in scientific method is almost certain to become a mere *dilettante* instead of taking his part in the common work of the world.

Thus Francis Lieber combined in his own person the qualities of the man of culture, as is shown by the almost bewildering variety of his interests, and the specialist in full command of general scientific method as well as the technique of his own special field. It would seem, therefore, to be particularly fitting to place before the American public a study of this extraordinary man as an illustration of the results which the German ideal of education may produce at its best. Thereby we may aid, perhaps, in solving the question now troubling so many minds, how our own educational system may be brought into closer correspondence with the undeniable needs of modern social conditions, without giving up the ideals which have in the past inspired the best elements of the American people.

To lose those ideals would be the greatest calamity that could happen, for the permanence of civilization itself is inextricably bound up with them. An exclusive devotion to technique, as it is apparently in the minds of a large number of energetic advocates of change, must necessarily end in the grossest materialism and the gradual decay of all the finer flowers of humanity.

An exclusive devotion to technique would not even attain the immediate end it has in view, namely, the greatest possible practical efficiency. For we have already seen that Germany, the efficiency of whose activities not even her bitterest enemies dispute, is very far from laying principal stress on the cultivation of technique. It is sometimes maintained that modern Germany has abandoned this principle, and of late, presumably since she achieved her political unity and rose to commercial and industrial greatness, sought her salvation exclusively in the development of technical efficiency. If the presentation of the facts, as given in outline above, is correct, this cannot be so, and any open-minded observer of conditions in modern Germany will come to the conclusion that the principles on which the educational system of that country is based have undergone no fundamental change for a hundred years.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIFE OF FRANCIS LIEBER.

Francis Lieber was born on March 18, 1800, at Berlin, in the Breite Strasse, where his father conducted a hardware business. He had nine brothers and three sisters, and of this large family he was the tenth child. His father's pecuniary circumstances seem to have been far from affluent, although on the other hand neither the family nor Francis Lieber himself ever experienced actual want. Yet rigid economy was the rule of the household.

Lieber's biography has never been properly written. He himself has contributed a good deal of autobiographical material in the way of recollections, letters and a diary, all of

which makes most enjoyable reading. There still is a great deal of unpublished material of this sort, at Johns Hopkins University and elsewhere. The principal published source, the "Life and Letters," edited by Thomas Sergeant Perry, contains merely a portion of the letters and diary, sometimes mere fragments. How well the selection was made, could be judged only by a close comparison with the unpublished material. The two volumes of "Miscellaneous Writings," compiled after his death, contain but a part of the autobiographical writings. The latter relate principally to the picturesque incidents of his earlier life. The short biographies by Lewis R. Harley and Frederick William Holls (the latter in German) supply little, if anything, that may not also be found in the larger work by Perry.

In this state of the record we are still ignorant or uncertain about a number of facts which would help us to understand this extraordinary man. Many of these data it would not be difficult to discover or verify, and it may be hoped that some industrious and enthusiastic student will some day undertake that task. In this place it is not intended to furnish a formal biography, but merely a study of the man and the place he holds in the intellectual history of the American people. One of the data needing verification is the statement in Perry (page 30) that Lieber acquired the doctor's degree at Jena in the year 1820. We are not told what his dissertation was nor even in what "faculty" the degree was taken. The extreme youth of the candidate would not necessarily make this fact improbable, for doctor's degrees have been taken at even earlier ages. However, Lieber had then been a university student but a short time, and his preparatory schooling was extremely irregular and interrupted, so that his taking the degree under such circumstances would be a very unusual feat. The records of the university will, of course, show the fact if somebody would but take the trouble to inquire.

The period in which Lieber's childhood and youth was spent bears for the German people a two-fold aspect, one of splendor and immortal glory, on account of the surprising numbers of

poets, philosophers and scholars of the highest rank whose works were produced in those inspiring days; the other of national defeat and oppression by a foreign foe, followed by shameful misgovernment at home. The biographers have chosen to dwell exclusively on the political side of the environment in which Lieber spent his early days. Perhaps that is natural, considering that Lieber's principal interest was in public affairs, and that the political misery of his native country most profoundly affected the external course of his life. It is obvious, however, that the quality of his work, his profound scholarship, the breadth of his intellectual horizon, were the result of far different influences. If we wish to understand these things, we shall have to take a glance at the non-political side of German life in the early years of the nineteenth century. Having done so, we shall also be in a better position to understand the nature of that combination of special skill with liberal culture, which in the preceding chapter we have called characteristic of German intellectual life, and which Francis Lieber's example may help to spread in the United States.

The year in which Lieber was born may well be considered as marking the point that divides the famous flowering period of German intellectual life into two distinct portions. The last third of the eighteenth century was the time of the great classical poets and of Immanuel Kant. Beginning with the body of ideas commonly known as the Enlightenment, the intellectually alert young men of that epoch soon developed beyond the somewhat arid and uninspiring mental attitude characteristic of the philosophy known by that name. There was a brief period of "Storm and Stress," a period when the whole intellectual world seemed to show the phenomena which in individual lives we know as those of early adolescence. There was the same unbridled imagination and equally unbridled emotionality, the same restless and unsteady trying of many things, the same egotism unrestrained by fixed standards outside of one's own personality. Like the Enlightenment, of which the new movement was the bitter and zealous opponent, "Storm and Stress" was not confined to Germany. Especially

that wave of excessive sentimentality which for a while made everybody ruin untold handkerchiefs by an over-supply of tears, came to the continent from England, where it had found literary expression in Henry MacKenzie's novel, "The Man of Feeling." In Germany, Goethe rid himself of this sickness by writing the "Sorrows of Werther," and at the same time intensified the paroxysm all the world over. When the turmoil of this transition period had ceased, there came for Germany the golden days of Weimar, the culmination time of Schiller's work, the great middle period in Goethe's life, during which he wrote Iphigenie and Tasso, and the Travels in Italy. Now was fashioned one side of the shield of German idealism: Universality of intellectual outlook and harmonic development of all the powers of human personality. Basing their thought, and their lives no less, on what they conceived to be the spirit of ancient Greece, the two friends at the little Thuringian court taught to their nation and the world the immortal value and dignity of the human individual. That value and dignity was conceived not in a narrowly ecclesiastical spirit, as had from time to time been done in the past, nor with one-sided stress upon the ethical life, as was done by the Puritans, but with full consciousness that every side of human nature ought to be developed to the highest point individual limitations allow it to reach. No doubt, man is a moral being, and no Puritan ever attained the rigorous austerity of Kant's ethical principles, by which thousands of the men of that period, and none more than Schiller himself, were so profoundly affected. Man, however, is an intellectual being also, and who was ever more ardently inspired by the desire for knowledge than Schiller and Goethe, and the host of minor leaders in what in time came to be known as the cause of Humanism? Finally, man is an aesthetic being, whose spirit responds and opens itself to the joy of life that comes from the contemplation of beauty in all its forms. What generation of men was more fitted to comprehend the beauty of the world and to foster its cultivation than that which produced the classical writers of Germany? Thus we have the three-fold root of German idealism: Equal devotion to the Good, the True and the Beautiful.

He would fall far short of reading German civilization aright who should fail to see that this three-fold motto is still a dynamic power in influencing the lives of men. Whoever has spent his boyhood on the benches of a German *gymnasium* has heard it a hundred times from the lips of his teachers. No doubt it was little more than a sounding phrase to his immature mind, but a phrase that stuck in the memory and tantalized the intelligence by its suggestive and mysterious incomprehensibility. Be it so that to many it has never revealed its significance in after life, and that by some the words are repeated like empty sounds, attractive by their respectable appearance, as some Americans may idly reiterate the glittering generalities of the Declaration of Independence. Some there are, however, in every generation, to whom the cryptic words have become a living reality, a shining constellation on the horizon of their souls, by which to steer in the eternal quest for a solution of the riddle of existence.

When we say that the year of Lieber's birth marked the end of the first half of this great epoch in Germany's intellectual history, we must not be taken too literally. Schiller was still alive, and several of his great dramas had not yet been given to the world, while Kleist's great work was still to come. More than one-third of the long and full career of Goethe was still before him. Yet it is true that no poet or dramatist of the first rank arose in the generation born when the nineteenth century was young. The prevailingly aesthetic character of the preceding decades changed and the best minds now turned to scholarly rather than literary pursuits. The time came in which those great men flourished who have laid the foundations of the humanistic sciences as we understand them today, by developing and cultivating that scientific method of which we have spoken in the preceding chapter. Continuing the work of Kant, there now came the great idealistic philosophers: Fichte, Schelling, Herbert, Hegel, and the latter's embittered antagonist and successor in dominion over men's minds, Schopenhauer. In their train, and to a great extent under their influence, came the galaxy of scholars in special fields: The historians, like

Niebuhr and Ranke; jurists, like Savigny; philologians, like Wolf, Hermann, Boeckh, and the greatest of them all, the brothers Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm. As a connecting link between the older and the new generations, we may mention an even more illustrious pair of brothers, Alexander and Wilhelm v. Humboldt, the comprehensiveness of whose interests and the universality of whose genius was a marvel even in that day of broad and universal minds.

The two Humboldts, and especially Wilhelm, who was one of the leading statesmen as well as one of the foremost scholars of his time, may help us to direct our attention to another element in the lives of the generation contemporary with Francis Lieber. In the minds of the older men—Lessing, Wieland, Herder, of Goethe and Schiller themselves—politics, whether conceived as an art or a science, played a surprisingly small part. Goethe, for a dozen years or so of his life, was the chief of the administration of a principality, and till his death remained in close touch with certain aspects of public affairs at least. All the more astonishing is the fact that in his voluminous published writings of every kind there is hardly any direct trace of the fact that their author was not simply Wolfgang Goethe, but His Excellency, the Privy Councillor and former Minister of State. We need not go into an explanation of this singular fact. It is known to all that the political condition of Germany could hardly be worse than it was towards the end of the eighteenth century. Externally, the nation was split up into a multitude of petty principalities and city republics, with but two states, Austria and Prussia, that were large enough to have independent weight in the community of European powers. Internally, the government was in the hands of absolute princes or scarcely less absolute town councils, while the administrative functions were divided among a pedantic bureaucracy and a selfish aristocratic class. Of popular participation in political affairs there was literally none. What wonder that even the best minds turned with indifference from all thought of political matters!

A polity so constituted could not possibly withstand a tempest such as raged through Europe as a consequence of the revolutionary catastrophe in France. When Francis Lieber was just about old enough to have mastered the alphabet, in the fall of 1806, the victorious Frenchmen entered Berlin. It is related that the little boy, watching from his window in the Breite Strasse the enemy marching past, burst into tears as if his heart would break. Nor did the impression ever wear away. Four years later, at the darkest hour of Germany's subjection to the despotism of Napoleon, he managed to get an interview with Ferdinand v. Schill, one of the over-zealous patriots who, before the hour had come, tried to throw off the yoke by an abortive popular rising. In his recollections, Lieber tells graphically how he became himself a sort of hero in the eyes of his schoolmates on account of having spoken to Schill and how he reluctantly exchanged one of two impressions of his seal which the insurgent leader had given him for his collection, for the arms of the House of Austria and the King of Saxony. The spirit of patriotism was fostered at home, and especially by the fact that the boy at an early age came under the influence of Jahn, the founder of the gymnastic societies which under the name of "Turner Societies" have been transplanted also to this country. In the meantime, his studies were carried on in a somewhat irregular manner, for his eager mind turned restlessly from one interest to another, and it seems to have been his father's plan to give his son wide liberty in trying different things. The published biographies are a trifle vague on this point. It would seem that, after having mastered the rudiments, he entered the *Gymnasium*. Then there was an episode during which he was apprenticed to a landscape gardener, and later he entered the "*Pépinière*," an institution which still exists in a modified form, but at that time was a sort of cadet school for military surgeons. There he seems to have been a pupil when the famous appeal of the King of Prussia to his people was issued, early in the year 1813, and the manhood of the country rushed to arms in order to throw off the Napoleonic yoke. Francis, of course, was much

too young to join his two elder brothers in volunteering for the war, but one can readily imagine what fever heat of patriotic fervor burst forth in the boy, who had for several years lived in an atmosphere of quiet preparation and expectation of great things to come. He himself tells of a vow he made at that time, solemnly and in a paroxysm of sobbing, that he would make his way near Napoleon and kill him, so that it would not be necessary for two great armies to slaughter each other.

Two years later, when Napoleon returned from Elba, Francis' patriotic heart had what it most desired. Again he himself tells us how he was in his room studying with his school books, when his father burst through the door with the exclamation: "Boys, clean your rifles! He is loose again!" This time, Francis was accepted as a volunteer. We may assume that, possibly as a result of the athletic training and the long walking tours he had taken under the guidance of "Father" Jahn, he was physically strong beyond the usual strength of lads of fifteen. At any rate, in company with one of his brothers he joined the Kolberg regiment of infantry. This particular regiment was picked out by the boys because it was in garrison near the French border and therefore most likely to get to the front without delay. They had reckoned correctly, for within a few weeks they took part in the battles of Ligny and Belle Alliance (commonly, but improperly called the battle of Waterloo). On the following day, his regiment became part of the army corps which pursued Vandamme in the direction of Namur. The fatigue of the long march was too much for the boy, and he dropped out of the ranks. When soon after, however, he heard shots and realized that a battle was in progress, all the exhaustion seemed to leave him. He ran forward, joined a group of soldiers and was soon in the fighting line. On this day, he was severely wounded, and his military service was over, for the present.

Lieber's experiences during this campaign are most interestingly told by himself in the "Letters to a Gentleman in Germany" (Philadelphia, 1835) which are partly reprinted both in the "Miscellaneous Writings" and the "Life and Letters." It

seems that his restoration to health took many months, during all of which his family was ignorant of his whereabouts. At last, however, he recovered, if we can judge from the healthy vigor of his later years.

Francis, by this time, was barely sixteen years of age, and the natural thing to do was to resume his studies. He became a pupil in the *Gymnasium "Zum Grauen Kloster,"* at Berlin, no doubt with the intention of preparing for the university. Again, the published biographies are exceedingly confused and fail to give us such easily ascertainable facts as when he graduated, or whether he ever became matriculated at the University of Berlin. At any rate, it is certain that during the next three years he came more and more under the influence of Jahn. Since the end of the war, the character of the Turner societies had assumed a more pronounced political cast. Like the "Deutsche Burschenschaft," the patriotic students' society, they agitated in favor of reforms in the condition of the German nation, and soon attracted the suspicion of the government.

At this point it will be necessary, in order to understand the further course of Francis Lieber's life, to take a rapid glance at the political history of Germany after the Wars of Liberation had been carried to glorious victory. The representatives of the various governments, both the allied victors and the defeated French, met at the Congress of Vienna to settle the map of Europe. There could be no doubt that Prussia had done more than any other power towards the common object. The Russian troops had not specially distinguished themselves, nor had the Austrians, although both fought bravely. The English, so far as the war on land was concerned, had sent an insignificant expeditionary corps, and even this, although re-enforced by a much larger number of Hanoverians, Brunswickers and other Germans, had been saved from annihilation merely by the extraordinary energy of Blücher and his Prussians. Yet, at the Congress, Prussia's voice counted for very little. The Russian Czar and the representative of England settled affairs between them in the

manner which best suited their interests. Austria was not averse to having her rival in Germany robbed of many of the fruits of victory, and was especially anxious not to have the smaller German states consolidated under the leadership of Prussia. The result was, that instead of establishing in Germany a central government capable of conducting an independent policy there was founded a loose confederation which Austria could reasonably hope would never be more than a tail to her own kite.

Few patriotic Germans could be satisfied with this form of national government, which was hardly much better than the misery of the old Holy Roman Empire. There arose everywhere a desire for unification in a more efficient form, and this movement for unity became closely allied with a movement for a more modern form of rule within the separate states.

At first, almost everybody seemed to agree that the absolute governments, such as they existed when the Napoleonic tempest broke over the country, could not be reintroduced, and even in the constitution of the German Confederation an article was inserted promising some form of popular representation to the several states. Soon after the war was over, there began a wide-spread popular desire for tranquility after the volcanic turmoil of the last quarter of a century. The Liberal tradition likes to make it appear as if the reaction against everything in any way connected with the idea of the French Revolution came exclusively from the governments which desired to maintain themselves in their old absolute power. That is hardly in accordance with the facts, for large masses of men, who were as patriotic Germans as any of the Liberals, felt the same fear and hatred of everything savoring even remotely of revolution as inspired the minds of Metternich or Gentz. If by nothing else, that would be proven by the wide popularity acquired in those days by the political doctrines or fancies of the Romantic School. However, it is equally true that the governments of most of the states, and especially the two large ones, Austria and Prussia, resolved to suppress every move-

ment for change, whether in the direction of greater unity or more liberal forms of internal government.

The leader in this reaction was Prince Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor of State, whose personality dominated German politics during the next thirty years. Under his influence, thousands of patriotic Germans who incurred the suspicion of the authorities as entertaining Liberal opinions were imprisoned, hampered in their professional labors, and persecuted in every possible way, although in the rarest cases only were the inquisitors able to bring home to them acts that approached the character of revolutionary designs. When, on March 23, 1819, Karl Sand, a theological student imbued with fanatical religious and patriotic fervor, assassinated the playwright Kotzebue who was suspected of being a Russian spy, the persecution of "demagogues," as they were called, assumed an unheard of intensity. Among the victims were Jahn and his young friend, Francis Lieber.

In the month of July, 1819, Francis was arrested and was kept in prison for four months, while the authorities rummaged in his papers and plied him with questions, but did not succeed in finding evidence against him beyond some high talk and youthful rodomontade. Finally he was released, but forbidden to study at any Prussian university. Whether at this time he was already a matriculated student in Berlin does not appear. He now went to Jena, the one university which, under the protection of Grand Duke Carl August of Weimar, the friend of Göthe, was the center of the Liberal movements of the time. Here he is said to have taken his doctor's degree, as was stated above. Very little is recorded regarding his studies there, but from a letter to his father, written by the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction, one would infer that it was Lieber's intention, at that time, to prepare himself for the post of teacher in a *gymnasium*. In that letter, however, his father was informed that the young man could not hope for an appointment in Prussia. At the same time, however, the former order forbidding his studies at Prussian universities was recalled, and he was directed to go to Halle. This he

did, accordingly. It is said that in this university Lieber's studies were largely mathematical. It is apparent, from the scanty evidence we have, that even at this early age he must have had an unusual range of intellectual interests.

In the autumn of 1821, during a sojourn at Dresden, Lieber surprised his parents by the announcement that he would join the Philhellenes, enthusiastic youths who gathered from all parts of Europe and even the United States to help the Greeks in their struggle of liberation from the Turks. Naturally, the governments as then constituted, frowned upon such expeditions, and it required some ingenuity in deceiving the police, before Lieber succeeded in getting out of the country for that purpose. He managed to get to Marseilles, however, and about New Year 1822, in company with nearly a hundred comrades, embarked for Greece. Most of the adventurers were Germans, but there were also Danes, Poles, Frenchmen and Italians.

Within three months he was back in Italy, disillusioned, robbed of his few possessions, disgusted, and with a batch of experiences which he has interestingly told in a little book (Tagebuch meines Aufenthaltes in Griechenland; Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1823) parts of which are found translated in the "Life and Letters." He landed at Ancona practically penniless, but a school friend who happened to be in Rome sent him money enough to take him to that city, where he presently arrived, not without having had again to practice ingenuity in deceiving the police, on account of the strange condition of his passport.

At Rome, Lieber called on the Prussian minister at the Papal court and frankly stated to him the plight in which he found himself. This post was held, at that time, by no less a personage than the historian of Rome, Berthold Georg Niebuhr. He seems to have taken a fancy to the young adventurer at very first sight, kept him to dinner, notwithstanding the more than disreputable condition of his clothes, procured for him the necessary permission of the police for a protracted stay in Rome, and presently made him the tutor of his children.

The year spent in Italy with Niebuhr seems to have stood out forever after in Lieber's memory as the happiest of his life. It came to an end when the envoy was recalled to Prussia. Lieber returned to Berlin and resumed his studies at the university, with the permission of the authorities obtained for him by Niebuhr's intercession; more than that, upon representing that he had renounced his youthful extravagancies regarding politics he received a *"stipendium"* to assist him in preparing himself for some definite profession. Just what his plans were, at this time, we are again uninformed. It seems, however, that both at Berlin and at Halle, where he went again for a while, his interests were largely directed towards mathematics.

However, notwithstanding the assurances of the Minister of Police, v. Kamptz, who seems to have been kindly disposed towards him, ambitious members of the special commission in charge of the investigations against "demagogues" still had their eye on the young man. In the spring of 1824, he was summoned to testify relative to the supposed conspiracies, but had nothing to tell. During the summer following, the inquisitors seem to have flattered themselves, at last, to have discovered the secret they had looked for so long. They had found evidence of some connection between German students and some members of French secret political societies—the famous "Marianne," we dare say. There was a great stir. Suspicion was cast on men of the highest position—even the great Stein, and also on Lieber's friend Niebuhr. This time, there seems to have been something in Lieber's knowledge that was of some importance, for he stoutly refused to testify, whereupon he was promptly incarcerated in the small fortress of Koepenick, near Berlin, where he stayed until the following April. His release was brought about by Niebuhr's application directly to the King.

The secret which Lieber refused to tell at the risk of indefinitely prolonged imprisonment was probably innocent enough. Historical investigations into the doings of the *"Burschenschaft"* and the friends of that organization, al-

though they have gone into minute detail, have failed to show anything that would not, at most, have been passed over with a smile at youthful indiscretion by any government less nervous and less fanatical for absolute tranquility than the authorities which took their cue from Metternich. There was among the "demagogues" a sort of inner circle, vaguely known as the "Blacks" or the "Absolutes," the members of which may have had indefinite plans or rather desires that might be construed as treasonable under an absolute government, but even they do not seem to have ever proceeded to overt acts. The leading spirit in this group was Karl Follenius (Charles Follen), who afterwards became a Unitarian minister in New England. We have no evidence that Lieber had any connection with these amateur conspirators, nor do we even know that he ever belonged to the *"Burschenschaft."*

The imprisonment which Lieber suffered at the fortress, bad as it was, must not be imagined too severe. It was not a penitentiary nor even an American county jail, and no social stigma attached to him for having suffered it. He was at liberty to pursue his studies from books; in fact it was at this time that he published his little collection of poems; the title was "Songs of Wine and Joy"—"Wein und Wonnelieder"—which is hardly suggestive of prison walls and clanking chains. The worst of the whole affair was that his prospects of employment under the government, or of a regular professional career, in Prussia at least, were for the present completely destroyed. During the following summer, he accepted the place of tutor with the family of Count Bernstorff. He also thought of literature as a means of livelihood; at any rate, he wrote a play which the theatrical manager to whom he presented it politely declined.

How Francis Lieber impressed his friends at this time may be seen from a letter written by one who had seen much of him in the days before he went to Greece. A cousin, by name of Baur, writes as follows:

> "I found our relation changed. We were never again so intimate as we had been. Perhaps he was implicated in some of the political intrigues and there were secrets which he had to keep.

His brother Edward invited me to meet him at dinner, and we spent an evening talking together at my cousin's, Eichens, the engraver. His brother Gustavus, Francis and I also took lessons in English together. But Francis had grown quieter. Italy had changed him by giving him a feeling for art. He cultivated his aesthetic tastes and was composing poems. . . . . He . . . . associated a good deal with literary people. He knew a great many ladies and had become very different from what he was in the old 'Turner' days. To be sure, even then he used to write poety, but his patriotic, gymnastic, semi-religious ideas have been succeeded by more serious intellectual interests."*

In the meantime, it had become absolutely necessary for him to find some permanent occupation. With the help of Niebuhr and other influential friends, of whom he had made many since his return to Germany, he tried once more to obtain a government appointment. When this, however, had no immediate result, he suddenly executed a plan which he seems to have contemplated more or less vaguely for some time. He left home for England, secretly and without informing even his family of what he meant to do. On May 22, 1826, armed with letters of introduction to some German residents in London, and with a certificate from Major-General v. Pfuel, who was in charge of the municipal swimming school in Berlin, showing that he had "skill and dexterity required to conduct a swimming school," Lieber stepped aboard a ship at Blankenese, near Hamburg, and sailed for England.

During the following year, he stayed in London, trying to support himself by teaching German and Italian. He made some useful acquaintances, but on the whole seems to have had a hard time of it. Among those he met were some Americans, a Mr. Bond, of Boston, and John Neal, of Portland, an author of some reputation in those days and a close friend of Jeremy Bentham. It may have been through these gentlemen that he received an invitation to take charge of a newly established gymnasium and swimming school in Boston. He accepted this offer, and on June 20, 1827, set foot on American soil in New York, proceeding almost immediately to Boston.

* Translated in Perry, Life and Letters, p. 61.

With his coming to the United States, the early period of Lieber's life, with its vicissitudes, its adventuresome experiences, and its picturesque incidents, came to an end. Henceforth, there are few external occurrences to lend color to the picture painted by the biographers. He led the quiet existence of a scholar and teacher, maturing his thoughts, increasing the breadth of his outlook upon life, rising constantly in the esteem of the best men in America, until he crowned his career by fifteen fruitful years as professor in Columbia University, when he had become one of the conspicuous men, not only in this country but in the world.

Managing a gymnasium was hardly sufficient to occupy fully a mind as alert as that of Lieber; he began at once to correspond regularly for a number of German periodicals, and almost immediately started on his first great work, the publication of the Encyclopaedia Americana, the first edition of which was published by Cary, Lea & Cary of Philadelphia in 1829. The work was based principally on Brockhaus' "*Conversations-Lexicon,*" the seventh edition. A corps of translators was employed in doing the bulk of the work, but a large number of articles were entirely rewritten to bring them up to date and adapt them to the needs of Americans. In addition, there were a large number of articles on specifically American subjects, especially biographies. Most of the re-writing seems to have been done by Lieber himself, on subjects ranging from the philosophy of Cousin to the art of cookery. For the American articles he succeeded in obtaining the aid of a long list of eminent men, at the top of which stood no less a person than Judge Joseph Story, while among the others were Peter Stephen Duponceau, J. G. Palfrey, J. K. Paulding, Nathan Appleton, George Ticknor and many others. This fact, of course, gave the young scholar fresh from Germany a standing and an acquaintance among men worth knowing all over the country, which under ordinary circumstances could have been acquired only in many years.

The work of superintending the preparation of this encyclopaedia and writing articles himself whenever there was none better fitted to do it, was, in a sense, journalistic. No man could possibly have at his finger's ends all the diversified information required for that purpose. These subjects had to be "gotten up," as the slang of the newspaper world has it. Hundreds of journalistic writers at the present day are busily engaged in "getting up information," and deposit the result of their investigation in newspapers and the popular magazines. Superficially, it may look as if Lieber's work was of the same sort. The product of the ordinary journalistic work, however, is of so unreliable, hasty, inaccurate a character, and so full of obvious and sometimes absurd misconceptions, that "newspaper science" has become a byword to all who are competent to judge. No such faults will be found in the early editions of the Encyclopaedia, and especially in those articles which are apparently from Lieber's hand there is no trace of that inaccuracy and general slovenliness which characterizes so much mere journalistic work. This difference, we have every reason to believe, is the result of the training Lieber had received at German universities in that scientific method which in the preceding chapter we described as the most important intellectual gift a university can bestow upon its students. The fact that he had been trained in this method, and that fact alone, enabled Francis Lieber to bring to bear upon the most generalized work imaginable all the skill an army of specialists could have applied to it. Thus, at the very outset of his American career, he gave an illustration of how the excellences of a broad, liberal education and the intensified skill of special training may be combined, and are actually combined in the educational ideal fostered by German institutions.

The pecuniary returns from the Encyclopaedia Americana were sufficient to enable Lieber to marry a lady to whom he had become engaged while still living in England. However, during the next five years, while he supported himself by miscellaneous writing and lecturing, he cast about with some anxiety for some permanent position which should put him on

a safe pecuniary footing. He began the study of American law with a view to its practice, but so far as the published accounts of his life are concerned we do not learn that he was ever admitted to the bar. This is rather surprising in a man who was so eminently gifted with what is sometimes called "a legal mind," and who, during the last years of his life especially, achieved such great success, both practical and theoretical, in at least one branch of the law. It is characteristic of the thoroughness and spirit of universality with which his German training had imbued him, that one of the first things he did, as a preliminary to his law studies, was to write to the eminent German jurist Mittermaier, asking for a list of German juridical books he ought to read. In other words, this German scholar could not imagine how he could become efficient in the practice of American law if he confined himself to the special study of the system of law he was to apply in daily business. He had so little faith in mere specialism, that he must needs have some acquaintance with some other system of law in order to be able, by comparison, really to understand his own.

Among the many more or less journalistic articles which Lieber published during this period, there were a number dealing with various questions of education. These seem to have given him quite a reputation as an educational expert. At any rate, in 1833, he was invited, by the trustees of Girard College, in Philadelphia, to draw up a constitution and working plan for the institution under their care. A portion of the introduction to the elaborate report he submitted is reprinted in the "Miscellaneous Writings." For us, this work is interesting especially as showing how Lieber was able to apply the educational principles in which he was trained himself to the very different and somewhat peculiar conditions under which the new college must work. For the founder had been a man of pronounced opinions and taken care to provide in the instrument establishing the gift that his convictions should be considered in the policy of the institution. No man who was merely drilled in some special direction, nor any man with a

liberal education but lacking a comprehension for the skill in detail that is required for efficiency, could have been successful in this matter. The task demanded just such a man as Lieber who by his sense of scientific method was enabled to separate underlying principles from the mere changeable means by which principles may be made practically efficacious under varying circumstances.

Two years later, on June 11, 1835, he was notified of his election to the chair of History and Political Economy at the University of South Carolina, and on October 10 of the same year he arrived in Columbia. There he lived and labored for 23 years, until in 1857 he removed to New York and soon after was elected to a chair in Columbia University.

In the little provincial town, the capital of the slave state of South Carolina, in a social and political atmosphere that could not but be repugnant in numerous respects to many of Lieber's most profound convictions, his two principal works, the "Political Ethics" and "Civil Liberty and Self Government," were written. No trace can be found in these of the isolation in which he found himself, not merely on account of his anti-slavery principles but still more so by reason of the absence of nearly all scientific interests among the people with whom he lived. In his letters to friends in the North this feeling of isolation crops out constantly. It is evidence of the remarkable tact and self-restraint of which he was possessed that Lieber was able, for nearly a quarter of a century, to hold a position in which he necessarily influenced the younger generation of the community in noticeable degree and consequently was specially exposed to the jealousies and fears of those who suspected or abhorred his principles. It is interesting that the most severe attacks made on him proceeded, not from the champions of slavery, but from narrowly sectarian religionists who charged him with being an "infidel." The charge was stupid. For while no doubt Lieber was unwilling to put his beliefs in the keeping of any set of ecclesiastics, he was removed *"toto caelo"* from any spirit of antagonism to religion or even the insitutional organization of religions. The best

men of the commonwealth never failed in giving him their firm support, even when they differed with him in many of his views. No doubt they were well aware of the lustre his national reputation shed upon the little college of which he was by far the most conspicuous member.

Towards the end of his stay in Columbia, however, the shadows cast before by the approaching secession and civil war made his surroundings more and more uncongenial. The end came, when in 1856 he failed of being elected to the presidency of the institution. It seems that he was the choice of most of the alumni and many of the leading men in the state. Another man was preferred to him, not on account of Lieber's anti-slavery views, but as a consequence of the old religious antagonism. Thereupon he resigned his professorship, to take effect after a year. In 1857, he left Columbia and went to New York, where somewhat later he was appointed professor of history and political economy at Columbia University. He proposed, from the first, to give instruction in political science, for his interest in economics had never been anything but secondary. In accordance with his wish, his title was soon after changed to that of professor of history and political science.

It is evident that Lieber considered his removal to New York much in the light of return from exile. During his sojourn in South Carolina he had taken every opportunity for vacation tours to the North, and made two trips to Europe. On the first of these he had several audiences with Frederick William IV. of Prussia. The king showed considerable interest in him, and confessed that he had been unjustly treated by the Prussian government. He also offered Lieber the post of inspector of prisons, with the privilege of lecturing at the universities on penology, a subject in which Lieber took much interest. If it had been a professorship in the university, the scholar exiled in his little provincial college would very likely have accepted the offer and returned to his native country. As it was, neither the conditions surrounding the proposed office nor the salary attached thereto were particularly attractive. So he went back to South Carolina and hoped for a call

from the North. Lieber's second European trip was during the revolutionary movements of 1848-'49, when among other things he attended some of the sessions of the first German Parliament in Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was disappointed by the lack of practical experience and clear purpose shown by the popular politicians, and saddened by the apparent failure of the movement for German unity and greater constitutional freedom, but lived long enough to see the substantial realization of the patriotic ideals of his youth by the events of 1864 to 1871.

Lieber had not been in his new and wider field of work in New York very long when the outbreak of the Civil War called forth all his patriotic devotion in defense of the Union. By his writings, by speeches and by personal influence on his students, he did much to aid in keeping Northern public opinion up to the degree of fervor and constancy which alone could carry the war to military and political success. Especially the pamphlets he contributed to those issued by the Loyal Publication Society are among the best of the series. Nor was he spared the necessity of testifying to his devotion for the country of his choice in a more direct and personal manner. His eldest son, Oscar Montgomery, who had already begun to make a name for himself in his chosen profession of geologist, cast in his lot with the South and fell fighting as a Confederate officer near Richmond in the summer of 1862. The two younger sons, Hamilton and Guido Norman, entered the Union army, and the former lost an arm at Fort Donelson. Thus Lieber saw repeated in his own family the pathetic divisions lacerating the country.

During the war Francis Lieber also found the first official recognition of his eminence as a publicist and international lawyer by being entrusted with the duty of drawing up a codification of the rules of warfare, the famous "General Orders No. 100," of which we shall speak again in the succeeding chapter. In the remaining years of his life, the government took repeated occasion to avail itself of his learning and skill. His standing as the most eminent publicist in the United States,

and in fact as one of the first men of the world within his chosen field, was now well established. Scholars, learned bodies and governments were eager to honor him. In the full possession of his matured powers, he died after a very brief illness, on October 2, 1872, and lies buried at Woodlawn cemetery, where a bronze bust by J. Q. A. Ward marks his grave.

Our faint outline of this illustrious American's life can give but an indistinct notion of what manner of man he was. The true biography of a scholar is found in his works. Therefore the reader is asked to follow us through a final chapter containing an attempt at analyzing and describing the thought of Francis Lieber, the influence he exerted on his contemporaries, and the value his principal works still have after more than half a century has elapsed since they were published. Thereby we may not only obtain a juster notion regarding one who ranks among the glories of America, but also regarding that great ideal of culture and education which he brought to us from Germany, and which is still needed as the guide of American intellectual life. Thus only can we be saved from the dangers threatening American civilization from two directions: Either a dull and narrow specialism, which by its very dullness and narrowness fails to attain the efficiency it seeks; or a mere *dilettante* culture, excellently adapted to lending charm to the life of a leisure class, but wholly unfit to lead the American people in the constantly sharpening struggle to achieve our national destiny.

CHAPTER III.

THE INFLUENCE OF FRANCIS LIEBER ON AMERICAN LIFE

There are two different types of men who may claim greatness as leaders in the public affairs of nations. Some, spurred on by laudable ambition, use their gifts to achieve conspicuous position, and from some pinnacle where they may be seen by all, direct the movements of the people. Their voices are heard in the Senate Chamber and in the public meeting, their pens take part in discussion of immediate policies. They are active

in party councils, and the result of elections may depend on their words. They are certain of reaping the plaudits of the multitude, and their names are pronounced glibly by thousands who may be quite incapable of understanding their real worth.

Men of the other type are not so much given to addressing themselves directly to the mass of mankind, nor are they successful in gaining immediate and showy fame. They are leaders of leaders rather than leaders of the people, trainers of future statesmen, instructors of those who in turn interpret what they have learned to the millions who could not hear the teacher directly. Instead of mass meetings, such men address quiet assemblies of the thoughtful, their books are read not by the busy millions engrossed in their own affairs, but by serious students. Noisy acclamations do not fall to their lot, but instead they may enjoy the veneration of earnest disciples, or receive the gratitude of younger men whose minds they have opened to the truth. It would be difficult to say which type of man is the more important in the life of a nation; certainly both are needed. But it would not be difficult to prove that the influence of the thinker and teacher is more profound and more enduring, though it may lack in wide distribution and immediate effect.

During the nineteenth century Germany has given to the American people two men who may without extravagance be classed among the great men of the nation, and each of these types can claim one of them: The man of action was Carl Schurz; the man of thought, Francis Lieber.

In the lives of almost all whose personality much exceeds the ordinary stature of man there is what one may fairly call a tragic element. It seems as if nature meant to punish them for being gifted greatly above the rest by thwarting them in some of their fondest desires, making impossible the fullest development of some side of their genius which by themselves was contemplated with a fondness above the others. Thus it was with Lieber. We know him as the inspiring teacher of college classes; as the author of books that are still a source of instruction and moral elevation to thousands. We are apt

to think of him as leading the quiet life of the scholar, as a man of the study and the lecture room—and such he was. But from confidential utterances and passages in his numerous letters it appears that under the academic, professorial exterior there was another Lieber whose ardent soul longed for the life of action for which the opportunity never came, and for which after all he might have shown no superior aptitude.

It is essential for an understanding of Lieber's work to bear in mind this suppressed aspiration for a life quite different from that which he actually led after he came to this country and had left behind the adventurous experiences of his youth. It would be a great mistake to conceive of him as immersed in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. No man was more erudite than Lieber, not in one but several fields of knowledge, each of which is today considered rather too broad a field for one man to cultivate successfully. His published works are evidence of the unusual breadth and depth of his scholarship; but in all his writings the underlying purpose is a practical one. Not pure, but applied science is the goddess of which Lieber is the priest. To enable his students more perfectly to perform their duties as citizens, and especially as leaders of citizens, is the goal at which he aims with unswerving directness. Thus his practical bent, prevented by circumstances from finding an outlet in the work of a legislator and political leader, found an equally fruitful field in the activities of a teacher—one might say, of a preacher.

The central idea of Lieber's political thought is his unfaltering opposition to arbitrary government, whether in the hands of an absolute monarch or an irresponsible democracy. In the principles of what he called Anglican Liberty he found the perfection of political wisdom. The fundamental principles of the Common Law, the institutions and prohibitions guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, the postulates underlying the Declaration of Independence seemed to him not particular means by which certain political ends had been achieved under particular circumstances of time and place, but rather the necessary conditions without which good government was im-

possible. Without trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, the prohibition of general warrants, and all the devices evolved during the struggle between Parliament and the Stuarts, no people could be free—and liberty was to him the ultimate purpose of all governmental institutions. These necessary conditions could be maintained by one kind of government only, the representative. Whether this should take the form of a constitutional monarchy or a republic was a matter of expediency, but the representative rule was indispensable. If he hated absolutism like that of the Prussia of his youth, he hated no less a popular government without the intervention of representatives, and would have recoiled with horror from the ultra-democratic measures that are now heralded so widely as the summit of political wisdom. "I am the sworn enemy of all absolutism," he wrote in a letter to Charles Sumner on December 24, 1864, "and I trust my friends will remember of me this one thing, that I am the one who first spoke of democratic absolutism." Again and again he recurs to this central theme of his thought: That there can be no liberty, nor any guarantee of good government, unless those to whom governmental functions are entrusted are made responsible to the governed in some definite, tangible manner. (See especially *Political Ethics,* Vol. 1, page 322 *et sequ.)* To the maintenance of this proposition he brings the whole wealth of his juridical and historical knowledge, and all the powers of his reasoning skill. This staunch advocacy of the representative principle is one of the features of Lieber's work that keep him still a living force in the political thought of today, and a valuable ally of all who do not believe in the wisdom of destroying our traditional form of government in favor of an unrestrained democracy, merely in order to bring about, a few years earlier, reforms in the economic and social field, which the irresistible current of development must bring about under any circumstances.

Dr. Lieber's arguments in behalf of representative government still retain their force, although some of his views regarding the nature of the State and its relations to the indi-

vidual are beginning to have a strange sound to the present generation. Like the European Liberals of all shades in his day, and in accordance with the all but unanimous opinion of Americans until a very recent time, he attributed to the State a very narrow sphere of legitimate action. The State—which he does not always distinguish clearly from the government—is to keep the peace, to see that no citizen's rights are invaded. Beyond that it must not go, but leave every other activity to private initiative. To guarantee to each individual the widest freedom of action compatible with the equal freedom of others, and nothing more, is the essential object of good government. Within this sphere, nobody upholds more strongly the duty of submission to authority; but when government steps beyond those limits, Lieber arises as the ardent champion of individual independence. "All law is inconvenient in some cases," he says, in discussing the maxim that 'my house is my castle,' "but how august * * * * appears the law that errs on the side of individual liberty, against the public power and the united weight of government." *(Civil Liberty,* page 112.) If he was a thorough-going individualist in politics, it is not surprising that in economics he accepted almost without a critical scruple the whole doctrine of the feeble successors of Adam Smith and Ricardo. He accepts the maxim of *"laissez faire"* in its most extreme form, and free trade is a fundamental principle—almost an ethical dogma. It is characteristic of the one-sided attitude which Lieber shared with so many brilliant minds of his period that he believed "catallactics" to be the best name yet proposed for political economy, as if exchanges were the beginning and end of economic life. *(Political Ethics,* Vol. 1, page 148.)

In these extravagances Francis Lieber was the son of his time, neither rising above nor falling below the common opinion of his contemporaries. Where he develops his doctrine of responsible government through representatives, although he builds on the foundations of Locke, Montesquieu and the Federalist on one side, the English and American lawyers on the other, he presents many an original thought, many a new

aspect of the matter, and at all times places the traditional teachings in an unusually clear and convincing light. Nevertheless, it is not as an original and profound thinker that Lieber will live in the history of political science. His chief glory lies in the nobility of his ethical teaching, and on this account one must hope that the day will not soon come when our young men who aspire to be leaders in public affairs cease to read the *Political Ethics.* Here again, we must not look for profound originality. We of today will hardly be satisfied with the foundations from which Lieber derives the obligations of the citizen. They are substantially the commonplaces of the law of nature school—many of them dating back to Aristotle, more to the popularizations of Cicero, and all of them perfectly familiar to the long line of authors from Grotius and Pufendorf to the latest writer of judicial opinions in America. Here, more than anywhere else in his writings, it is clear that in Lieber the scholar and philosopher was at all times subordinate to the preacher who above everything strives to make a practical application of his wisdom and his learning. Dealing with one phase of public life after the other, he sets up with crystal clearness the ideal of conduct for the citizen, an ideal that is always noble, and yet adapted to the actual exigencies of political life. Never for a moment does he consent to a lowering of his standard, there is no truckling to expediency, no quibbling or compromising in order to lessen for easy-going citizens the arduousness of public duty. At the same time our author does not forget that he has to do with human beings and not with paragons of all the virtues. Rigorous and austere his morality may be, but nobody could honestly say that it is impossible for ordinary human beings to follow. These precepts Lieber illustrates and elucidates with hundreds of examples drawn from history, from literature, from the events of the day as chronicled in the newspapers, from his personal experiences, in so lively a manner that the reader quite forgets the abstruse character of the subject. His works are eminently readable, and that, no doubt, is one of the reasons for the influence they continue to exert.

What we have said about Lieber's work up to this time might have been characteristic of him just as well if he had been a native American of English extraction. There are, however, elements in his work and influence that were dependent directly on his German birth and the training he received in German schools and universities. When he began to teach American college classes, the curriculum of our higher schools was exceedingly narrow. It consisted of the traditional Latin and Greek and mathematics—and even of these considerably less than was required at a German gymnasium. In addition, there was usually, for the senior class, a subject called mental and moral philosophy, a farrago of logic, psychology of the kind in vogue in the English-speaking countries at that time, and a dogmatic form of ethics with a strong leaning towards theology. Modern languages and literature, as well as the natural sciences, were considered elegant accomplishments rather than parts of a well-rounded education; while to most people it would have seemed scarcely more than a clever paradox to speak of history as a serious subject for college teaching. It is due to Lieber, more than to any other single man, that history has become an integral part of the instruction received by the modern American college student. Not only did he argue, by voice and pen, for the importance of historical knowledge as a part of the mental outfit of an educated man; he himself set the example of successful teaching of history. In his day, so far as history was taught at all in school or college, it consisted mostly of mechanical memorizing of names and dates—a dreary succession of battles and royal demises, having no apparent rational connection and no possible relation to the actual life of the present. In the hands of this German, the fortunate youth who came under his influence, either in the little South Carolina college or later in the wider field of Columbia University, found history to be the record of events, ideas and sentiments that lay in the past indeed, but the living consequences of which were still felt in the institutions, the beliefs, the tasks and the dangers of the very moment in which teacher and student themselves were living. Moreover, he made them

see how history was not an isolated group of facts, forming a subject of abstruse learning all by itself, but how neither law nor politics could be rightly comprehended without constant reference to the events of the past, not only in one's own country, but in all the countries of the world. If Lieber had done nothing else for the American people than to teach them the importance of founding the understanding of public affairs on careful historical study, he would have been deserving of a civic crown from his adopted country. His teaching of history appeared so novel and unusual that many spoke of it with an admiration mingled with astonishment. He seems to have been the first in this country to introduce some of the simplest devices, without which no teacher would nowadays dream of entering his class room. His constant use of maps, and his synchronizing the events of a period by means of graphic representations created wonderment. Yet he laid no claim to originality in these methods. He simply imitated the way in which he himself had been taught at his German school. Thus one may say that in this field he was successful precisely because he was a German and had been educated according to the German manner. For, paradoxical as it may sound after what has just been stated, Lieber had no natural aptitude for historical thinking.

In his own special field of juridical and political science, the great battle between the historical and the philosophical schools was at its height at the very time when Lieber began his career of teaching in America. Its echo had hardly yet penetrated to this side of the Atlantic, and in England the prestige of Bentham, Austin and related thinkers, who were as unhistorical as possible, was unshaken. Lieber kept in touch with what went on among scholars in Europe so assiduously that he must have been well acquainted with the doctrines and methods of Savigny and his followers. Yet hardly a trace of this is found in his writings. This may be explained in part by his pronounced liberal views, for the historical school was in those days considered a main prop of the conservative or even reactionary attitude toward public affairs; but Lieber was

too open-minded and broad a scholar to permit a difference in political point of view to blind him entirely to the excellencies of a scientific method. It is more probable that his mind was better adapted to the manner of reasoning peculiar to those who in legal philosophy uphold some form of the "law of nature" theory. The historical or genetic method of explaining a legal or political institution is akin to the empirical method in the natural sciences. It begins with the facts as they are found in the historical record, as the natural sciences begin with the facts learned by observation and experiment, and thence proceeds by induction to general truths. The philosophical school proceeded in the opposite direction. It started from some general statement, assumed to be self-evident like the axioms in geometry, and went on by a series of careful analyses to the specific facts in the case. Throughout the writings of Lieber it is obvious that this is his way of thinking. Usually he begins with some general assertion regarding which you must agree with him or it is useless to follow his argument. The abundance of his historical knowledge is used merely to illustrate the results of his analytical reasoning, or at most as a test to make sure that his deductions have been correct. To his mind, if to any man's, history appeared as "philosophy teaching by examples," to use Bolingbroke's characteristic phrase. It is significant that Lieber rejected with scorn, almost one might say with disgust, the evolutionary theories of Darwin. For the doctrine of gradual development of species out of pre-existing forms is nothing more than the historical method applied to biology.

There were other things, in addition to his introducing of history as an important cultural element, in which Lieber was able to influence American life precisely because he was a German. He must be classed as one of the most important pioneers of the university idea, and there is a certain pathos in the fact that he did not live to see the abundant crop which sprang from his planting within a few years after his death. When he taught college classes, the college professor was universally looked upon simply as a superior kind of school

master. His business was to teach what was already known; hardly anybody thought of him as having the further function of adding to the received stock of knowledge. Few realized that in order to be even a good teacher he must keep himself constantly acquainted with the unending progress of the subject he is to teach. Lieber began early with his attempts to start American colleges on the road of developing into something analogous to a German university, and the whole power of his reputation and prestige was used to help the professors rise above the level of simple school masters to that of productive scholars. Thus when the trustees of Columbia had passed a rule requiring of the teaching staff an amount of class room work that would have exhausted the energies of most of them, he wrote an impressive and indignant protest that accomplished at least a partial success. The idea that a college professor is more than a human pipe-line to convey into the heads of undergraduates a certain amount of predetermined information has fairly well disappeared since the time of Lieber. Yet there are rumors that even now there is frequent shaking of heads, among boards of trustees, at the small amount of class room work professors do for their salaries.

To teach young men at college, and to write books that became classics almost as soon as they appeared, was by no means enough to occupy the marvelous energies of this gifted man. Throughout his American career he kept up an active correspondence with numerous men prominent in professional, literary and public affairs, both in this country and in Europe. We have seen how he had been fortunate enough to attract the notice and gain the good will of a number of important men while he was still in Germany. Foremost of these was Niebuhr, the historian. At Boston, his first American home, he soon was on friendly terms with a number of leading spirits, especially with Charles Sumner, then a young lawyer just beginning to attract attention, and George S. Hillard, the politician and writer. We have also seen how the editorship of the *Encyclopaedia Americana* naturally brought him into con-

tact with a large number of the best minds of the country, and with not a few of these acquaintance ripened into friendship. Later, when his reputation was established, he had, of course, no difficulty in meeting almost everybody worth knowing. The intellectual isolation which he felt very keenly during his long residence in South Carolina probably spurred him to cultivate the art of correspondence, and the result must have been altogether delightful to the recipients of his letters. For even in the cold and impersonal form of correspondence published after his death, they afford most fascinating reading. One would not be surprised if he heard it said that of all Lieber's works his letters were the most interesting. They cover every sort of subject that will lie near to the heart of a cultivated man whose chief interest is in public affairs. Often they are in response to some request for an opinion on questions regarding which his correspondent had an important voice, notably so in the case of the letters to Sumner. Unfortunately, the excessive vanity of the abolitionist senator caused an interruption in the intercourse of the two men which lasted a number of years, and during this time Mr. Sumner had the lack of generosity to charge Lieber with having become lukewarm in his opposition to slavery, apparently on no better ground than that he did not undermine his position in South Carolina by parading his views. Few things in his career seem to have hurt him so much as this blow from the hand of a friend.

The list of Professor Lieber's correspondents is, one might almost say, awe-inspiring. To mention but a few of them: Joseph Bonaparte (then living in exile at Bordentown, N. J.), Henry Clay, W. H. Prescott, Rufus Choate, Julia Ward Howe, Fanny Appleton, Dr. S. G. Howe, George Ticknor, Wade Hampton, Samuel Tyler, Judge Story, Judge Thayer, Gen. Halleck, Andrew D. White, Abraham Garfield, Hamilton Fish; and of Europeans, Mittermaier, Bluntschli, Holtzendorff, Laveleye. Certainly a man who corresponded on friendly terms with men like these regarding matters of public concern must have exercised a vast influence even if he had published

nothing and had not sent many successive classes of students into the world, imbued with his ideas and favorably inclined towards his point of view regarding public affairs.

In addition to his large works on Civil Liberty and Political Ethics, and the small but meaty treatise on Legal Hermeneutics, Lieber was the author of numerous fugitive papers, articles, lectures and addresses, dealing with all manner of subjects from the proper treatment of criminals to the education of deaf-mutes. In this way, his voice was heard by the public on a good many questions of the day, but no doubt his craving for active participation in public life found such journalistic work but a poor substitute for real participation in the affairs of the government. Yet strange to say, when during his residence in New York he could have found entrance into political life, he refused to do so. It appears that once he was elected a delegate to the state convention, but allowed an alternate to take his seat, while he discussed political principles with Andrew D. White. However, during the last period of his life he had the satisfaction of finding his services required by the government in various capacities. Thus he acted as umpire for the settlement of claims growing out of the war with Mexico. And during the Civil War he was engaged to draw up the celebrated "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," which as "General Orders No. 100" is still in force.

More people probably know Francis Lieber as the author of this code than have ever heard his name in connection with his other works. The little book, which in its latest edition has only 45 duodecimo pages, has grown into one of the classics of the literature of international law. It has become the basis of similar codes in several foreign countries and profoundly influenced the theory and practice of the subject throughout the civilized world. The rules laid down therein were not, of course, the original inventions of Dr. Lieber. They were practically all of them presumed to have been in force for many years as principles of civilized warfare; but before they were arranged, clarified and stated in lucid order by the logical

mind of the Columbia professor, their precise meaning was often lost sight of in the confusion of mere traditional knowledge. What makes this code so valuable is that the author combined with the most sincere devotion to humanitarian ideals a vivid sense of the realities of warfare. He did not forget that the end of war is peace, and that this end is best achieved by doing the greatest possible injury to the enemy. Nothing is more cruel than a war protracted to unnecessary length because the combatants are unable or unwilling to strike hard. Therefore this code authorizes the harshest measures if they seem calculated to bring the end nearer, while it condemns in unmistakable terms every act of mere brutality, cruelty, treachery or individual greed.

This great code was not the only service Lieber rendered to the Union during the dark days of the Civil War. We need not speak again of the tragic dismemberment of his family—with one son wounded in the Union army, and another dying in the Confederate service; but we must mention the pamphlets he contributed to the issues of the Loyal Publication Society which did so much to keep alive the patriotism of the North. One of these pamphlets was in German *(Einheit und Freiheit,* No. 19, June, 1863), and addressed, of course, to his German-American fellow citizens.

This was one of the comparatively few instances in which Lieber took an active interest in the German-American life of the United States. Another conspicuous case is the delivery of an address at the unveiling of the Humboldt monument in New York, on September 14, 1869. Some Germans, during his life and since his death, have blamed him for standing apart from German activities in this country. The criticism does not seem to me well founded. Nobody who knows the deep emotional interest with which Lieber followed the German struggle for unity, an interest that often finds pathetic expression in his letters, can doubt that his love for the Fatherland and its people never grew less than it was on the day when, a mere boy, he shed his blood for it during the campaign of Waterloo. But in this country, both in Boston and South Carolina, he dwelt

far away from the centers of German-American life. When finally he removed to New York, he was already well advanced in years, with a wide circle of friends of whom few were in touch with the German element. He could hardly feel much inclination to add largely to this circle; and moreover, he was overwhelmed with multifarious labors. It is not to be wondered at, under such circumstances, that he left to others participation in specifically German-American activities.

There is one more phase of Lieber's work which must not be left without mention. During the later years of his life, as has already been suggested, he became recognized widely as an authority in international law. His interest in this subject led to extensive correspondence especially with Bluntschli and Laveleye, and finally to the founding of the Institute of International Law, which is still flourishing and by its congresses and publications has exerted a large influence on the recent development of this science. His reputation in this field also made him a particularly valuable spokesman of the German-Americans and others, who during the Franco-German war protested indignantly against the policy of the Grant administration in selling arms to the French under the thin disguise of dealing with private firms.

One will not easily find the equal of Francis Lieber's rich and many-sided life among the eminent men of this or other countries. But his activities were not of the sort that attract the attention of the multitudes engaged in their own affairs. It is not apparent that Lieber ever regretted the lack of noisy fame such as attends the popular orator and the man conspicuous in election campaigns or in elective bodies. It is true, however, that neither during his life nor after his death to the present time did he ever attain the popular recognition bestowed upon much smaller men, and especially the only German-American worthy to have his name coupled with his own—Carl Schurz. The statesman's monument stands on the terrace not far from the noble institution of learning to which the publicist gave the years of his ripest manhood. Would it not

be a fitting thing for Americans, and especially those of German blood, to place beside the statue of Schurz the statue of Francis Lieber?

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

An exhaustive bibliography of Lieber's numerous and widely scattered writings does not seem to be in existence. A large collection of his manuscripts is in the possession of Johns-Hopkins University, and by no means everything worth publishing has been printed. A fairly complete list of his published works is appended to the collection of his miscellaneous writings. It will not be attempted in this place to supplement or repeat this list, but it may seem expedient to mention the most accessible works. Many of the smaller publications are now out of print; but not a few of them are found published in the:

Miscellaneous Writings; Reminiscences, Addresses and Essays. Edited by Daniel C. Gilman, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1881.

Other easily accessible works are:

Legal and Political Hermeneutics; or Principles of Interpretation and Construction in Law and Politics. Appeared first in the American Jurist for 1839; repeatedly republished, last edition by Little Brown & Co., Boston.

Manual of Political Ethics, designed chiefly for the use of Colleges and Students at Law. First edition 1838; second edition, with notes by Theodore D. Woolsey, 1874; third edition, with preface by President Butler of Columbia University, 1911. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

On Civil Liberty and Self-Government. First edition 1853; 2nd edition, enlarged and corrected, 1859; 3rd edition, prepared by Theodore D. Woolsey, 1874; 4th edition, with introduction by D. C. Gilman, 1901, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field. Originally issued as General Orders No. 100 by the Adjutant General's Office, and frequently re-issued

as a public document. Government Printing Office, Washington.

The life of Lieber was written in German by F. W. Holls under the title:

Franz Lieber, Sein Leben und seine Werke. E. Steiger & Co., New York. Now out of print.

A selection from his letters, together with an account of his life is found in:

Perry, Thomas Sergeant. *The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber.* James R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1882.

Many of the briefer writings have been translated into German (some also into other languages, such as French and Spanish); conversely, many of his German writings were subsequently published in English versions, prepared either by himself or others. Articles dealing with Lieber and his works are scattered in considerable numbers through the legal and political science periodicals, both of this country and Europe.

Aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Bewegung.

Zwei vergessene Reden zur Feier des „Deutschen Tages".

Von Karl Schurz und Franz Sigel.

Vorbemerkung.

Nur wenigen Lesern des Jahrbuchs dürfte es bekannt sein, daß unter den Männern, die in der Frühzeit der deutschen Bewegung in Amerika für die Feier des „Deutschen Tages" eintraten und durch ihre Reden zur Weckung des geschichtlichen Bewußtseins und des Einheitsgefühles unter den Deutsch-Amerikanern beitrugen, auch Karl Schurz und Franz Sigel waren. Die beiden Reden, die ich durch ihren Abbdruck an dieser Stelle der Vergessenheit entreißen möchte, wurden im Jahre 1891 gehalten, d. h. zu einer Zeit, wo sich die Feier des „Deutschen Tages" erst allmählich über das Land hin die Bahn brach. Das Verdienst die erste Feier des Tages in New York veranstaltet zu haben, gebührt dem „Deutschen Historischen Verein", einer Gesellschaft zur Förderung des Studiums deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichte, die ich im Jahre 1890 in Gemeinschaft mit einer Anzahl hervorragender Deutschen in New York ins Leben rief. Zu den Begründern des Vereins gehörten Männer wie Dr. Friedrich Hoffmann, F. W. Holls, Dr. Hans Kudlich, Ernst Lemcke, Paul Lichtenstein, Gustav Pollak, Gustav H. Schwab und Franz Sigel. Die Vorträge, die der Verein veranstaltete und die ich damals in dem von mir herausgegebenen „Belletristischen Journal" veröffentlichte, würden, falls sie in einen Band vereinigt wären, noch heute Zeugnis ablegen von dem frischen geistigen Leben und der deutschen Gesinnung, die den Verein beseelte. Und schon damals schwebte mir der Gedanke vor, in allen größeren Städten der Vereinigten Staaten ähnliche Vereine zu schaffen, die unter einander Fühlung haben sollten, um auf diese Weise dem Geistesleben des gesammten amerikanischen Deutschtums einen gemeinsamen Inhalt und gemeinsame Strebensziele zu geben.

Die Feier des „Deutschen Tages", bei der Karl Schurz die nachstehende Festrede hielt, fand am Sonntag, 4. Oktober 1891 in Carnegie Hall statt. Das „Belletristische Journal" vom 7. October brachte darüber folgenden Bericht:

„Hätte der „Deutsche historische Verein" während der kurzen Zeit seines Bestehens weiter auch nichts geleistet, als daß er die Feier des „Deutschen Tages" in New York anregte und mit der bereitwilligen Hülfe unserer großen Gesangvereine verwirklichte, dann dürfte er mit seinem Wirken wohl zufrieden sein. Denn aller scheinbaren Gleichgiltigkeit des Publikums zum Trotz war die Feier von einem Erfolge begleitet, der den Veranstaltern des Festes sowohl wie dem Deutschtum unserer Stadt zur hohen Ehre gereicht.

„In der prächtigen neuen Musikhalle hatte sich am vergangenen Sonntag Nachmittag ein ebenso gewähltes wie zahlreiches Publikum eingefunden, um der Wiedergabe des würdigen, eindrucksvollen Programmes mit steigendem Enthusiasmus zu lauschen. Die ausgezeichnete Rede des Herrn Carl Schurz darf wohl als Glanzpunkt der erhebenden Feier bezeichnet werden. Von ähnlicher Bedeutung war die englische Ansprache des Herrn Parke Godwin, der als Vertreter des gebildeten Amerikanertums in feurigen Worten Zeugnis davon ablegte, was seine engeren Landsleute und mit ihnen das ganze Land der deutschen Einwanderung und ihrem Geiste schuldet. Beide Redner wurden von dem Festpräsidenten, Herrn W. Steinway mit passenden Worten eingeführt, wobei dieser noch besonders darauf hinwies, daß gerade 101 Jahre nach der Landung der ersten deutschen Einwanderer in Pennsylvanien die Deutsche Gesellschaft von New York unter der Präsidentschaft von General Steuben ins Leben trat.

„Nicht weniger eindrucksvoll wie der Redeakt war der musikalische Teil der Feier, den die Gesangvereine „Liederkranz", „Arion" und „Beethoven Männerchor" unter ihren ausgezeichneten Dirigenten H. Zöllner, Johannes Werschinger und A. Mees mit liebenswürdiger Zuvorkommenheit und großer Hingebung übernommen hatten. Die einzelnen Chöre, „Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre" und „Die Muttersprache", (Solo gesungen von Herrn F. Remmertz) wurden mit Begeisterung

und tadelloser Ausführung wiedergegeben. Besonderer Erwähnung aber bedarf noch die gedankentiefe und formschöne Festcomposition „Preis der deutschen Musik" von H. Zöllner, welche die herrliche Feier zum Abschluß brachte."

Die Rede von Karl Schurz wird den Häuptlingen des wiedererwachten Knownothingtums von heute, den giftigen Hetzern und Deuschenhassern vom Schlage Roosevelts und Wilsons, wenig Freude machen. Auch werden Renegaten wie O. G. Villard (Hilgard), der Herausgeber der New Yorker „Evening Post", in Zukunft umsonst den Schatten von Karl Schurz beschwören, um in dessen Schutze ihre deutschen Mitbürger als Landesverräter zu denunzieren, weil diese sich weigerten, einer absichtlich irregeleiteten öffentlichen Meinung zu folgen und dem Lande ihrer Väter und Mütter zu fluchen. Die Rede widerlegt nicht nur die kürzlich so oft gehörte Behauptung, Schurz habe sein Deutschtum beiseite geworfen und sei zum bindestrichlosen, d. h. charakter- und überzeugungslosen „Amerikaner" nach dem Herzen jener Demagogen geworden, sondern sie gibt geradezu glänzendes Zeugnis ab für sein deutsch-amerikanisches Selbstgefühl, seine Liebe zur deutschen Sprache und Kultur und seinen Stolz auf die geschichtlichen Leistungen seiner deutsch-amerikanischen Stammesgenossen, deren amerikanischer Patriotismus sich nach ihm nicht am wenigsten darin zeigte, daß sie „eine besonders starke Stütze waren für jede große Idee und für die nationale Ehre und ein besonders starker Widerstand gegen jeden gefährlichen Wahn der Zeit." Der gefährlichste Wahn unserer heutigen Zeit aber ist jener hysterische Patriotismus, der sich als neuen Amerikanismus gibt, im Grunde aber nur eine schlecht verkappte Parteinahme für England und den Munitionsschacher bedeutet. Wer den glänzenden Kampf kennt, den Schurz gegen den ehrlosen Waffenhandel der amerikanischen Regierung zur Zeit des deutsch-französischen Krieges führte, der weiß, wie er sich gegen den neuen Amerikanismus von heute stellen würde.

Auch aus der Rede von Franz Sigel klingt der Stolz auf sein Deutschamerikanertum und die Freude über die geschichtlichen Leistungen seiner Landsleute, die dieses Land zu unserem Lande und sein Interesse zu unserem Interesse gemacht haben.

Auch er mahnt seine Volksgenossen festzuhalten an ihrem eigenen Wesen und ihrer deutschen Kultur, dabei aber nie zu vergessen, daß sie „amerikanische Bürger sind, d. h. in rein politischer Beziehung nichts anderes sein können und sein müssen als Amerikaner."

Bedenken wir, daß Franz Sigel sowohl wie Karl Schurz als politische Flüchtlinge und Märtyrer des deutschen Einheitsgedankens, die das Vaterland in unverzeihlicher Verblendung von sich gestoßen hatte, nach Amerika kamen, dann müssen wir ihr mannhaftes Eintreten für die Erhaltung deutscher Kultur und deutschen Volkstums in diesem Lande ihnen um so höher anschlagen. Bedenken wir dann ferner, daß beide Männer mit nahezu 200,000 ihrer Volksgenossen ihre Dankbarkeit und patriotische Hingabe an die neue Heimat auf den Schlachtfeldern des Bürgerkrieges bezeugten, dann dürfen wir uns, dem Thersites von Oyster Bay und allen Deutschenhassern zum Trotz, in aller Zukunft mit Stolz als Deutsch-Amerikaner bekennen.

Julius Goebel.

* * *

I.

Festrede zum Deutschen Tag in New York,

gehalten am 4. Oktober 1891 in Carnegie Hall.

Von Karl Schurz.

Landsleute und Freunde! Diese Feier ist dem Andenken an jenen Oktobertag des Jahres 1683 geweiht, welcher unserem neuen Vaterlande in dem Schiffe „Concord" die erste deutsche Ansiedlung brachte, und in weiterem Sinne der Ehre des deutschen Namens in Amerika überhaupt. Leider kann ich von dem großen Thema hier nur wenige Punkte berühren, und auch diese wenigen nur flüchtig.

Was immer für üble Eigenschaften man dem deutschen Nationalcharakter zuschreiben mag, — ein übermäßiges, gespreiztes Selbstgefühl gehört dazu nicht. Viel eher dürfte man sagen, daß

der Deutsche es oft an dem berechtigten Selbstgefühl hat fehlen lassen. Ja, selbst die Frage, ob es dem deutschgeborenen Bürger dieser Republik wohl gezieme, an seinen Ursprung zu denken, und sich unter Anderem an die Verdienste seiner Stammesgenossen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart rühmend zu erinnern, wird zumeist in der deutschen Zunge zweifelnd oder gar verneinend beantwortet. Bescheidenheit ist eine Tugend, aber man soll sie nicht übertreiben. Der Mensch gilt oft der Welt nur das, was er sich selbst gilt. Der Irländer in Amerika feiert sich selbst an seinem St. Patrickstag; der Engländer an seinem St. George's-Feste; der Schotte an seinem St. Andrew's-Feste; der Holländer an seinem St. Nicholas-Fest; und keiner dieser Bestandtheile des großen amerikanischen Volkes stellt bei solcher Gelegenheit das Licht seiner Verdienste um die Welt im Allgemeinen und um dieses Land im Besonderen unter einen Scheffel. Ich tadle sie darum nicht; sie können es tun, unbeschadet ihres amerikanischen Bürgergeistes und ihrer Bürgerpflicht.

Warum nicht auch wir? Einen Schutzpatron wie St. Patrick, St. George, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas haben wir allerdings nicht, denn der deutsche Michel gilt nicht mehr. *Aber doch dürfen wir uns rühmen, dem herrlichen Volk entsprungen zu sein, das in jahrhundertelanger Zerrissenheit und Erniedrigung dennoch ein Riese blieb, und dessen Siegesdenkmäler in der Geschichte der Welt auf den größten Schlachtfeldern der Waffen wie des Gedankens stehen.* Wir dürfen in hohen Ehren halten das Andenken jener frommen und mutigen Brüder dieses Volkes, die vor mehr als zweihundert Jahren sich dem auf dem alten Vaterlande lastenden Druck entzogen, in der Wildnis der neuen Welt Gewissensfreiheit und ein menschenwürdiges Dasein suchten und mit rüstigem Schaffen und mannhaftem, freiheitsliebenden Bürgersinn die Grundsteine neuer, großer Gemeinwesen legen halfen. Wir dürfen uns freuen jener Nachkommenschaft, die Franz Daniel Pastorius, der biedere Führer jenes ersten Häufleins deutscher Einwanderer, so prophetisch begrüßte, jener Hunderte und Tausende von Deutschen, die, aus allen deutschen

Gauen hervorströmend, jenem kleinen Häuflein im Laufe der Zeit nach dieser Küste gefolgt sind und an der Verwandlung der Wildnis in ein reichblühendes, mit wimmelnden Städten besätes Land und an dem Ausbau ärmlicher Ansiedlungen in der mächtigsten Republik der Welt tatkräftig mitgearbeitet haben. Und mit Stolz dürfen wir sagen, daß in dieser Republik die Deutschen und ihre Nachkommen jeglicher Zeit zu ihren treuesten und nützlichsten Bürgern zählten.

Können die Deutschen in Amerika von den Eingeborenen diese Anerkennung beanspruchen? Man blicke auf die Geschichte der deutschen Eingewanderten von dem Tage der Landung jener frommen Crefelder vor mehr als zweihundert Jahren bis auf diese Stunde. Was findet man? Ein ruhiges, ordnungsliebendes, gesittetes, heiteres Völkchen, emsig und ersprießlich wirkend auf allen Gebieten der menschlichen Tätigkeit, — als Ackerbauer, Handwerker, Kaufleute, Ingenieure, Lehrer, Geistliche, Aerzte, Rechtsgelehrte, Schriftsteller, Künstler. Rüstig sehen wir sie mitschaffen an der Entwicklung des nationalen Wohlstandes und der fortschreitenden Civilisation. Keine andere Klasse der Bevölkerung hat im Verhältnis zu ihrer Zahl und ihren Gelegenheiten dazu mehr solide, fruchtbare Arbeit beigetragen. In der Politik finden wir sie gleich den andern Bestandteilen des Volks die Fragen des öffentlichen Wohles ruhig bedenken und beraten und an allen Bewegungen teilnehmen, nicht in geschlossener Masse, sondern Jeder nach seinem Sinne, nicht alle weise, sondern wie bei allen Andern im demokratischen Gemeinwesen Weisheit und Irrtum mischend. Aber nicht selten ist es geschehen, daß man in den Deutschen eine besonders starke Stütze fand für eine große Idee und für die nationale Ehre und einen besonders starken Widerstand gegen einen gefährlichen Wahn der Zeit. Rief das neue Vaterland seine Söhne zu den Waffen, so strömten die Deutschen in hellen Haufen mit patriotischer Bereitwilligkeit unter die Fahne. Im Unabhängigkeitskampfe bildeten sie einen beträchtlichen Teil des Freiheitsheeres. Aus Deutschen rekrutirte Washington seine Leibgarde.

Mühlenberg begeisterte seine fromme Gemeinde, indem er, das Predigergewand abwerfend, sich ihr im Soldatenrock zeigte. Steuben schuf die regellosen Freiwilligenhaufen in wohlgeschulte Bataillone um. Herkheimer vergoß sein Blut bei Oriskany inmitten seiner tapferen Bauernschar und brachte, nach Washington's Zeugnis, „den ersten Umschwung in die traurige Führung des nördlichen Feldzugs". DeKalb starb einen rühmlichen Heldentod an der Spitze seiner Schar beim vierten Sturmangriff bei Camden. Im Kriege von 1812 und dem gegen Mexiko waren die Reihen voller Deutschen. Als im Jahre 1861 der südliche Aufstand das Leben der Republik bedrohte, war es der rasch entschlossene Patriotismus der Deutschen, der den Staat Missouri der Union rettete, und in den 22 nördlichen Staaten scharten sich mehr als 186,000 deutschgeborne Bürger, eine erstaunliche Proportion ihrer Gesamtzahl, um das Sternenbanner, um ihr neues Vaterland mit ihrem Leben zu beschützen. Es gibt kein amerikanisches Schlachtfeld, das nicht reichlich, überreichlich mit deutschem Blut getränkt ist. So hat der Deutsche dem neuen Vaterlande seine Treue bewahrt.

Doch ist dies nicht alles. Ich will hier nicht betonen, was häufig von einsichtsvollen Amerikanern hervorgehoben worden ist, daß die Gründlichkeit des deutschen Denkens und Forschens auf die Politik sowohl wie das wissenschaftliche Streben hier zu Lande in manchen Richtungen und in hohem Grade klärend und fördernd eingewirkt hat, *das mag nicht allgemein und gern zugestanden werden; für wahr halte ich es allerdings.* Aber unleugbar ist es, daß weit mehr als ein anderer Bestandteil unserer Bevölkerung die Deutschen unserm neuen Vaterlande den unschätzbaren Dienst geleistet haben, die Liebe und den Genuß der Kunst anzuregen und zu pflegen und der Hast und dem Ernst des amerikanischen Lebens das Licht und die Wärme eines harmlosen Frohsinns beizumischen. Daß jetzt in Dorf und Stadt über das Summen und Brausen des Geschäftstreibens hinaus das fröhliche Lied und die herzerhebende Harmonie erklingt, an denen Tausende und Millionen sich ergötzen, und daß die Rast von der Arbeit jetzt mehr und mehr in allen Klassen unseres Volkes von dem Sonnenschein eines heiteren Lebensgenusses durchleuchtet wird, das ist eine dem Volke erwiesene

Wohltat, die mehr als ein anderer Stamm der Deutsche gebracht hat. Nicht nur wir, sondern jetzt auch vielleicht eine Mehrzahl von denen, deren widerstrebendes Vorurteil erst überwunden werden mußte, freuen sich dieser Bekehrung zum Frohsinn.

Wir hören nicht selten die Klage, daß trotz der Verdienste, die sie sich um das Land erworben haben, die Deutschen in Amerika von den Eingeborenen nicht immer die Achtung genießen, die ihnen gebührt. Gestehen wir nun, um gerecht zu sein, Eines mit Bereitwilligkeit zu: der eingeborene Amerikaner ist, im Ganzen genommen, der Einwanderung mit außerordentlicher Liberalität begegnet. Es gibt wohl keine Nation in der Welt, welche eine so gewaltige Masse von außen einströmender Bevölkerungselemente mit solcher Freigebigkeit in der Gewährung bürgerlicher und politischer Rechte würde empfangen haben. Daß das Land dabei seine Rechnung gefunden hat, ist wahr, ändert aber an der Tatsache nichts. Ebenso wahr ist es, daß von Zeit zu Zeit den Eingeborenen vor der massenhaften Anhäufung der Einwanderung bange wird, und daß sich dann dagegen ein gewisses Widerstreben zeigt. Aber diese Erregungen sind nicht ohne Unterscheidung und bisher nur vorübergehend gewesen, und auch sie ändern die allgemeine Tatsache nicht. Ich bin's gewiß, Sie alle stimmen mit mir überein, wenn ich sage, daß wir einer gastlichen Großherzigkeit gegenüberstehen, welcher kein billig denkender Mann seine dankbare Anerkennung versagen wird.

In der Tat leidet ein großer Teil der eingewanderten Deutschen unter einem ernstlichen Nachteil und einer großen Zurücksetzung durch den Unterschied der Sprache. Das ist nicht ganz unnatürlich. Dem gewöhnlichen Menschen ist das leicht verdächtig, oder er achtet das nicht recht, was er nicht versteht. Es gibt nicht wenig Eingeborene, die da aufrichtig glauben, daß die eingewanderten Deutschen sich nur sehr langsam oder gar nicht in das amerikanische Wesen einleben, weil sie nicht mit Leichtigkeit und unverzüglich die deutsche Sprache mit dem Englischen vertauschen. Ja, eben jetzt hören wir sonst ganz vernünftige Leute mit selsamer Heftigkeit die Behauptung äußern, daß der kein guter amerikanischer Bürger sein könnte, dem das Englische nicht geläufig ist und der das Deutsche als Umgangssprache spricht. Ist das begründet?

Man wird mir persönlich, wie ich glaube, nicht vorwerfen können, daß ich dem Erlernen der englischen Sprache abhold sei, oder daß ich die Kenntnis des Englischen hier zu Lande nicht für wichtig halte. Ich habe im Gegenteil nicht allein selbst das Englische redlich zu lernen versucht, sondern auch während meines langen öffentlichen Lebens jede Gelegenheit benutzt, um meine Landsleute zum möglichst schnellen und gründlichen Erlernen des Englischen ernstlich zu ermahnen. Und was ich so oft getan, das wiederhole ich hier. Die englische Landessprache zu lernen ist dem Deutsch-Amerikaner eine Pflicht, durch deren Erfüllung er nicht allein seinem eigenen Interesse dienen, sondern auch seine Nützlichkeit für das Gemeinwesen bedeutend erhöhen wird.

Mit Bedauern gestehe ich die Tatsache zu, daß einer großen Zahl unserer Landsleute, die im vorgerückten Alter hier angekommen sind, und vielen, die ihr Brot mit harter Arbeit zu verdienen haben, die Erfüllung dieser Pflicht unmöglich ist. *Aber ich leugne entschieden, daß der Eingewanderte, der nicht die Sprache des Landes spricht, deshalb kein guter amerikanischer Bürger und Patriot sein könne.* Die Geschichte der deutschgeborenen Bevölkerung dieses Landes liefert den schlagenden Beweis des Gegenteils. Tausende der Deutschen, die auf den Schlachtfeldern der Republik ihr Blut einsetzten, — nicht Abenteurer, die im Dienst einer fremden Sache nur Sold und Beförderung suchten, sondern solide, angesehene Bürger und Bauern, die in heiligem Eifer für ihr neues Vaterland die Waffen ergriffen, — Tausende von diesen verstanden von der englischen Sprache wenig mehr als das Kommando, das sie in den Todeskampf führte. War darum ihre patriotische Begeisterung weniger opferwillig und ihr amerikanischer Bürgersinn weniger echt? Tausende von andern Deutschen, tüchtige, intelligente Leute, denen ihres Alters oder ungünstiger Umstände wegen die Erlernung der Landessprache unerreichbar war, haben sich aus deutschen Schriften und Reden die Kenntnisse unserer öffentlichen Angelegenheiten zu erwerben gewußt, deren sie zu einer verständigen und ersprießlichen Ausübung ihrer politischen Rechte und Pflichten bedurften. Waren sie darum weniger loyale, pflichttreue, der Republik ergebene Bürger?

Wie töricht sind nur jene, die in ihrem hysterischen Eifer gegen Alles, was ihnen fremdartig scheint, verlangen, daß es in diesem Lande keine deutsche Presse, keine Veröffentlichungen in einer anderen als der Landessprache mehr geben solle. Wird man die der Landessprache unkundigen Einwanderer zu wohlunterrichteten Bürgern erziehen, wenn man ihnen die einzige Schule schließt, in der sie lernen können? Wird man sie sehen machen, wenn man ihnen ihr einziges Licht auslöscht?

Ein solches Verlangen ist nicht Patriotismus mehr; es ist Blindheit gegen die wahren Interessen des Landes. Kein vernünftiger Amerikaner wird leugnen, daß die deutsche Presse für die deutschen Einwanderer, die nicht Englisch verstehen und es auch beim besten Willen nicht mehr lernen können, ein absolutes Bedürfnis ist. Und um die deutsche Presse lebensfähig und auf der Höhe ihres Berufs zu erhalten, ist die Pflege der deutschen Sprache ebenso notwendig.

Die ängstlichen Gemüter irren sich sehr, die da in der Erhaltung und Pflege der deutschen Sprache neben der englischen eine gefährliche Conspiration gegen amerikanische Ideen und Institutionen sehen. Ich glaube den Geist, der in der deutschredenden Bevölkerung dieses Landes lebt, gründlich zu kennen; und ich zaudere nicht, zu erklären, daß meiner aufrichtigen Überzeugung nach die Pflege der deutschen Sprache weder der Kenntnis amerikanischer Institutionen und Verhältnise, noch der Entwicklung eines gesunden amerikanischen Nationalgefühls unter der deutschen Bevölkerung im Wege steht. Im Gegenteil, sie dient dazu, um Beides zu fördern. Ebensowenig glaube ich, daß der Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache unter unsern Landsleuten das Erlernen des Englischen wesentlich und dauernd beeinträchtigt. Was die Zukunft betrifft, so kommt es ja hauptsächlich auf den Nachwuchs an; und sie alle wissen, daß es bei den Kindern deutscher Eltern hier zu Lande weit schwerer ist, die deutsche Sprache zu

erhalten, als ihnen die englische beizubringen. Die zweite Generation spricht das Deutsche gewöhnlich schon schlecht; die dritte gar nicht mehr. Ich weiß sehr wohl, daß sich in einem Teile von Pennsylvanien eine Abart von Deutsch als Umgangssprache mehrere Geschlechter hindurch erhalten hat. Aber das war vor der Zeit der Eisenbahnen, als große zusammensitzende Massen von Deutschen mit neueren Teilen der Bevölkerung wenig Berührung hatten. Und auch da wuchsen gute Bürger und treue amerikanische Patrioten. Auch weiß ich, daß noch jetzt hier und dort unter ähnlichen Umständen sich das Deutsche von den Eltern auf die Kinder fortpflanzt und das Englische nur sehr schwer Platz greift. Aber diese Fälle werden immer seltener und geringer. Gewiß ist, daß bei dem stets lebhafter und allgemeiner werdenden Verkehr zwischen allen Bestandteilen der Nation das Englische unter den Nachkommen deutscher Eltern mit immer wachsender Schnelligkeit das Deutsche als Umgangssprache verdrängt.

In der Tat wirft sich die Frage auf, ob es wünschenswert sei, daß die Nachkommen deutschgeborener Bürger in Amerika neben dem Englischen gar kein Deutsch mehr verstünden. Nicht als Deutscher, sondern vom amerikanischen Standpunkte aus, antworte ich entschieden: Nein. Es hat noch Niemandem, auch keinem Amerikaner, an seinem Charakter, noch an seiner geistigen Entwicklung, noch an seinen politischen Grundsätzen geschadet, Deutsch zu verstehen. Je mehr Sprachen ein Mensch liest und spricht, um so weiter werden seine Gesichtspunkte, und um so mehr ist er im Stande, den Gehalt seines Lebens zu bereichern. Es gibt jetzt eine große Menge von jungen Amerikanern und Amerikanerinnen, die Deutsch lernen. In den gebildeten Kreisen der amerikanischen Gesellschaft ist es zu einer Art Mode geworden. Warum? Weil es den Lernenden ungewöhnlich reiche Schätze der Literatur, der Wissenschaft, des Gedankens aufschließt. Während nun diese Tausende von Anglo-Amerikanern bestrebt sind, die Kenntnis des Deutschen sich mühsam zu gewinnen, würde es weise sein, wenn andere Tausende, denen die Erwerbung dieser Kenntnis durch die Gewohnheit des Vaterhauses

wesentlich erleichtert wird, dieselbe als unnütz oder gar unpatriotisch wegwerfen sollten?

Die Frage des Unterrichts im Deutschen neben dem Englischen in den öffentlichen Schulen ist vielfach und in verschiedenem Sinne erörtert worden. Meines Erachtens ist diese Frage nicht, ob das Erlernen des Deutschen neben dem Englischen nützlich und wünschenswert sei. Gewiß ist es das. Die Frage ist vielmehr, ob und wie das Deutsche in den öffentlichen Schulen so gelehrt werden kann, daß den Schülern wirklich eine ordentliche Kenntnis des deutschen Sprachunterrichts wird, ohne andere Unterrichtsgegenstände von erster Notwendigkeit zu verdrängen. Kann es das, so geschehe es ja, denn es wird der aufwachsenden Generation eine hohe Wohltat sein. Kann es das aber nicht, so sollte man auf einen bloßen nutzlosen Schein-Unterricht keine Zeit und Kraft verschwenden. Auf alle Fälle aber sorgen wir deutschgeborenen Amerikaner dafür, daß unsere Kinder, während sie das Englische als ihre Landessprache gründlich erlernen, das Deutsche nicht verlieren. Wir werden sie dadurch nicht zu schlechteren, wohl aber zu gebildeteren Amerikanern machen.

Wir würden dem wahren Sinn dieser Feier wenig gerecht werden, wollten wir uns nur in dem Glanze des alten Vaterlandes sonnen und der Tugenden und Verdienste unserer Vorgänger rühmen. Daß wir von diesen Vorgängern einen guten Namen geerbt haben, ist schön. Wichtiger aber ist es, daß wir unseren Nachkommen einen guten Namen hinterlassen. Wer Achtung vor der Welt mit Recht fordern will, muß sie sich selbst verdienen. An einem Erinnerungsfest wie diesem ziemt es sich uns doppelt, der gegenwärtigen Pflichten und Aufgaben uns klar bewußt zu sein.

Gewiß darf und soll uns das alte Vaterland teuer bleiben, wenn wir auch von ihm geschieden sind. Ich habe oft gesagt und wiederhole es gern: Wer die Mutter vergißt, der wird auch die junge Braut nicht wahrhaft lieben. Aber vergessen wir auch nie, daß dieser jüngeren Braut, der amerikanischen Republik, der wir als Bürger angetraut sind, un-

sere Pflicht und Treue gehört. Freilich kann mit vollem Rechte gesagt werden, daß die Deutsch-Amerikaner, während sie unter einer andern Regierungsform geboren und erzogen worden, nie daran gedacht haben, den Einfluß, den sie hier besitzen mögen, zu Gunsten fremder Interessen auszubeuten, die Institutionen dieses Landes in fremder Richtung umzumodeln, diese Republik in die Händel der alten Welt selbst zu Gunsten ihres Geburtslandes zu verwickeln, oder irgendwo den Frieden und die Rechtstellung des amerikanischen Volkes zu kompromittieren. In diesen Dingen haben sie stets zu den treuesten der Amerikaner gehört. Aber damit ist's nicht genug.

Die amerikanische Nation ist das große Sammelvolk des neuen Zeitalters, das in seinen Hauptbestandteilen nicht England allein zum Mutterland hat, sondern alle zivilisierten Länder der Welt. Hier ist der Angelsachse, der größte Kolonist aller Zeiten als erster Führer, und mit ihm das germanische Element in seinen verschiedenen Zweigungen, und der Celte, der Romane, der Slave. Aus dieser Mischung, friedlich vollzogen, muß sich die große Nation der Zukunft entwickeln, welche in der Freiheit der Selbstregierung ihr Glück und ihre Größe finden soll. Das gewaltige Experiment wird in dem Maße gelingen, wie jeder der verschiedenen Stämme das Lebensfähigste, das Beste, das ihm innewohnt, als seinen Beitrag zur Gesamtheit bietet, und das Beste, das von den andern geboten wird, in sich aufnimmt und sich zu eigen macht. Dies ist die Aufgabe, die, wie die anderen, so auch der Deutsche in Amerika zu erfüllen hat. Möge er sie ganz erfüllen.

Er wird sie nicht ganz erfüllen, wenn er sich hier jener Deutschtümelei hingibt, welche an allen Neigungen und Gewohnheiten des Heimatlandes, gleichviel ob sie gut oder nicht gut sind, eigensinnig festhält, und sich gegen Alles, was ihm nicht gewohnt ist, gleichviel wie gut es sein mag, engherzig verschließt. Wie viel Vortreffliches und Großes er auch in sich tragen mag, so unterscheidet sich der Deutsche doch nicht dadurch vor allen Anderen, daß

er der vollkommene Mensch ist. Wir haben viel, sehr viel Wertvolles, das wir nicht besaßen und das Andere brachten.

Vergessen wir also nie, daß wir hier nicht berufen sind, als Deutsche eine besondere Nationalität zu bilden, sondern das Tüchtigste, das in uns ist, zur amerikanischen Nationalität beizusteuern, und das Tüchtigste, das unsere Mit-Amerikaner vor uns voraus haben, an die Stelle unserer Schwächen zu setzen und mit unserem Wesen zu verschmelzen. Vergessen wir nie, daß wir im politischen Leben dieser Republik als Deutsche keine Sonderinteressen haben, sondern daß das allgemeine Wohl auch das Unsrige ist. Suchen wir gewissenhaft das zu erforschen, was das allgemeine Wohl verlangt, und handeln wir dann kühn und frei nach unserer ehrlichen Überzeugung, unbeirrt von kleinlichen Rücksichten, und unbeherrscht von einem selbstsüchtigen und tyrannischen Parteigeist. Widerstehen wir jeder Versuchung, in der Ausübung unserer politischen Rechte, das Wichtigste dem Minderwichtigen unterzuordnen, wenn dieses etwa eine unserer eigentümlichen Gewohnheiten oder Neigungen bereichert. Geben wir zum Beispiel, wie hoch wir auch die Sache der persönlichen Freiheit schätzen mögen, Niemand gerechte Ursache zu sagen, daß der Deutsche fähig sei, die höchsten öffentlichen Interessen hintanzusetzen, wenn es sich irgendwie um die Trinkfrage handelt. Lassen wir uns nie von jenem raisonniersüchtigen, unwürdigen, verderblichen, öden Pessimismus berücken, der jede Bestrebung zur Besserung unserer öffentlichen Zustände durch das Geschrei entmutigen will, es sei doch Alles Trug und Korruption, und nichts könne helfen; denn von allen faulen Tendenzen ist dieser Pessimismus die faulste. Halten wir fest an dem wohlbegründeten Glauben, daß dieses Volk einen unerschöpflichen Reichtum von reinen und edlen Elementen besitzt; daß unser freies Staatswesen für die Übel, die es gebiert, auch die Heilmittel liefert; daß, wie diese Republik mit glänzendem Beispiel beweist, bei einem Volke, welches im weitesten Sinne sich selbst regiert, manches Einzelne schlecht, und doch das Ganze gut gehen kann, und daß im Angesicht der Sorgen und Gefahren, welche die alte Welt quälen, das amerikanische Volk in diesem Lande des gesicherten Friedens und des Wohlseins alle Ursache hat, sich glücklich zu preisen. Bekräftigen wir diesen Glauben durch die Tat, indem wir stets unsere beste Energie dort einsetzen, wo es Gutes zu leisten und

Schlechtes zu bekämpfen gilt. So werden wir, unsere große Aufgabe erfüllend, der Achtung unserer Zeitgenossen sicher sein, und wir werden von unsern Nachkommen geehrt werden, wie wir in dieser Stunde unsere Vorgänger ehren.

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II.

Rede zur Feier des Deutschen Tages

in Fort Madison, Ia., am 6. Oktober 1891.

Von General F. Sigel.

Der Deutsche Tag, oder deutsch-amerikanische Tag, soll, wie ich mir vorstelle, ein Tag der Erinnerung, der Erkenntnis und des Ausdrucks der patriotischen Gesinnung des deutsch-amerikanischen Elementes sein. Er erinnert uns mit teilnehmendem Herzen an diejenigen unserer Landsleute, welche in den Zeiten der schweren Not und des Elendes, nach den Kämpfen, Schrecken und Verfolgungen des dreißigjährigen Krieges und während der darauffolgenden Kriege, von den Ufern des Rheines und der Donau, von der Pfalz und Schwaben und anderen Teilen des damals zerrütteten und verwüsteteten deutschen Reiches, das noch dazu von den Türken vom Osten her angegriffen war, nach verschiedenen Richtungen hin, besonders aber nach den englischen Kolonien Amerikas auswanderten, um in der „Neuen Welt" eine neue Existenz zu suchen, sich selbst und ihre Familien zu retten und ihre politischen Grundsätze oder ihren religiösen Glauben zu bewahren. Sie verließen ihre Heimat zuerst einzeln und in Gruppen, dann zu Hunderten und Tausenden, wie jene 20,000, die über Holland nach England hinüberwanderten oder richtiger gesagt flohen, und dort alle möglichen Drangsale zu erleiden hatten. Diejenigen von ihnen, welche sich zum katholischen Glauben bekannten, 3584 an der Zahl, wurden mit ihren Geistlichen wieder nach Holland und den Hansastädten zurückgeschickt, 1600 nach den rauhen Scilly-Inseln, 2000 nach den Bergwerken von Sunderland, von wo sie aber wieder, durch Not und brutale Behandlung gezwungen, nach Deutschland zurückkehrten; 4000 wurden nach Irland in das

County Limerick gebracht, siedelten sich dort an und waren unter dem Namen der Palatiner, d. h. Pfälzer, bekannt. Von den übrigen 20,000 wurden im Jahre 1710 ungefähr die Hälfte nach den englischen Kolonien in Amerika hinübergeschifft und bildeten dort, mit den von William Penn und den von den Schweden und Holländern geschaffenen Ansiedelungen, den Keim und die Grundlage des deutschen Lebens in Amerika.

Bald sah man überall an der atlantischen Küste — von Georgia, Süd- und Nordcarolina, um Rappahannock, Roanoke und Delaware bis zum Hudson, Schoharie und Mohawk — auf neuem Boden neues Leben; stetig erwuchs aus den isolierten und sporadischen Anfängen ein neues Geschlecht, denn überall wo sich der Deutsche niederließ, da ersproßen durch seine Kraft und Ausdauer, seinen unermüdlichen Fleiß, seine Genügsamkeit und Sparsamkeit, seine Treue und Ehrlichkeit, kleine und größere Gemeinden und Ortschaften, welche im Andenken an das alte Vaterland und die engere Heimat heute noch deutsche Namen tragen, wie Mannheim, Heidelberg, oder ihren deutschen Ursprung bezeichnen, wie Germantown, Friedrichsburg und New Bern.

Zwar waren die deutschen Einwanderer der damaligen Zeit — mit Ausnahme der Pennsylvanier, die unter dem Schutze und der Leitung ihres unvergeßlichen Wohltäters, William Penn, standen — noch in einer Art Hörigkeit oder Knechtschaft; aber sie haben selbst schon damals mutig für ihre Existenz und ihr deutsches Wesen gestritten, denn nur im Kampfe für das Recht und das Rechte konnten sie das erreichen, was sie in jener primitiven, rauhen Zeit des amerikanischen Lebens erreicht und geschaffen haben. Damals hieß es, wie heute noch:

> „Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
> „Der täglich sie erobern muß."

War einmal der Weg nach dem amerikanischen Kontinent gezeigt, so folgten die verschiedenen Nationen dem Beispiele nach. — Die Franzosen in Canada und dem Mississippi-Tal, soweit als New-Orleans im Süden und mit Fort Du Quesne, dem heutigen Pittsburg, nach dem Osten zu. Eine Folge dieser englisch-französischen Ansiedlungen und Ausbreitung war der englisch-französi-

sche Kolonialkrieg, so wohl bekannt durch Braddocks Niederlage auf seinem Marsch gegen jenes Fort Du Quesne, an welch' unglücklichem Feldzuge auch George Washington teilnahm, und durch den Sieg der englisch-amerikanischen Kolonisten auf den Höhen von Quebeck. Ob die deutschen Ansiedler an jenen Kämpfen teilnahmen, ist schwer zu sagen; aber als englische Kolonisten waren sie ohne Zweifel auch an den Feldzügen der Kolonial-Truppen beteiligt, denn sie bestanden hauptsächlich aus Milizen. Desto sicherer wissen wir, daß sie im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskriege in der Mehrzahl auf Seiten der „Rebellen" standen; es war ein Mühlenberg, der seinen christlichen Landsleuten das große Beispiel der „church militant" — des „Priester-Soldaten" — gab, ein Herkheimer, der bei Oriskany mit seinen achthundert Mann deutscher Milizen dem Vordringen Burgoynes Einhalt gebot und elf Tage nach der Schlacht an der dabei erhaltenen Wunde starb. Es war ein von Steuben, der die Rebellen einexerzierte und ein de Kalb, der, an elf Wunden blutend, in der Schlacht von Camden fiel. Was hessische Mietlinge in ihrer Blindheit verschuldeten, haben die deutschen Kolonisten und deutsche Offiziere reichlich aufgewogen.

Nach dem Revolutionskriege dauerte die Einwanderung nach Amerika zwar fort, allein sie war schwach und wurde durch das englische, irländische und schottische Element bei weitem überboten, und diese Mischung gab auch der amerikanischen Bevölkerung ihren vorherrschenden Charakter. Die Napoleonischen Kriege und die Freiheitskriege, mit dem aufflammenden Patriotismus des deutschen Volkes, absorbierten die waffenfähige Bevölkerung, während der darauf folgende Friede die dem Volke gegebenen Versprechungen und Hoffnungen seine Aufmerksamkeit, sein Interesse und seine Wirksamkeit für das eigene Land festhielten.

Aber die Täuschung kam, — mit ihr die politische Agitation, befördert durch die Juli-Revolution vom Jahre 1830 in Frankreich; — es folgte die erste großartige Volksversammlung — das „Hambacherfest" in der Pfalz, an dem 30,000 Männer aus fast allen westeuropäischen Ländern teilnahmen, besonders aber aus Deutschland, Frankreich und der Schweiz, und Repräsentanten der polnischen Exilierten, und wobei zum ersten Male in den Reden des Geschichtsschreibers Wirth und des Doktors Siebenpfeiffer die Idee einer deutschen volkstümlichen Nationalvertretung, ja sogar

die einer deutschen Republik und eines westeuropäischen Völkerbundes ausgesprochen und mit großem Enthusiasmus aufgenommen wurde. Die Bewegung breitete sich aus, — die Frage einer rechtmäßigen Vertretung des deutschen Volkes — die Einheit und Freiheit Deutschlands — einer deutschen, vom Volke direkt gewählten National-Versammlung statt der alten, morschen Bundes-Versammlung, wurde in ganz Deutschland diskutiert und in den gesetzgebenden Versammlungen der konstitutionellen Staaten zu förmlichen Forderungen erhoben, — ja, dieser Gedanke einer direkt aus dem Volke hervorgegangenen Nationalvertretung ergriff alle deutschen Gemüter, von einem Ende Deutschlands bis zum andern — die Deutsch-Österreicher eingeschlossen, — von diesem Gedanken war das deutsche Volk erfaßt, ehe noch die französische Revolution vom Februar 1848 ausgebrochen war; diese schuf ihn nicht, sie förderte ihn bloß und brachte ihn wie ein elektrischer Strom zum tatsächlichen Ausbruch — in Süd- und Norddeutschland, im Westen und Osten, am Rhein und der Donau, in Baden und der Pfalz, in allen kleineren deutschen Staaten, sowie in Preußen und Österreich, in Berlin und Wien. Es war ein großer Tag, jener Deutsche Tag der Volkserhebung im Namen der Einheit und Freiheit, es war der größte und schönste Tag des neueren Deutschlands, als zum ersten Mal ein deutsches, direkt vom Volke gewähltes Parlament in der Paulskirche von Frankfurt sich versammelte und nach gründlicher, aber langer, zu langer Arbeit — sie nahm fast ein Jahr in Anspruch — im April 1849 die Reichsverfassung verkündigte, die heute noch in ihren Grundzügen die Grundlage des neuen deutschen Reiches bildet.

Sie wissen wie die ganze Bewegung endigte. Geschwächt durch die Abtrünnigkeit fürstlicher Handlanger, verraten durch die Furchtsamen und im Stiche gelassen durch einen schwachen König, ging das Reich zu Grunde, ehe es faktisch existierte; das Parlament schrumpfte zu einem Rumpf-Parlament zusammen und seine letzte Versammlung von 100 Mitgliedern in Stuttgart wurde durch gutmütige, aber gehorsame schwäbische Kosaken an der Sitzung verhindert, trotzdem daß Ludwig Uhland, der große und mit Recht gefeierte schwäbische Dichter und Patriot, an der Spitze der nationalen Vertreter einherschritt und Eintritt in das Versammlungslokal verlangte. So endigte das Parlament.

Die monarchische Intervention und die Reaktion siegten überall und fanden ihren europäischen Abschluß mit dem Staatsstreich von Louis Napoleon — dem „Kleinen“ — wie Victor Hugo ihn nennt.

Schon die Furcht vor dem, was kommen könnte oder würde, jener politische Instinkt, der durch eine Masse von Einflüßen sich erzeugt, trieb 1847, ein Jahr vor der allgemeinen Erhebung, Tausende von Personen aus der Heimat in die Fremde; ihnen folgte die Avantgarde der Männer von 1848 und 49, der Beteiligten an dem Widerstande gegen die monarchische Verschwörung, aber sie verließen ihre Heimat nicht, ohne wenigstens vorher mit dem Schwert in der Hand ihre Sache zu verfechten. Von den gewaltigen Ereignissen, welche nicht allein Deutschland, sondern ganz Europa wie ein großes Erdbeben erschütterten, datiert sich der großartige Strom der neueren Massenauswanderung, welche sich über die Vereinigten Staaten ergoß, sie belebte und befruchtete. Es war die große Armee der Freiheit, welche die bereits errungene Position ihrer Landsleute in Amerika verstärkte und von nun an als ein starkes, junges und begeistertes Element in die Verhältnisse und in die Entwicklung des Landes eingriff.

Denn jene Hunderttausende kamen, nicht um bloß „ihr Leben zu machen“, sondern um in politischer, religiöser und sozialer Beziehung frei zu leben. Sie kamen, weil sie keine Herrschaft von 34 großen und kleinen Fürsten, keinen Militär- und Polizeistaat, sondern einen Volksstaat, Selbstregierung und Selbstbewaffnung wollten. Deshalb die Kämpfe, die sie zu bestehen hatten, denn sie fanden hier kein schwaches, sondern ein starkes, wohlorganisiertes und an seinem starren Wesen und seinen besonderen Sitten, Ansichten und Gewohnheiten festhaltendes Volk, das nicht leicht zu bekehren war und noch ist; außerdem waren die Deutschen mit geringen Ausnahmen der englischen Sprache nicht mächtig, daher auch ihre besondere Organisationen jeder Art, eine besondere deutsche Presse, deutsche Pfarrer, Schulmeister, Advokaten und zahlreiche deutsche Geschäftshäuser, Künstler und Arbeiter, wodurch sich mitten im amerikanischen Leben und Treiben ein besonderes deutsch-amerikanisches Element entwickelte, das von nun an als ein bedeutender politischer und sozialer Faktor in Rechnung ge-

bracht werden mußte und speziell im Namen der politischen Gleichberechtigung und persönlichen Freiheit in die Schranken trat.

Dann kam die Frage der Sklaverei, die Secessionsfrage und der Krieg. Während in Beziehung auf die Sklaverei die Deutschen im Allgemeinen und im Prinzip gegen die Sklaverei waren, hielt doch noch ein großer Teil von ihnen an den alten Staatsrechts-Doctrinen fest, anders aber war es hinsichtlich der Secession und des Krieges. Wie sie in Masse in dieses Land kamen, so traten sie auch in Masse für die amerikanische Republik, ihre Einheit und Unteilbarkeit ein. Sie waren gerade in der ersten Zeit der großen Krisis auch unter den ersten, die sich organisierten und bewaffneten und in den ersten Unternehmungen und Treffen ihre Treue und Anhänglichkeit für das Land ihrer Wahl bewiesen. So war es besonders in den Grenz-Staaten von Maryland bis Missouri. Unter den ersten Truppen waren auch 5 Compagnien von Pennsylvanien — im Ganzen 400 Mann — welche am 18. April 1861 durch Baltimore passierten, einen Tag vor dem sechsten Regiment von Massachusetts, abends in Washington eintrafen, und das Capitol besetzten; und von diesen waren wenigstens die Hälfte Deutsch-Pennsylvanier. In Baltimore empfing sie der Mob mit dem Geschrei „welcome to southern graves". In Washington aber, wo die größte Angst und Besorgnis herrschte, begrüßte sie das loyale Volk „als das erste willkommene Zeichen der Hoffnung und Zuversicht."

Jenes spontane und zeitige Einschreiten der unionistischen Organisationen hat der Rebellion gleich in ihrem ersten bewaffneten Vorschriften Einhalt geboten und wirkte zugleich als ein großes Beispiel des patriotischen Geistes, der zur Nachahmung aufforderte. Von den 2,500,000 wirklichen Streitern für die Union waren 500,000 im Auslande geboren, oder 20 Prozent und unter diesen 186,000 Deutsche, 144,000 Irländer, die anderen Skandinavier, Franzosen und Italiener, Schweizer, Polen u. s. w.

Die großen Tatsachen und Resultate des Krieges sind bekannt. Er endete mit dem Triumph der Einheit und Freiheit und wenn es eine große Genugtuung für die Deutsch-Amerikaner gibt, so ist es die, mit den Waffen in der Hand oder mit Wort und Schrift und mit ihrem moralischen und materiellen Einfluß zu diesem

Resultat ihr gutes Teil beigetragen zu haben. Sie haben zuerst die Wahl Lincoln's und dann den Sieg des Nordens über den Süden möglich gemacht. Sie waren die treuen Stützen der Anti-Sklaverei-Partei unter Fremont und Lincoln und blieben es bis zum letzten Moment des großen Kampfes. Das amerikanische Volk hat sich zu ungeheurer Macht entwickelt und im Verhältnis mit ihm das deutsch-amerikanische Element.

Wie wird sich die Zukunft des Landes gestalten? Wird sich die Geschichte Europa's hier wiederholen und jede einzelne der großen Nationalitäten ihr besonderes Nest auf amerikanischem Boden bauen? Oder werden sie im Kampfe erliegen und untergehen? Ich glaube nicht an eine solche Alternative. Ich glaube nicht an die Misere der Absonderung und Trennung.

Die Elemente der Einigung sind zu mächtig um eine Absonderung permanent zu machen; die Verbindung durch Eisenbahnen und Telegraphen zu leicht, die Geschäftsinteressen zu großartig, um die einzelnen Nationalitäten an bestimmte Regionen zu binden; *die Gesetze des Landes zu frei, um sie davon auszuschließen.* Das ganze Land ist das Feld der Arbeit für alle ohne Unterschied der Rasse oder Nationalität. *Es ist unser Land — sein Interesse unser Interesse.* Laßt uns an diesem Gedanken festhalten und während wir unser eigenes Wesen bewahren und die Idee der persönlichen Freiheit nach allen Richtungen hin verteidigen, in der Politik für unsere Rechte einstehen, zeitgemäße Reformen anstreben und Kunst und Wissenschaft pflanzen, laßt uns nicht vergessen, daß wir hier auf amerikanischem Boden stehen, daß wir der Republik Treue geschworen haben, daß Tausende unserer Landsleute für die Erhaltung, Einheit und Freiheit derselben ihr Blut vergossen haben und daß wir als *amerikanische Bürger*, d. h. *in rein politischer* Beziehung, nichts anderes sein können und sein müssen, als Amerikaner. Ist dies zu viel gesagt? Ist es ein bloßes Bagatell, ist es nichts ein Amerikaner zu sein?

Was sind die Vereinigten Staaten? Was ist die amerikanische Republik? Ein immenses Gebiet, fast über einen ganzen Continent sich ausbreitend, mit allen Gütern der Erde gesegnet, begrenzt und beschützt von den ewigen Wellen des Meeres; ein Volk von

Völkern, eine Nation von Nationen, mit hundert Zungen und einer einzigen universellen Sprache; eine Errungenschaft, die nirgends für ein so weites Gebiet existiert und die die Sprachelemente der gebildesten Völker in sich enthält, das Germanische und Romanische, welche mit dem Celtischen den Kern des gewaltigen Volkskörpers bilden und die gerade, weil sie so ist, allen geeignet war und geeignet ist, diese Elemente zu einem großen Ganzen zu verbinden.

Laßt uns diesen Vorteil einer gemeinsamen Landessprache, welche heute schon von über 120,000,000 Menschen gesprochen wird, nicht mit leichtem Sinn hinnehmen und betrachten, denn die Ausbreitung und Macht eines Volkes liegt zum großen Teil in der Ausbreitung dieses Instrumentes der Macht, des inneren und äußeren Handels und Verkehrs.

Was ist die amerikanische Republik? Die alte Welt verpflanzt auf neuen Boden, auf dem sie sich, mit den Errungenschaften von Jahrtausenden ausgerüstet, unter günstigeren Bedingungen entwickeln konnte; ein Asyl und die letzte Hoffnung der Geächteten und Verfolgten, die „Königin der Arbeit", der Sammelpunkt für die tausendfältigen Kräfte der Zivilisation und Kultur; ein Volk, das ein neues Evangelium in der Form der Unabhängigkeit-Erklärung verkündigte, wie es aus dem Gehirn des größten politischen Genies seiner Zeit entsprossen ist; ein Volk, dessen Dasein auf den festen Pfeilern einer großartigen Verfassung ruht, geläutert durch den Kampf und Sieg über die vererbte Macht des Sklavenhaltertums.

Laßt uns dies erkennen und festhalten an diesem unschätzbaren Gute. Laßt uns erkennen, daß in der Erhaltung des Ganzen, in der Macht und Größe, in der Entwicklung und dem Fortschritt der Republik unsere eigene Sicherheit und unser eigenes spezielles Interesse am besten bewahrt sind und laßt deshalb die eine, freie, unteilbare und unzerstörbare Republik unsere Zuversicht und unser höchstes Ziel sein.

KARL HEINZEN,
REFORMER, POET AND LITERARY CRITIC.

By Paul Otto Schinnerer, A. M.

Introduction.

The political movement of 1848, the various phases of the agitation preceding it, and the activity of the men who, like Karl Heinzen, advocated it with all the eloquence at their disposal, fought for it with all available means, and finally suffered lifelong exile for their endeavor, can only be properly understood and appreciated from an historical standpoint. We, who have profited by the political experience of the last half century, and can look back upon the unification of Germany in 1870, are likely to consider the whole movement the work of impractical idealists and of political fanatics. But even though this unification has been achieved by a great statesman on a monarchical basis instead of the democratic foundation so ardently desired and fought for, it would have been impossible, had not the path been smoothed by the agitations for liberal reforms. The final achievement is due not only to Bismarck, the statesman, but in a very great measure to the campaign for unification, for liberty and freedom, inaugurated by German patriots, thinkers and poets, after the national disaster of the battle of Jena in 1806.

As early as 1803 Ernst Moritz Arndt, in his pamphlet, "Germanien und Europa," had protested against the tendency to separate from the concrete problems of ordinary life the individualistic ideal of a free humanity, whose influence, however, he could no more escape than the others, and had demanded unity of state and of the people, "Einheit des Staates und des Volkes."[1] In 1806 he published his "Geist der Zeit," in which he condemned the existing state of culture as being too unworldly. He recalls the glorious past of Germany, and seeks to awaken a sense of shame at the present humiliation

[1] F. Meinecke, Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat, p. 99 ff.

and degradation. The poets are not in touch with the needs and aspirations of the people, but are engaged in the narrow pursuit of self-culture. All this must be swept away, and a new spirit, a consciousness of the needs of the nation, must take its place.

Two years later Fichte delivered his memorable "Reden an die deutsche Nation" at a great personal risk, for the troops of Napoleon were occupying the country and his spies were to be found everywhere. While Arndt had attempted the regeneration of the German people by historical criticism, Fichte made his appeal primarily to the moral consciousness and to the will. His remedy for the political unity and restoration of Germany lay in public education, as a means for inculcating a spirit of patriotism and an ardent desire for liberty. Largely to his endeavors must be ascribed the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810 as an outspoken means of making it the centre of a new patriotic spirit.

Nor must we overlook the contributions of the Romantic movement to the uprising of 1813. It is true that in the main its tendency was a turning away from the problems of this world, at least in the beginning; that these poets found their ideal in a spiritual, ultra-mundane sphere, and that they sought consolation for the disrupted state of present affairs in the greatly idealized age of the German past, and in the unity of the Catholic Church. But at the same time they fostered the spirit of nationality by rediscovering the lost treasures of the German nation. The revival of the folk-songs in "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, of the popular tales and legends in the "Kinder- und Hausmärchen", by the brothers Grimm, was not the least factor in awakening reminiscences of a past when there still existed a German nation, and hopes of a future when this nation was to rise again in ancient splendour.

The results of this agitation soon became apparent. Everywhere the national spirit was awakened, and men responded to the solemn call of duty. Under the leadership of Stein and Hardenberg the Prussian army was reorganized; recruits were

not wanting to take up arms for the holy cause of the Fatherland. Even the professors at the universities dismissed their classes in order to participate in the drills. The whole nation was aglow with enthusiasm, all the petty strifes and dissensions were forgotten in the great cause, and finally the King of Prussia, seized with the spirit of his people, issued his call to arms. In the poems of Arndt, Schenkendorf, and Körner, this craving for the political freedom and unity has been immortalized. With their fiery battle songs they not only stirred the soldiers, but everywhere the people could be heard singing them with joyous and youthful delight. It was like pouring oil on the fire when Theodor Körner, following the summons to arms, addressed the people.

"Frisch auf, mein Volk! Die Flammenzeichen rauchen,
Hell aus dem Norden bricht der Freiheit Licht!
Du sollst den Stahl in Feindes Herzen tauchen;
Frisch auf, mein Volk! Die Flammenzeichen rauchen,
Die Saat ist reif; ihr Schnitter, zögert nicht!
Das höchste Heil, das letzte, liegt im Schwerte!
Drück' dir den Speer ins treue Herz hinein:
Der Freiheit eine Gasse! — Wasch die Erde,
Dein deutsches Land, mit deinem Blute rein!"

But these patriots were to be sorely disappointed. Hardly had they succeeded in driving Napoleon from the country, when a fierce reaction against all liberal movements set in. The promises of the King of Prussia to give his people a constitution were shamefully broken. The very leaders of the patriotic movement who had freed Germany from its oppressors and reorganized Prussia, were accused of treason and locked up. There is hardly a period in German history as disgraceful as that of the Régime Metternich.

But although the "Demagogenhetze" was carried on relentlessly and mercilessly, the spirit of freedom could not be surpressed and the ideal lived on in men's minds. It now devolved upon the students of the Universities to perpetuate the ideals which the poets had inculcated and fostered, and which had brought about the enthusiastic uprising of 1813. Imbued with the noble and manful ideas of Fichte, the student organizations now began a process of inner reformation. Great-

ly stirred by the uplifting events of 1813, and moved by the greatness of the German nation in the past, with which they became acquainted in the classrooms, a deep devotion to the Fatherland gradually filled their hearts. The degenerating drinking bouts gave way to moderation and the "mens sana in corpore sano" once more became the ideal. Instead of the drinking songs, the patriotic and serious hymns of Arndt and others became the favorites. Moreover, the students themselves began military drill, and, better still, an attempt was made to break up the petty distinctions between the students of the different German states. The societies dominant thus far were the so-called "Landsmannschaften", organizations of students from one and the same state, and the rivalry and hostility between them was very great. A new organization consisting of students from the different states was to be formed. In June, 1815, the members of two Landsmannschaften in Jena, together with a number of "barbarians", actually organized a new association, the "Burschenschaft". Only a year later all other organizations had dissolved, and the Burschenschaft seemed to have achieved its object, namely, a confederation of the whole Christian-Germanic student body. At the suggestion of Turnvater Jahn, the black-red-gold banner of the volunteers of Lützow, which was to be the emblem of freedom for fifty years, was adopted as the emblem of the organization. Soon other universities followed the example of Jena and organized similar associations. In October, 1818, the representatives of fourteen Universities met in Jena, and there made it a national organization, under the name of "Die allgemeine Deutsche Burschenschaft," which was "organized on the relation of the German Youth to the future unity of the German Fatherland." The constitution stated as the object of the Burschenschaft: "Unity, freedom, equality between its members, and a development in a "Christian-Germanic spirit of all faculties for the service of the Fatherland." One despotic clause, however, called for the dissolution of all other societies, and every student was to be obliged to join.

Needless to state, the authorities began to view the situation with alarm. After the well-known Wartburgfest had

caused considerable discussion, the murder of Kotzebue by Karl Sand, which was not in the spirit of the association, but entirely the work of several radical members acting on their own initiative, gave the reactionary party such a fright that drastic measures were taken to stop all further agitation. In the famous Karlsbad decrees of 1819, all secret and unauthorized student societies were summarily prohibited, particularly that "association established some years since under the name of the 'Burschenschaft', since the very conception implies the utterly unallowable plan of permanent fellowship and constant communication between the various universities." Spies were placed in all universities to watch both students and professors, and a stringent censorship of the press was instituted.

What could not be done openly, was done in secret, and secret chapters of the Burschenschaft, more radical than the original society, came into existence, where the passion for a unified fatherland was kept burning. As late as 1835 Karl Gutzkow and Heinrich Laube were endangered because of their alleged membership in the Burschenschaft. But on the whole the reaction of Metternich was successful, and the champions of freedom had to content themselves with waiting for a better and more propitious time.

This time seemed to have come in the year 1840. On June 7th of that year, Frederick William IV ascended the throne left vacant by his father. Youthful, imaginative, of a romantic nature, he had long been the hope of the liberals. Already long before, a poet, C. K. J. Bunsen, had prophecied of this time:

> "Was tausend Jahr vergebens erstrebt das Vaterland,
> Wird rasch sich dann erheben von solches Bauherrn Hand."[3]

Another incident to awaken the national spirit and to raise it to a high pitch was France's attitude towards the Rhine. Having been unsuccessful in their oriental campaign, the French people wished to vindicate their honor by their insolent clamor for the possession of the Rhine. How much the Ger-

[3]Christian Petzet, Politische Lyrik, München 1902, p. 10.

mans resented this demand can be seen from the remarkable popularity of Nikolaus Becker, who had answered with his famous lines:

"Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,
Den freien deutschen Rhein."[3]

Among scores of similar songs, protesting against the insults of France, and expressing the indignation of the Germans thereat, I will mention only one more, which has since become the German national hymn, "Die Wacht am Rhein," by Max Schneckenburger:

"Es braust ein Ruf wie Donnerhall,
Wie Schwertgeklirr und Wogenprall:
Zum Rhein, zum Rhein, zum deutschen Rhein!
Wer will des Stromes Hüter sein?
Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein,
Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein!"[4]

In this same year the four hundreth anniversary of the German invention of the art of printing was celebrated. This certainly also served as an admonition for energetic action in endeavors for liberal progress and national unity, by bringing to general consciousness the spiritual leadership which Germany had enjoyed for a century, as well as the altogether unworthy and even disgraceful position which she occupied politically among the leading nations of Europe.

But although these several events occasioned the sudden outbreak of the national spirit in a great number of political lyrics, they themselves would not have been sufficient cause, had not the public spirit reached that stage of development which was necessary for the production as well as the proper understanding of these lyrics. That burning desire for freedom which was at first manifested by the great poets and thinkers of the eighteenth century, and which had then taken hold of the students after the Napoleonic Wars, was now to be transferred to the people. And whereas the speculations of the great eighteenth century poets had been almost wholly

[3]Petzet, Ibid., pp. 17 and 42.

[4]Petzet. Ibid., 9ff.

ideal and theoretical, and the conceptions of such men as Arndt and Schenkendorf vague and indefinite, the political lyric was now to prosecute definite, concrete aims.

Many and diverse incidents in the course of the following years served as a basis for the political lyric, which the poets used as a protest against the existing administration, to demand popular government and reforms, to inculcate greater love for the fatherland, and even to incite the people to rise in arms against the oppressors. Among these events were the various attempts of Frederick William IV to institute popular reforms, the completion of the Cologne Cathedral, as a manifestation of German patriotism, the great conflagration of Hamburg, which was felt as a national disaster, and for the victims of which money was collected in all parts of Germany. There was also the erection of a monument to the old Germanic hero Arminus in the Teutoburger Wald. These, with many other events, were all welcome material for the poetic muse.

A few characteristic selections must suffice here to sketch the range and the spirit of the political poetry. Thus the necessity for a union of the German principalities and of the German people is voiced by Hoffman von Fallersleben, from whose pen we also have the national hymn, "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles.":

"Deutschland erst in sich vereint!
Auf! wir wollen uns verbinden,
Und wir können jeden Feind
Treuverbunden überwinden."

"Deutschland erst in sich vereint!
Darnach strebet, darnach ringet!
Dasz der schöne Tag erscheint,
Der uns endlich Einheit bringet."[7]

He has learned that waiting is useless, that promises will not be kept, and that therefore action on the part of the people is the only remedy:

"Wie viel man auch verspricht,
O traut den Worten nicht!
Ein Wort ist Schall und Wind—
Seid doch nicht taub und blind."[7]

More extremely radical is George Herwegh, who proclaims openly and defiantly:

> "Wir haben lang genug geliebt,
> Wir wollen endlich hassen."[5]

Filled with a blind rage against all the oppressors, uncompromising to the core, he urges a violent breaking down of all the barriers to freedom, and in a tone that had not been heard since Körner's "Frisch auf, mein Volk, die Flammenzeichen rauchen," he issues his mighty call to arms:

> "Reiszt die Kreuze aus der Erden!
> Alle sollen Schwerter werden,
> Gott im Himmel wird's verzeihn.
> Laszt, o laszt das Verseschweiszen!
> Auf den Ambos legt das Eisen!
> Heiland sol das Eisen sein!"[6]

Robert Prutz summarizes the demands of the liberal opposition in a poem entitled "Was wir wollen." The fatherland shall be united, independent, from the Rhine to the shores of the Baltic; the princes shall have confidence in their people, and raise the pillars of their power only on the basis of right and justice; the people shall be brave and mighty, freeman like their forefathers; the laws shall be:

> "Kurz und rund,
> Die klar und deutlich sprechen,
> Und die auch keines Königs Mund
> Darf biegen oder brechen."

Only such ministers are desired :

> "Die dem Jahrhundert
> Weit offne Straszen bahnen."[7]

Further demands are free knowledge and science, liberty of the press, and a constitution. One of the most effective poems of these years is that of Ferdinand Freiligrath, comparing Germany with Hamlet:

[5]Petzet, Ibid., pp. 53, 81, 138.

[6]Petzt, Ibid., 138.

[7]Petzet, Ibid., 170.

"Deutschland ist Hamlet—ernst und stumm
In seinen Fluren jede Nacht
Geht die begrabene Freiheit um
Und winkt den Männern auf der Wacht.
Da steht die Hohe blankbewehrt,
Und sagt dem Zaud'rer, der noch zweifelt:
Sei mir ein Rächer, zieh dein Schwert!
Man hat mir Gift ins Ohr geträufelt."

Hamlet (or Germany) hears the spirit, and the awful truth begins to dawn upon him, but he is vacillating and undecided, he has not the courage to avenge the foul murder by a brave deed. When he finally takes up the sword in the last act, it is only to his own destruction. The poet warns Germany against the same fate:

Gottlob, noch sind wir nicht so weit!
Vier Akte sahn wir spielen erst!
Hab' Acht, Held! dasz die Ähnlichkeit
Nich auch im letzten du bewährst!
Wir hoffen früh, wir hoffen spät:
O, raff dich auf und komm zum Streiche.
Und hilf entschlossen, weil es geht,
Zu ihrem Recht des fleh'enden Leiche!"[8]

The fact that these poems were known and read everywhere, that these poets were among the most popular men of the time, is sufficient proof of the great influence they exerted in arousing the public spirit to action. They were the champions of an oppressed and downtrodden people which was clamoring for liberty. Year by year the movement grew, the demands became more insistent, and public opinion was aroused to a higher pitch. Newspapers and magazines took up the cry, publicists issued scores of pamphlets denouncing the existing regime. When this was impossible at home, they went across the boundary, as did Karl Heinzen, to Switzerland, and from there carried on the agitation with increasing vehemence. All other questions were eclipsed by this one; everybody felt that the time was not far distant when their hopes would be realized. When in February, 1848, the news arrived that France had once more shaken off the rule of monarchy and proclaimed the Second Republic, it was greeted with wild ap-

[8]Petzet, 195f.

plause, and Freiligrath, in London, celebrated the events with the well-known poem, "Im Hochland fiel der erste Schusz":

> "Was weiter wird:—noch harren wir!
> Doch wird's die Freiheit werden!
> Die Freiheit dort, die Freiheit hier,
> Die Freiheit jetzt, und für und für,
> Die Freiheit rings auf Erden.
> Im Hochland fiel der erste Schusz,
> Und die da nieder donnern musz,
> Die Lawine kam ins Rollen."[*]

Space does not permit us to go into details here about the memorable events of the next months, or the attempts of the Frankfort Parliament to bring about the ardently desired unification. Once more the patriotic hopes of the Germans were doomed to disappointment. By 1850 the old order had been restored, the old reaction set in again, and many of the leading men had to flee from Germany for safety because of their participation in the struggle for freedom.

It is remarkable what a complete change came over German life in the next year. The nation which had been a seething cauldron of political ideas and aspirations in the previous decade, for whom all questions had been merged in the one great desire for freedom, now relapsed into its former indifference. It seemed as if the great climax of 1848 had sucked every drop of energy from its body, as if it had been consumed by the great fire which had been raging within it. The political lyrics which had attained such an importance among the poetic productions of the time as to drive all other competitors from the field, now gradually disappeared, until they finally died a slow and natural death. The people, instead, sought consolation and diversion in a semi-romantic world of fiction and in sentimental lyric poetry, where they would not be reminded of their shameful defeat, and in which they could escape from the realities of this life.

We are now to consider a man who, in contrast to the class of people just mentioned, remained true to his ideals after the revolution, who did not abate a particle from his pre-

[*]Petzet, p. 204.

revolutionary attitude, who, although forced to emigrate to America, continued the struggle with the same zeal and ardour which he displayed in Germany.

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF HEINZEN'S LIFE.

Karl Peter Heinzen was born on February 22, 1809, at the village of Grevenbroich, in the vicinity of Cologne. His mother died when he was only four years old. His reminiscences of her were very vague, and perhaps for this very reason he surrounded her with a halo and idealized her. At any rate she seems to have been a very good mother to him, and in later years when his father and his teachers tried to curb and break his stuborn and independent spirit, he longed for the kind and sympathetic influence of his deceased mother. His physical strength, which he later displayed to the great disadvantage of his fellow-students, and the height of six feet and three inches, which he attained in mature life, he inherited from his paternal ancestors. With considerable pride he narrates some wonderful feats of strength of his grandfather, who on one occasion picked up an opponent who attacked him in the dark, and hurled him fifteen paces through the door of a nearby house. His greatgrandfather enjoyed the reputation of having been even stronger. His father had taken up the study of philosophy, jurisprudence, and forestry in Cologne and Bonn, and in 1795, under the regime of the French Republic, had received a position as "garde generale des camps et forets." He was at the time an ardent Republican, and his enthusiasm led him to criticize his former teachers severely for not daring to profess publicly the republican principles which they had inculcated in him. However, when he was made inspector of forests under the new Prussian rule in 1815, he also became worldly wise and adapted himself to the circumstances. This explains the fact that he never sought to influence his son Karl in the direction of Republicanism. Indeed, he was never able to understand the peculiar nature of his son, and therefore failed completely in the choice of the proper method of bringing him up, seeking

to accomplish by force and harshness what leniency and sympathy alone could have achieved.

After the death of his mother Karl was placed in the hands of his grandparents and the sister of his mother, who lived in the little village of Nievenheim. His relatives, like almost all the people in this village, belonged to the Catholic church. They were haunted by the prevalent superstitions of villagers, with which they played upon his youthful imagination. A little later he was placed in the local schools, where he also received religious instruction. He was even selected to assist the priest in the ceremonies of the mass and to carry the crucifix at the head of processions. At the age of nine he was sent to Wittlar, where his education was continued under the supervision of his paternal uncle, the "Domherr" Heinzen, who intended to prepare him for the priesthood, but soon relinquished the idea. This religious training was without doubt one of the factors that caused the antipathy and hostility which he showed in later life not only to the Catholic Church but also to every Church and every religion. The narrow life of his youth, with all its dead formalism and its many superstitions, was bound to produce a reaction in a clear-headed, logical person like Heinzen.

When his father moved to Cleve some time later and took his four children with him, Heinzen rejoiced, for now he came to live in a large city, and could also attend the local Gymnasium, where a larger circle of acquaintances could be found. But he fared no better here. Not only were there continual conflicts between him and his father, against whose harsh treatment he rebelled, but he also had many clashes with the teachers at the Gymnasium. The dry routine of the school, with its many regulations, was repulsive to him, and to give vent to his anger he resorted to pranks of all kinds, which almost drove his superiors to desperation. To put an end to the continual warfare, his father sent him to a private institution at Kempen, the Director of which was his college-mate and friend. But this was jumping from the frying-pan into the fire, for the school was a former monastery, many

of whose teachers were priests. It was a veritable prison, and every movement was controlled by stringent rules. Every morning the hundred inmates were obliged to attend church service at an early hour, not to speak of Sundays and holidays, and during the day they passed most of the time in the classes or in their rooms, with little opportunity to enjoy freedom in the open air. It is not surprising that under such circumstances a healthy, robust person like Heinzen sought relief by harassing and tormenting his teachers wherever possible. Finally his father was asked to remove the rebel from school, but upon the former's plea another trial was made. The Director now accorded Karl a more humane treatment, better adapted to his peculiar nature, and the results were satisfactory, so that he could leave the college with a fairly good testimonial. But when he re-entered the Gymnasium at Cleve, conditions had not changed there, and the old rebellious spirit broke out again, now finding expression in more refined means, in verses and satires on his teachers. In his whole conduct at this time he already manifests the future revolutionist, who, as he himself says, must be born; whom circumstances may be able to develop, but not create. In his autobiography he says: "From childhood on nothing was more odious to me, than to do something because others did so, or to recognize something because it had the sanction of tradition. My natural feeling rebelled against everything that I was to do without my own initiative, inclination, or conviction. On the other hand, I always expressed my opinions openly, and was more inclined to show a hostile, rather than a friendly attitude."[10]

Before even finishing the complete course at the Gymnasium, he went to the University of Bonn in 1827, and registered as a student of medicine. He was, however, more interested in the study of history and literature, and neglected his work. One day, when he was obliged to dissect a corpse before the class, he was so filled with horror that he gave up medicine in disgust, and devoted himself exclu-

[10]Gesammelte Werke, Vol. III, p. 33.

sively to philology. He did not at first take part in the customary drinking and duelling of the students, but many societies cast admiring and longing glances on his imposing figure. When on one occasion he had given Wienbarg, who was later to play an important role in "Young Germany," and who had smashed a wine-bottle on the head of a small opponent, a good thrashing, and thrown him out of the room, he yielded to the entreaties to join the "Westphalia," and became a member. He was soon recognized as one of the most formidable duellists on the floor, and many students received marks of distinction from his sword which they kept all their lives. But with the professors he was on no better terms than in his previous years, and they had to suffer many annoyances as the result of his dissatisfaction. His insolent demeanor and his sarcastic tone of speech against his superiors caused his dismissal in 1829.

Heinzen did not shed any tears on this account. On the contrary, he was more glad than sorry, for now he felt himself freed from all the oppressive limitations under which he had suffered and fumed his entire life. He had long felt an ardent longing for a wider sphere of action, for adventures, and for travel. But the lack of money, which thwarted many other plans of his in the future, was an insurmountable obstacle. He and an adventurous friend therefore decided to go to East India, with one of the regiments of Holland. In the fall of the same year they set out for Holland, and soon were enlisted as "Unteroffiziere" in an expedition for Batavia. But life here was almost unbearable. The strict discipline of a soldier's life, the hardships of the long voyage, and the monotonous, wearisome life in Batavia were too much for him. He applied for his release, and was fortunate enough to secure it. Sixteen months after his departure he again landed in Rotterdam, penniless as before. It is interesting to note that the July Revolution in France, of which, however, he did not hear until his return in 1831, did not affect him in the least. His political interest was not to be awakened until later.

He was, however, ashamed of his destitute condition, and too proud to go home as a prodigal son. On the other hand, he had not been permanently cured of his romantic desire for travel and adventure, and was considering the possibility of another voyage, possibly to America. In order not to become a deserter, he first entered the Prussian Army as "einjähriger Freiwilliger." During this time he became acquainted with Louise Moras, the daughter of a lawyer in Cleve, and the widow of the Rittmeister Schiller. She was a woman of remarkable ability, beautiful, cultured and kind. For a time they avoided each other, but when they became better acquainted and saw the similarity of their ideals and aspirations, their fate was sealed, and they decided to marry. All Heinzen's other plans were thus suddenly shattered, and he now was obliged to secure some means of livelihood, not only for himself, but also for the four children of his wife. What was he to do? He had no source of income; he had not even learned a trade. The only way out of the difficulty seemed to be to secure a position as tax-collector in the civil service of Prussia, but this proved not such an easy matter. After many disgusting experiences in the so-called examinations, he finally secured a position a year and a half later. During the next eight years he occupied this same position, living first in the city of Cleve, and afterwards in Gummersbach, Elberfeld and Cologne. In Cologne he advanced to the position of revenue-inspector, and later served in the capacity of "Kollationator" in the office of the Director of Revenues of his province. Before he left Cleve, when he was hardly twenty-six years old, his wife died. She had been a true comrade to him and the only consolation in his many trials. Deep as his grief was, he was not even granted a few days' leave from the monotonous work at which he was engaged. But the four children had to be fed and provided for, and for their sake he continued at his task, which at times was almost unbearable. His remuneration was two hundred and forty dollars per year, a small enough sum on which to rear a family, especially when he was obliged to spend whole days on his inspection tours and pay extra for board and lodging. But there were other causes

for dissatisfaction and opposition. The whole system, with the wholesale suppression of all individual effort, was repulsive to his independent and freedom-loving nature. He objected to being used as a mere machine, and wanted free play for his own inclinations. To put an end to this servility he finally severed his connections with the service after a "personal struggle of eight years with the bureaucracy." The political side of the question had not yet influenced him, or been a factor in his opposition. Although of a Republican disposition, he had not as yet reached that stage of clear understanding of the political aspect. His struggle was an entirely personal affair, without any general revolutionary tendencies. However, his service in the bureaucracy was a practical training school for his later opposition, and furnished him with the material for his epoch-making treatise: "The Prussian Bureaucracy."

After quitting the civil service, Heinzen attempted to make a living from the proceeds of his publications, but he soon saw that this was impossible, and accepted a more remunerative position as "Direktionssekretär" of the "Rheinische Eisenbahngesellschaft," and later to Secretary of the Fire Insurance Company at Aachen. But he was able to find time for writing nevertheless, and published a collection of his poems, several comedies, and a narrative of his voyage to Batavia, also his experience there. He also acted as correspondent for the "Leipziger Allgemeine" and the "Mannheimer Abendzeitung" and later for the "Rheinische Zeitung" in Cologne.

The above-mentioned book, "The Prussian Bureaucracy," was a landmark in Heinzen's career. Its hostile reception by the Prussian authorities, and the subsequent persecution of Heinzen, were the real causes which made him extend his personal struggle for freedom to a general political opposition and a revolutionary campaign of sweeping proportions. This book had been forbidden by the authorities a year before it actually made its appearance. Nevertheless Heinzen, as obstinate as ever, decided to publish it, and found a very ingenious method of circulating it. When he had announced the proposed plan and contents of the book, and had asked for

contributions for its publication, the whole police was instructed to keep an open eye on the same, and to confiscate any copies that might appear. But Heinzen had not made public the name of the publisher, and had secretly instructed him to arrange the distribution in such a way that the book would arrive in all the Prussian cities at approximately the same time. The booksellers were urged to dispose of them immediately. These instructions were all properly carried out, and thus the authorities were able to lay hands on only a few copies. The book created a great sensation, not only on account of the daring language, but also on account of the author's intimate and thorough knowledge of his subject. Later as high as ten to twelve dollars were paid for a single copy.

As soon as the book arrived in Cologne, proceedings were instituted against Heinzen on the grounds of "causing dissatisfaction with the government among its citizens." Heinzen at first intended to appear and answer the charge, if the case were heard by a proper court, but he got wind of another charge, made in secret, for lèse-majesté. Convinced now that he would not get an impartial hearing, he took the advice of friends and crossed the Belgian border in November, 1844, before the intended arrest could be made. A so-called "Steckbrief" was issued against Heinzen, but he immediately replied by another "Steckbrief," in which he gave his motives for his previous acts, and severely criticized the existing conditions with passionate eloquence. This, of course, only endangered his position all the more, but Heinzen was not the man to be influenced by considerations of his own personal safety, and from this time on he devoted all of his energies, at least as far as Germany was concerned, to the cause of the revolutionary propaganda.

In Brussels he awaited the decision of the court, and when he learned in March, 1845, that he had been convicted on the charge of treason, he did not feel safe even in this free state, fearing that Prussia would either request his extradition from the Belgian government, or attempt to secure his person through secret spies. He decided therefore to make his es-

cape while it was still possible. With Ferdinand Freiligrath, who had come to the same conclusion, he made the wearisome trip to Switzerland, which had been the destination of many refugees before him.

His family, which had been living with relatives in Heidelberg during his stay in Brussels, joined him, and they made Zürich their home. Heinzen now became the leader in a vigorous campaign for a revolution in Germany. Freiligrath, Ruge, Herwegh and Julius Fröbel were his most influential allies in this endeavor. Together they founded a quarterly publication, "The Opposition," of which Heinzen was the chief editor. He was the author, furthermore, of numerous "Flugschriften," pamphlets, which he always managed to smuggle into Germany despite the vigilant eyes of the police.

Regarding this period in his life, Heinzen tells us in his biography: "I never felt prouder in my life than this time, when I, as a single individual, could offer resistance to this mighty power, before which seventy millions trembled. I did not delude myself with the idea that I would be able to cause a revolution through the mere publication of revolutionary pamphlets; nor did I have any inkling of the fact that it was to follow so swiftly. But I had hopes that the servile Germans would eventually become rebellious through the reckless expression of my revolutionary opinions, and that my example could not but make followers. I wanted to carry the audacity of my language so far that there could be no other possibility but drastic action. A people will finally learn to desire and to do, what it has learned to think and to feel. At the same time I intended to incite the reactionary party to a blind rage, so that they themselves would call for resistance by force through their repressive measures. A revolutionary conspiracy, or the organization for a definite act, was out of the question. I only wanted to shape the thoughts and feelings by spiritual and psychological means, and to prepare them, so that they could utilize the proper opportunity for a general rising, the impulse to which is usually given by the reaction itself. An activity of this kind, continued for years, cannot re-

main without results, and I am still convinced that a single writer, who can reach an oppressed people from a place where his safety is insured, is able to cause the downfall of any reaction."[11]

"The Opposition," which was really published by Leske in Darmstadt, but which appeared nominally in Mannheim, was soon suppressed by the police. Instead, Heinzen issued anonymously in Zürich, a new paper, "Der Teutsche Tribun." But before long the style was recognized as that of Heinzen, and the Prussian government protested against it to the authorities at Zürich. The permit for his residence in Zürich was extended to a period of only six more months, with the condition that no more pamphlets be issued, no matter where published. But this condition was disregarded by Heinzen, and a great number of satires continued to be distributed in Germany. Now the conservative party in Zürich became alarmed, and most of the leading newspapers in Switzerland condemned Heinzen and his policy. When finally the Bavarian Government added its protest to that of Prussia, Heinzen was compelled to leave Zürich. His attempts to settle in Bern and other places failed, and so he decided in 1847 to emigrate to America.

Through the Duke of Braunschweig, who issued the "Deutsche Zeitung" in London, in which he reprinted most of Heinzen's bitter criticisms, Heinzen was also made acquainted with Wilhelm von Eichthal. The latter was editor of the "Schnellpost" in New York, and by reprinting many of the "Flugschriften," had interested the Germans in America in the support of revolutionary propaganda. When Heinzen's position became untenable in Switzerland, Wilhelm von Eichthal invited him to come to New York and assist him in editing the "Schnellpost." Thus Heinzen departed from Switzerland, and in January, 1848, he arrived in New York. Eichthal was, however, no more among the living when Heinzen arrived, but an enthusiastic reception had been prepared for him by the Germans in New York. As Heinzen was wholly without means, a friend had purchased the "Schnellpost" for him before

[11]Erlebtes, II, 108 ff.

his arrival. With Ivan Tissowski, the former revolutionary dictator of Krakau, as co-editor, Heinzen immediately set up an extremely radical program. His one aim and desire was a revolution in Germany, and to this he devoted all his energies. Whoever did not agree with his opinions was unmercifully criticized. Thus he soon became estranged from a number of influential German liberals in New York who were opposed to such drastic revolutionary methods. Heinzen knew no compromises, and considered all those his enemies who did not go to the extremes which he advocated. Ridicule and sarcasm were the weapons with which he fought for his project.

Heinzen did not limit himself to affairs in Germany, but also applied his extreme principles to American conditions, condemning in sweeping terms the policies of the various political parties. To counteract these evil tendencies he wanted to found a new radical party which was to carry out his high ideals, but he found few receptive ears for such an undertaking. He was told that he was still "too green" in the country to have a valid judgment in its affairs, and was simply ignored. Heinzen was not slow to take revenge for this failure by scathing articles in his paper on the stupidity of the Germans in America. Thus in a few weeks he had made a host of enemies and only a very few friends. Even with the socialists, who had welcomed him as their saviour, he had a disagreement, as well as with the laboring classes and the communists.

While in the midst of this agitation, the steamship Cambria suddenly brought the news on March 18th, 1848, of the flight of Louis Philippe and the establishment of a Provisional Government in France. The excitement in New York knew no bounds, and meetings were held everywhere in honor of the event. Heinzen writes: "I count this day the happiest which I have experienced in America. What excitement, what hopes, what a satisfaction for the faith in a great idea."[12] He wanted to return to Europe immediately, for he was confident that a

[12]Erlebtes, II, p. 196.

revolution in Germany would follow, but he had not even ten dollars. Upon issuing a proclamation in the "Schnellpost," calling for funds to support a similar revolution in Germany, he received a small sum of money, and when the "Cambria" returned on March 27th, Heinzen sailed with it.

Arriving in London a few weeks later, he found the same excitement there among the Germans. After a few days' stay with Freiligrath, he went to Geneva via Paris, where he found his family penniless as always, but taken care of by friends. He had expected to be elected a member of the Frankfort Parliament, but things had meanwhile come to such a pass that all hopes were lost for the Radicals. Hearing of the formation of a revolutionary army in Baden under the command of Hecker, he changed his plans and joined the latter. Having preached revolution for so long a time, he now felt it to be his duty to put his theories into practice, especially as the opportunity had presented itself. But Heinzen and Hecker could not agree, and when the attempted rising became an ignominious failure, they parted as bitter enemies.

Heinzen hereupon joined Struve and Karl Blind in Strassburg as a member of the "committee for the further propagation of the revolution," but this committee was dissolved by a commissioner of Lamartine, who did not hesitate to use force in order to effect the dissolution. Heinzen decided to return to Switzerland, and to carry on the agitation by means of his powerful pen, but his embittered tone of speech caused his expulsion from most of the cantons. Hoping to find security in his former place of refuge, Geneva, he went there, but the Confederate Council now requested his expulsion from the whole domain of Switzerland, and President Fazy was only too willing to execute this command. Nevertheless Heinzen managed to pass the winter in Geneva secretly, in the house of a friend, the scholar Galeer.

When the revolution broke out anew, however, in the Palatinate and in Baden, in the spring of 1849, Heinzen immediately departed for Karlsruhe to offer his assistance. But his participation was to be even more of a failure than in the pre-

vious year. Whereas he had only clashed with Hecker in the first year, he now came into conflict with almost all the leaders, with Brentano, Peter, Struve, Willich and Sigel. As a result he was condemned to remain in a state of sorrowful inactivity. Under the auspices of the publisher Hoff, he now established a "literary bureau," the object of which was to furnish leading articles for the different democratic papers. Embittered as he was, these articles were more of the nature of satirical criticism rather than an enthusiastic encouragement of the revolutionary movement. The rapid advance of the Prussians soon put an end to the whole affair, and Heinzen was again obliged to flee to Switzerland for protection.

With Struve and Mazzini he began to publish another revolutionary journal called "Der Völkerbund," but only one copy appeared. The authorities again became alarmed at the great number of refugees who were pouring into Switzerland from all sides, and requested a number of the leaders, among them Heinzen, to leave the country. Heinzen refused, on the grounds of having no money, and it was therefore decided to pay his expenses for transportation to America. But Heinzen still had hopes of another revolution and protested against being deported to America. His destination was therefore changed to England.

Arriving in London, Heinzen lost none of his enthusiasm for the revolution, and immediately looked for ways and means to continue his literary activity. But writing an article was easier than publishing it. The Duke of Braunschweig finally consented to print his pamphlet, "Die Lehren der Revolution." Its appearance caused a great scandal in London, and the London Times, which branded him as a revolutionary monstrosity, even went so far as to request his expulsion. Although he was personally unmolested, he found it continually more difficult to gain a livelihood. With the help of Mazzini he scraped together enough money to enable him to emigrate to America for the second time, accompanied by his second wife and his children.

During his absence Heinzen had sent frequent contributions to the "Schnellpost," and at first they were read with great interest. But when the sarcastic condemnations of Hecker appeared, the friends became gradually estranged from him. This was Heinzen's bitter experience when he arrived in New York for the second time in October, 1850. When, a little later, he announced a lecture on the Revolution and the causes for its failure, only thirty-two people made their appearance. That no money could be made by lectures was evident and as there was no opportunity at present to engage in journalistic work, he was soon obliged to seek employment in the workshop of a friend. In 1851, when the "Völkerbund" had to be abandoned after the first issue, he was offered the editorship of the "Schnellpost" by the owner, and he gladly accepted. He continued his former independent and radical policy in the paper. But now the German-American press, which had ignored him formerly, began to attack him and, as we can imagine, Heinzen was not slow in replying. The new Radical Party, of which he was to be the leader, was made the subject of many editorials. Although his hopes were not realized, he managed to start a Democratic Society among the newly immigrated Germans with the express object "to reform the United States and to revolutionize Europe." Besides the formation of an army for the next European war, Heinzen also had a remedy for American conditions in a comprehensive platform, from which the following sentences are quoted as illustrations of his advanced ideas:

"It is the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all those places which are under its exclusive jurisdiction. We are opposed to further slave states or slave territories. The building of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is not to be left to private individuals, but should be undertaken by Congress. We demand universal suffrage without distinction of race or color. We demand the election of all officials by the direct vote of the people. The recall of representatives shall be established by law. We consider it the duty of the legislature to limit the time of work to eight,

or at most, to ten hours a day for adults, and to five hours for children."[13]

It is not to be denied that Heinzen also made many demands in this platform which bore evidence of his unfamiliarity with American conditions. But on the whole it created a sensation, and even greater opposition, which, however, only incited Heinzen to more emphatic denunciations.

In September, 1851, Heinzen severed his connections with the "Schnellpost," and with the aid of friends, was able to establish the "New Yorker Deutsche Zeitung," which, however, was discontinued in December of the same year for financial reasons. The next venture was a weekly paper, the "Janus," which, after a year, suffered the same fate. During the summer of 1852 Heinzen made a tour through the United States, speaking on some radical themes in Philadelphia, Washington, Cincinnati, Dayton, Toledo, St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee. But at the end of the trip his treasury showed a deficit, and his health had also suffered considerably.

His next paper was the "Herold des Westens" in Louisville. It was destroyed by fire on December 3rd, 1853, three months after Heinzen had become its editor. In the same year the "Pioneer" came into existence, which appeared first in Louisville, then in Cincinnati, and then in New York. Since 1859 it appeared in Boston.

The "Pionier" was to be the crowning work of Heinzen's life. It was indeed a pioneer in the propagation of radicalism, and in it Heinzen expressed his ideas regarding the inalienable rights of man and of nations freely and unreservedly. Fearlessly and ceaselessly he devoted himself to the realization of his high ideals: free human beings, free nations, and above all, a free German Fatherland. In the "Pionier," he also expressed his opinions regarding German literature, one of the subjects of this essay. The "Pionier" continued to appear until December, 1879, when a paralytic stroke forced Heinzen to take leave of his readers. Finally, after a prolonged period of sickness, he died on November 12th, 1880,

[13]Deutscher Pionier, Vol. 13, p. 162 ff.

and was buried on November 15th. A great number of friends, men and women, were present at the ceremony to pay him a last tribute of honor. The "Turnverein" of Boston, and the "Orpheus" glee club rendered a few hymns, and S. R. Köhler, editor of the American Art Review, delivered an oration in German, while Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney delivered one in the English language.

Heinzen was without doubt one of the great men in German-American history. H. A. Rattermann gives him the following characterization: "He was a giant in mind and in body, and he prosecuted all of his endeavors with the most inflexible energy. For him there existed no authority, no limitations. Popular favor and friendship were alike disregarded in his activities; tolerance was unknown to him, when his own opinions came into consideration. Far removed from the possibility of corruption, he sat in judgment over the social and political conditions, and like Zeus he hurled his polemical thunderbolts against all friends or enemies. A despot, he maintained the infallibility of his own opinions; and woe to him who dared to gainsay him. There was a certain self-glorification in his manners, which he always showed. But in regard to his material welfare he sacrificed everything, even to privation, in order to satisfy his ambition. Nevertheless he was a character such as seldom appears in history, and a thinking person who is able to rise above the ordinary in this world, will always admire the greatness of Heinzen and appreciate his ceaseless striving."[14]

Among the English-speaking Americans Heinzen also had his admirers, although his activities were restricted almost exclusively to the German language. As an example of the high esteem in which he was held, I will quote the words of George Cheney, which are taken from a lecture which he delivered on Heinzen in Paine National Hall in Boston:

"Karl Heinzen sleeps the dreamless sleep of eternal rest. He lies today beneath the forest trees he loved. Shall I say he? Nay, he is not there. He, like one of old, has risen, not

[14]Deutscher Pionier, Vol. 13, p. 241.

in the flesh, nor that I know of in spiritual consciousness. I do not say he has not, because I know not all the secrets of life, much more of death. But he is not hidden within the tomb. Friends may plant flowers there, and water them with tears; a marble monument may mark the place of his rest; but when the flowers are all dead, when the trees have fallen beneath the axe or the hand of time, when the marble monument has crumbled back into dust, and the very place is blotted from the memory of man, Karl Heinzen will live on with an ever-widening influence in the thoughts and loves of men. It matters but little whether his name live or die: the work for truth and humanity he wrought shall endure while men exist. Things are not what they seem. The great of this age are not those who are feasted, and run after by the crowd, but the patient pioneers, who with giant blows are making a clearing in the forest of superstition, causing the wilderness to blossom as a rose, and for the sickening, deadly malaria of piety that saps the manhood of our age, bringing the health of self-reliance and the joy of self-respect. They are the men and women who, through the long night watches of the world's ignorance, keep brightly flaming the torch of thought, and so are constantly widening the skirts of light, and making the struggle with darkness narrower. When man comes to his own; when each child born into the world finds all the avenues of truth open to his exploring mind; when art gladdens every eye with its cheering ray; when right and justice between man and man are the only gods; when the State in its devotion to the happiness of all, is but the outward expression of the best instincts of humanity; when the heaven men strive to win is on earth, and the highest honor is to be a man;—then, but not before, will be learned the full life and lesson of Karl Heinzen."[15]

[15]Deutscher Pionier, Vol. 13, p. 241 ff.

CHAPTER II.

Heinzen's Poetry and Literary Activity.

Karl Heinzen's name will not live or die with his poetry. His greatness does not depend on single literary productions, but upon his mighty personality, his inflexible will, his high ideals of a free humanity, for which he fought with such admirable persistency. If he had no other claims for recognition and immortality except his poetry, he would long since have been forgotten. Nevertheless it will not be out of place here to devote a few pages to the consideration of his verse, as it will add to the more complete picture of the man, and reveal to us some of his ideals and aspirations. The desire to write poetry manifested itself very early in Heinzen, and already during his attendance at the Gymnasium in Cleve he was engaged in writing verses, mostly satires at the expense of his teachers. His literary studies at the University of Bonn increased his desire to achieve distinction as a poet. As early as 1827, when he was only eighteen years old, he issued his first manifesto, criticizing in no uncertain terms the shallowness and imitativeness in the poetry of his contemporaries, and setting up a program which he expected to adopt. The poem, "Ermahnung eines jungen Poeten," is modelled after the "Knittelverse" of Hans Sachs, and the iambic verse of Goethe's Faust. In it Heinzen complains of the lack of originality in the productions of his time. One regards Goethe as his master and is bent on approximating his manner as closely as possible:

> "Will Künstlerleben so recht göthiglich umfassen
> Und sich in seiner Sprach' und Styl
> So recht gemächlich göthisch gehen lassen."

Another seeks his ideal in bombastic verses and rhetorical flights, and thus hopes to have rivalled Schiller, but

> "Der Schiller stürmt zwar in den Versen,
> Doch in dem Versemacher nicht."

The third is striving to write in the form of Klopstock's odes:

"Sein Nachbar brummt Klopstockisch-odisch,
Dasz euch der Kopf wird antipodisch."

He summarizes the whole artificiality, with its empty phrases and dead verses:

"So plagt sich jeder was er kann,
Es ist ein Jammer anzusehen;
Nach Unnatur, nach Prunk strebt jedermann,
Wahrheit will keiner üben und verstehen.
Sie phantasieren höll'-und himmelwärts,
Und sind zufrieden, sind nur Worte gleich zur Hand,
Und redet ihr Verstand, so spricht er ohne Herz,
Und redet gar ihr Herz, verlier'n sie den Verstand.
Nicht überdacht, was sie gefühlt,
Und nicht gefühlt, was sie gedacht,
So ist's wie man mit Worten spielt,
So ist's wie man Gedichte macht."

Heinzen scorns to follow in the footsteps of the great masters, yet he feels that he is a child of his time, and that his powers of creation are limited. Therefore he decides to dedicate himself to satire, confident that where there is so little to praise he will find so much more to denounce:

"So steht's nun mit der jungen Poesie,
Der ich geweiht mein bürgerlich Genie.
Wie bring ich Licht und Rath darein?
Nachäffer will ich werden nie,
Und doch beherrschet mich die Zeit wie sie;
Zum Schaffen reicht nicht Phantasie,
Zu Oden nicht der Schwung allein,
Die Elegie macht mir und anderen Pein,
Und dennoch musz gedichtet sein.
Ich denke, die Satyre ist
Doch auch, um ein Genie zu adeln,
Und wo nichts mehr zu loben ist,
Da gibt es um so mehr zu tadeln.
Drum sei's! Die Elegie ist mir fatal,
Dem Wortgepräng' und Schwung will ich entsagen,
So werd' ich dieser Narrenwelt einmal
Recht frank und derb die Wehrheit sagen."[14]

Considering that this was written in the same year in which Heine's "Buch der Lieder" and "Reisebilder" appeared, we might almost regard Heinzen as one of the forerunners of Young Germany. Heinzen evidently felt that a new period was beginning to dawn in German literature, and he here ex-

[14]Gedichte, pp. 47-52.

presses the theory which Heine and "Young Germany" were to put to practical use later. The battle-cries of the new Storm and Stress period are here all clearly enunciated: the disgust at the slavish imitations of Goethe and Schiller, the craving for something new and original, the demand to speak openly and truthfully on all matters, the tendency to satire.

In another poem, entitled "Denken und Poesie," Heinzen expresses similar opinions. True poetry is not produced by cold calculation of the head, but it is the spontaneous expression of the soul. Only the artless, childlike soul is surrounded by the veil of poetry, a gift of heaven, and not a commodity to be bought:

"O kindliche Seele,
Unschuld'ger Natursinn,
Verschwund'nes Geschenk einer fernen Zeit!
Nur du kennst das Glück,
Vom Wissen, vom Denken
Vergebens gesucht.
Du kindliche Seele, von Genien bewacht,
Nur dich sucht das Glück,
Denn du suchst es noch nicht.
Von Träumen gewoben,
Umspinnt dich der rosige Flor,
Nur dir bringt die Dichtung
Den Himmel ins Herz,
Und ohne den Roszquell,
Bist du nur ihr Liebling."

What an ideal conception of poetry, what a eulogy of the simple, natural, unaffected poems of the great masters like Goethe and Mörike! But Heinzen does not find this spontaneity in his contemporaries:

"Ich höre, Dichter, in deinem Gedicht
Nicht singen deine Lust,
Nicht seufzen deinen Schmerz;
Sagen hör' ich dich nur zu mir,
Dasz du mir vorsingst deine Lust,
Und vorseufzest deinen Schmerz."

And he complains with great emotion:

"Ach, keine freie
Blume der Natur,
Musz selbst die Dichtung

Die Tochter werden
Der mühsam treibenden Kunst?"[17]

We see that Heinzen has clearly grasped and expressed the essential difference between genuine and counterfeit poetry, a distinction which will be valid for all time. Real poetry must be the expression of the personal experience, it must be the result of an inner impulse, and cannot be manufactured according to given rules.

Let us now consider to what extent Heinzen reached this ideal in his own poetry. During the next fifteen years he produced a great number of poems, the voyage to Batavia and his experiences there, the attachment to his bride, and the death of his wife, giving the occasion for most of them. Even during his service as tax-collector in the Prussian bureaucracy he occasionally found the inspiration to write, and in 1841 a collection of his poems was published in Cologne. His contemporaries evidently thought very highly of his achievements, and as eminent a critic as Wolfgang Menzel, the "literary pope" in Stuttgart, devoted two pages to a review of Heinzen's poems. He is very favorably impressed with them and considers them sufficient proof of his poetic talent. To quote his own words:

"So findet sich hier denn manches Gedicht, bei dem wir die Freude haben, zu fühlen, dasz es in schweren und leichten Stunden frei entstanden und nicht gemacht sei. Es weht darin ein Hauch des Lebens, bald ein rauher und kalter, bald aber auch ein zarter, von fremdartigen Düften trunkener Hauch, der uns überzeugt, der Dichter hat Wirkliches erlebt, er hat nicht blosz hinter seinem Fenster Phantasieblumen aufgekränkelt."[18]

As one of the most characteristic and beautiful poems of the whole collection, Menzel quotes fragments from "Die Musik," which remind him of Hölderlin's muse. As an illustration I will cite only the first eight lines:

[17] Gedichte, pp. 53-58.

[18] Literaturblatt, Feb. 7, 1842.

"Empfindung selt'ner Lust! Ich bin allein
Und fühle doch so freundlich mich erheitert,
Die Brust beklommen von der Sehnsucht Pein,
Sie fühlt sich doch so sorgenlos erweitert;
Ich bin in keinen Edentraum verzückt,
Und dennoch lös't das Wirkliche die Bande,
Ich bin, wie von der Liebe Lust beglückt,
Und doch so fern von dem geliebten Lande."

It is difficult to understand how Menzel was able to detect any similarity in lines like these to the beautiful and touching verses of Hölderlin. They appear to be more the product of the head than of the heart. There is an atmosphere of the study, of calculation, about them. More genuine feeling is expressed in the poems dedicated to his wife Luise, when her early death had moved him deeply:

"Nichts mehr zu haben
In dieser trüben, verödeten Welt,
Nichts mehr von deinem Sonnenherzen,
Nichts mehr von deiner Flammenliebe,
Nichts mehr von dem, was Luise hiesz."[10]

On the whole, his poems do not breathe that spirit of innermost experience which is so characteristic of true poetry. What could be more devoid of poetic qualities than the following comparisons:

"Du bist der Hauch, der durch die Zweige flüstert,
Du bist der Strahl, der durch die Schatten bricht,
Du bist die Nacht, die mein Asyl umdüstert,
Du bist der Funke von dem Morgenlicht.

Du bist die Ruh', die in den Wäldern schweiget,
Du bist der Geist, der in den Lüften weht,
Du bist der Duft, der aus den Blumen steiget,
Du bist die Blume selbst, die nie vergeht."[10]

And thus he continues with twenty more lines, all of the same pattern.

Heinzen himself recognized, however, that odes and elegies were above his powers and inclinations, and therefore he selected the satire and polemic form of poetry as more congenial to his nature. He is proud of being a born revolu-

[10]Gedichte, pp. 2 and 13.

tionist, in opposition to existing conditions, and an enemy of all compromises:

> "Was du liebst, für das muszt du dein Leben lassen,
> Was du hassest, muszt du gründlich, tötlich hassen.
> Weg die Spreu, die vor dem Wind der Laune stiebt,
> Nur der Halbe weisz nicht, ob er hasst ob liebt."

There is only one alternative, tyranny or freedom:

> "Freiheit fragt euch: wollt ihr mich verlassen?
> Tyrannei euch: wollt ihr mich nicht hassen?
> Eins der beiden müszt ihr wählen recht und schlicht,
> Einen Mittelweg, beim Teufel, gibt es nicht."[20]

The only way to secure this freedom is to fight for it. To beg for it is unworthy of a free man:

> "Wer da bettelt um Liebe, beweis't, dasz er keine verdient,
> Und um Freiheit und Recht bettelt nur, wer sie nicht kennt.
> Wer nicht den Muth hat zu fordern, der hat nicht das Recht zu erlangen;
> Kampf ist das Mittel des Rechts, Sieg ist der Freiheit Beginn:
> Hohn werd' allen zu Theil, die als Freund behandeln und Gönner
> Jeden Räuber des Rechts hinter dem Nimbus der Macht.
> Feind ist, Feind bis zum Tod, wer das Menschtum raubet dem Menchen,
> Unmensch ist er, Barbar: Nieder mit jedem Barbar."[21]

Heinzen was destined to have the bitter experience of knowing that he stood almost alone in the fight for the realization of his ideals. The great mass of the people, for whom he carried on his struggle, was not in sympathy with him. Like Ibsen in the "Enemy of the People," he has come to the conclusion that the real hindrance to the achievement of his ideals is not the small yet powerful ruling class of despots, but the great mass of conservative and narrow-minded subjects, who have not the courage and the desire to throw off the yoke which oppresses them. Like a true prophet he feels that only after his death will mankind come to realize the validity of his doctrines, that in the present life he must suffer the loneliness which is the fate of all great men:

[20]Gedichte, p. 139 ff.

[21]Gedichte, p. 147.

"Was And're freut, es ist für dich verloren,
Und was dein Ziel ist, will die Menge nicht,
Sie wird es wollen erst auf deinem Grabe.
So lebst du nur im Reiche des Gedankens,
Du wirst ein Fremdling stets im Leben sein,
Und deine Wirklichkeit folgt deinem Tode."

In his detestation of the mass he sometimes approaches Nietzsche by the forceful epithets applied to them:

"Und nur, wer es verachtet, wird mit Künsten
Es gängeln, das Alltagsgeschlecht der Menschen."

But he is determined to remain firm, to carry on the fight for truth and freedom. Above all he finds the greatest consolation in remaining true to himself, even if he should stand against all the world:

"Und wenn du Keinem auch gefällst, sich selbst
Stets treu sein, ist der höchste Ruhm des Mannes.
So stehst du nun gerüstet und getröstet;
Was kommen mag, dich wirft's nicht von der Bahn.
Nur eine Qual gibt's, die des Trost's entbehrt:
Es ist der Schmerz, dasz immer für die groszen
Gedanken sich zu klein zeigt dies Geschlecht.
Wo will'ger Sinn ist, mangelt der Verstand,
Und wo Verstand ist, fehlt der will'ge Sinn.
Verständnis, Adel, Grösze, Schönheit, Herz—
Nur dies, so denkst du, macht den Menschen, und
Doch ist's so selten in dem Schwarm der Menschen,
Dasz deiner Brust sich stets entringt der Ruf:
Wie wenig Menschen in der groszen Menschheit."[28]

In this powerful and sweeping denunciation Heinzen comes very near the condemnation hurled against the masses by Hölderlin and Nietzsche. Heinzen also resembles the latter in his hate of Christianity. He once said that Christianity was the religion of the flogged, the same thought that Nietzsche was to express a little later. This scorn and detestation for Christianity also becomes evident in some of his poems. Only a scoundrel and a Christian will make friends with those who hate him and molest him with their stupidity:

"Es ist keine Kunst,
Die Menschen zu lieben,
So lang ihre Gunst
Dir möglich geblieben.

[28] Gedichte, 117 ff.

Doch wenn dir nur Hasz
Und Dummheit begegnen,
So ist es kein Spasz,
Die auch noch zu segnen.

Das Weiseste ist,
Sie dann zu verlachen;
Nur ein Lump und ein Christ
Wird zu Freunden sie machen."[illegible]

Heinzen is also the author of a great number of epigrams, which are remarkable chiefly for their bitter sarcasm, and their merciless derision of his opponents. The philistine is again made the butt of his ridicule:

"Wo mit Sonnen und Sternen der Dichter sich leuchtet im Weltall,
Tappt mit dem Talglichtstumpf plump der Philister umher."[illegible]

More than once in his life Heinzen acted on the principle:

"Zu erfreuen seine Freunde
Ist die schönste Freud' im Leben,
Doch zu ärgern seine Feinde
Ist der gröszte Spasz daneben."[31]

The inconsistency between the poetry and the life of the poets calls forth his anger repeatedly:

Derweil im Vers ihr das Gemeine richtet,
Ist es Gemeinheit, was ihr tut und strebet.
Wenn ihr nicht sucht zu leben was ihr dichtet,
So sucht auch nur zu dichten, was ihr lebet."[illegible]

His ideal is the man who will put his theories to practice:

"Halbling ist und leicht zu wandeln,
Wer nur Verse machen kann,
Aber der Poet im Handeln
Ist der ideale Mann."

He also gives his opinion of the problems that face the Germans in America, ridiculing at the same time those of his countrymen who had lost their German national consciousness and self-respect:

"Sich amerikanisieren
Heiszt ganz sich verlieren;

[illegible]Gedichte, pp. 119 and 178.

[illegible]Gedichte, pp. 214, 178.

> Als Teutscher sich treu geblieben
> Heiszt Ehre und Bildung lieben;
> Doch lieber indianisch,
> Als teutsch-amerikanisch."

It was not through his poetry and epigrams, but mainly through his writings in prose that Heinzen fought for the realization of his ideals, and for these he deserves to be remembered. We have seen in the last chapter that with the appearance of the article on the "Prussian Bureaucracy" he became an outspoken revolutionist. This event also determined the character of his subsequent literary activity. As an agitator of revolutionary measures, and as an active champion of the cause in the field of battle, the poetic form was inadequate to express his revolutionary ideas, his utter dissatisfaction with the existing regime, and his program for reforms. Only at intervals he wrote poems, his energies now were chiefly devoted to inciting the public mind to revolt. Ceaselessly he was engaged in the publication and dissemination of pamphlets to achieve his end. In all of them he professed his republican principles boldly and fearlessly. Some of them were so extremely radical in content and in language, that even the majority of the more conservative liberals turned from him. Relentlessly and unmercifully he continued to pour out his stinging sarcasms on everybody who dared to oppose him.

The same characteristics can be observed in the various newspapers which he edited in America, especially in the "Pionier." Most of his articles are written in an excellent style. Heinzen had a masterly control of the German language. The sentence structure is unusually good, and he is always clear and to the point. He has a great choice of expression, and is able to speak with such impressiveness and force, as is seldom found. A few characteristic selections from the "Pionier" will bear this out. In the following excerpt he inveighs against those materially minded persons for whom the accumulation of wealth is not a means to an end, but an end in itself:

[25]Gedichte, p. 198.

"Am stupidesten, verächtlichsten, und unausstehlichsten sind aber Diejenigen, welche glauben, durch den bloszen Besitz jenes Tauschmittels Alles ersetzen oder verdrängen zu können, was dem Menschen erst eigentlich Wert verleiht; jene Protzen, welche in Bewusztsein ihres Dollarbesitzes mit Verachtung auf Geist, Bildung und Charakterwert herabblicken; jene rohen Philister, welche sich erhaben über Goethe und Humboldt stellen würden, wenn dieselben weniger Geld basäszen als sie; jene Pfennigaristokraten, welche mit einem Plus von einigen Dollars sich für eine andere Menschenart halten lernen, als ihre Nebenmenschen, die eine Banknote weniger in der Tasche haben; jene Elenden, die dich mit Geringschätzung behandeln, oder meiden, wenn sie deinen Beutel leer sehen, und vor dir kriechen und dich verfolgen, wenn du eine volle Börse ziehst; jene Wichte, die vor Stolz platzen, wenn sie 'Geld gemacht' haben, und zu Speichelleckern werden, wenn ihnen ein rächender Teufel den Säckel abgeschnitten; jene Moralschwärmer, denen kein Mittel der Berreicherung zu schlecht ist, die aber jede Schlechtigkeit anderen aufbürden, welche den Vorteil des einen nicht mit dem Nachteil des anderen wollen erkaufen lassen; jene fühlenden Seelen, die in Tränen zerflieszen, wenn sie einen Rechenfehler gemacht haben, aber mit einem Herzen von Stein dem fremden Unglück nichts zu bieten haben als 'help yourself'; kurz, jene gemein und niedrig denkenden Menschen, die nur Sinn für den Dollar, nur Respekt vor dem Dollar, nur Wert durch den Dollar, nur Freude an dem Dollar haben."[39]

A typical illustration of his sarcastic outbursts is the following reply to the charge of fanaticism. It is at the same time a contribution to the question of slavery, against which he carried on a rigorous campaign:

"In Amerika heiszen die Gegensätze: Sklaverei und Freiheit. Nenne die Sklaverei einen Segen, erkläre sie für ein Erfordernis der Republik, mache sie zu einem nationalen Institut, breite sie aus mit Feuer und Schwert, schleppe Schiffsladungen von Unglücklichen aus Afrika hierher, erziehe sie mit

[39] T. R., N. F., Vol. I, 80 f.

Peitsche und Folter zum Arbeitsvieh, verbrenne sie lebendig, wenn sie noch einen Rest von Menschlichkeit bewahren, um sich gegen deine Unmenschlichkeit zu empören, reisze die Kinder von der Brust der Mutter, um sie einem Kannibalen zu verhandeln, verkaufe deine eignen Kinder und verschwelge den Ertrag in Gelagen, die dich zu neuen Verbrechen gegen Menschlichkeit und Natur stimulieren—dann bist du ein Patriot, ein Freund der Union, eine Stütze der Ordnung, ein Liebling der Regierung, ein Mann des Volks, eine Zierde der Republik. Aber raffe dich auf im Zorn deiner Menschenehre, in der Empörung deines Rechtsgefühls, verdamme diesen ganzen Zustand als antirepublikanisch, als barbarisch, als infam, und schwöre denen, die ihn schaffen und unterhalten, Feindschaft und Verderben, wie sie es verdienen—und wie die moralische Logik, die Nemesis der Entwicklung, es ihnen unfehlbar bringen wird—so magst du dich als ausgestoszen betrachten aus der Gesellschaft der 'honetten Leute,' du bist ein Feind des Vaterlandes, ein gefährlicher Mensch, ein 'roter Republikaner,' ein 'Fanatiker.' "[27]

Space will not permit a more comprehensive account of Heinzen's literary activity, but in order to convey a vivid idea of the variety of his labors, a list of his publications is added at the end of this paper.

CHAPTER III.

Heinzen's Philosophical and Critical Views.

In considering Heinzen as a literary critic we must not suppose that he made a profession of literary criticism. He did not write newspaper reviews for the information and edification of his readers, nor did he occupy a chair of literary criticism in some higher school of learning. Heinzen was anything but a conventional sort of a critic. He does not attempt to secure an objective point of view, but formulates his opinions in an entirely subjective manner, without regard to the conventional standards of judgment. As we have seen above,

[27]Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, Vol. I, p. 205

Heinzen had dedicated his life to the cause of truth, justice and freedom for all mankind. In his life-long struggle for the realization of these ideals he passed judgment on the political, social and economic conditions of his countrymen, and later also on those of his newly adopted fatherland, America, Similarly he also subjected the literature of his time to a scathing and severe criticism, accepting or rejecting it, lauding or condemning it, according to whether it was in agreement with, or in opposition to his cherished ideals. That we should find many one-sided views among criticisms of this kind, which are based entirely on a subjective attitude towards literature, is only to be expected. Nor is it my object to vindicate Heinzen's views in every case. I merely wish to give an account of his criticisms, and to seek to explain them with regard to his philosophical and critical views. And as these views are really the determining factor in his judgments, and his criticisms merely the application of these general conceptions to the literary productions of his time, it is necessary that we first form a more definite conception of his philosophical and critical principles.

Heinzen himself designates his attitude towards the universe as that of a materialist. He flatly denies the existence of spirit as independent of the material world, and considers matter to be the fundamental constituent or ultimate fact of the universe. All phenomena of consciousness are reduced to transformations of material molecules. "Matter and spirit, or body and spirit, are only two aspects of one and the same thing. Applied to man, these expressions can no more mean two different beings than in nature. The spirit in man is only a product of the bodily organism, the spirit, therefore, is as much material as the body. It is a material activity like electricity or magnetism, which only eludes our senses."[28] Similarly Heinzen makes the following distinction between Materialism and Spiritualism: "Matter is that which exists without regard to human thoughts, while the 'spiritual' (in the sense of the Spiritualists) exists without regard to matter. Accordingly materialism is that philosophical view which has

[28]Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, I, p. 26.

as its basis that which exists in itself and through itself; it is the doctrine of that which is, of the real; while the basis of spiritualism is that which men have thought or imagined. Materialism does not therefore reject that which has been thought, but it accepts it only as a product of matter, and considers it only in connection and agreement with the same. In regard to the 'Spirit' one could make the following distinction: Spiritualism lets the mother come into existence through the child, materialism lets the child come into existence through the mother."[29]

This materialistic view of Heinzen was by no means new or original. As F. A. Lange points out in his History of Materialism, it is as old as philosophy itself. In ancient times as well as through the Middle Ages and up to modern times, the dualism between matter and spirit was always a fruitful topic for the speculations of the philosophers, and philosophical materialism was held on the one side, as well as philosophical idealism on the other. But towards the middle of the nineteenth century materialism as a philosophical view came to predominate, and almost drove idealism from the field. The whole character of the time was very propitious for materialism. The idealism of the two previous generations, with its exclusive speculations about the other world, had gradually lost its grip, and the problems of this present world again became the basis of all consideration. Not the least factor in this change of attitude was the industrial revolution which was going on in Germany at this time. Factories were built everywhere, railroads were now connecting the different parts of the country and facilitated the transportation of the products. Cities were springing up around the factories, and a large part of the rural population became urban. All of these momentous events emphasized very strongly the importance of this present life, and consequently the speculations turned from ultra-mundane to mundane affairs. The rise of materialism was also intimately bound up with the increased interest in the studies of natural science. The philosophical speculation had not solved the riddle of the universe,

[29]Teutscher Rad.. Neue Folge, II, p. 124.

and it was evident that the deductive method would not lead to complete knowledge. The inductive method of exact science was expected to reach this goal. The external world was to be observed as closely as possible, a great number of observations and experiments were to be made, and only from facts gained in this way, were general laws to be formed. It was only at this time that the first laboratory of experimental chemistry was established, the laboratory at the University of Giessen, under the supervision of Justus von Liebig. Soon similar laboratories were installed at other universities, and the study of a natural science gradually came to occupy the first place. With the aid of the microscope and other instruments an insight was possible into a new, undreamed-of world of life, into the world of the most simple organisms, those consisting of only one cell. From all these observations a theory something like the following was built up: the whole world can be resolved into atoms, the last bearers of every physical action. This action is mechanical, and consists of movements and changes of the atoms and atom groups, and can be ascertained by laws. The body of man, of animals, and of plants, is only to be regarded as a large mechanism, in which the same laws and forces as in nature are present, and it thus can be explained and understood. All of these observations formed welcome material for the materialistic philosophy. In the works of Ludwig Feuerbach, Jakob Moleschott, and Ludwig Büchner, we find these ideas incorporated and worked over into a system of philosophy. In the works of these men, and from similar sources, Heinzen finds information and corroboration of his beliefs. All of his arguments in favor of materialism are based on the discoveries of science, the Goddess of Truth. Thus he points out that science has established the fact that matter is eternal, that even in the transformations caused by fire or by decay, not an atom is lost, but that it only enters a new combination, and appears in a different form."[30] Science has indisputably established that there is no matter without force, and no force without matter. There is no dif-

[30]Teutscher Rad., Neue Folge, I, p. 28.

ference between organic and inorganic nature.[31] Heinzen is also an enthusiastic disciple of the apostles of materialistic philosophy, of Feuerbach, Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott, whose books he read and studied with great eagerness. He quotes these men as authorities for his contentions. Thus Moleschott is quoted to prove his assertion that there is no difference between organic and inorganic nature.[33]. In another place he calls Moleschott "without doubt the most radical and talented of all modern natural scientists; the Feuerbach among the natural scientists or the physiological complement to Feuerbach."

These views Heinzen not only held for himself, but he sought to make converts for them in most of his writings, and he looked forward to the time when they would be universally accepted. And what are the advantageous results that he hoped to realize through the dissemination of these principles? The question whether or not the acceptance of materialism would be a gain, Heinzen says, is equal to the question, whether knowledge or ignorance, truth or untruth, is a gain.[32] In the acceptance of materialism lies the destruction of all vagueness and deception regarding our most important affairs, regarding the world and our station in it.[34]

Since matter is the only thing that exists, and spirit only exists as a product of matter, Heinzen accordingly denies the existence of any kind of a God, and openly professes himself an atheist. All the injustice in the world he considers to be the result of a mistaken notion regarding the origin, the preservation, and the future of the world. By creating an all-powerful God who rules the world, and who issues commands to its inhabitants, the priests have been able to secure power over their fellowmen. By playing upon their imagination with the prospect of a future life, where the obedient shall be rewarded and the disobedient shall be punished, they have been able to keep their fellowmen in subjection. This power has been shared by the rulers and despots, who base their

[33]Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, I, pp. 28-31.

[34]Ibid., pp. 32, 26.

claim on divine commands. The people in subjection do not dare to rise in rebellion and shake off this oppressing yoke, because they are afraid of an avenging deity. They have for the most part not even a desire to free themselves from this oppression, because they are more concerned with their fate in the future world than in the present. If, however, Heinzen argues, these mistaken notions can be destroyed, if man can be made to see that matter is the only thing in existence, that the world has never been created by an outside agency, that it is in a constant state of evolution according to inherent laws, then also the prejudices instilled by the priests will fall away, men will come to realize that they themselves are the masters of their fate, and the golden age of freedom will begin to dawn. Herein we also find an explanation for Heinzen's burning hate of Christianity, and, in fact, all religions. "Down with the word religion as well as with the content of religion," he exclaims on one occasion.[33] In the name of Christianity more crimes and injustice have been committed than for any other cause, or through any other agency, but in scientific discoveries and the materialistic philosophy Christianity has found its doom. "Christianity has come to an end, and now begins humanity: humanity without religious phrases, but with non-religious rights."[34]

Heinzen very often uses the term "radicalism" almost synonymously with "materialism." Radicalism is for him simply the expresson of truth, and since in materialism he believes to have found the absolute truth, the terms cover each other. Radicalism means that attitude of mind which will subject all phenomena to reason and investigation, and then draw its conclusions without regard to any authority or tradition. "Radicalism will replace the rule of force by the free agreement of individuals who all have equal rights, it will replace faith by a knowledge of the true reality and its laws. Destroying all authority in heavenly as well as in earthly affairs, it reduces the freed man to the purely human sphere, and inquires of

[33] Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, II, p. 552.

[34] Ibid., p. 105.

him: you, as a free man among free men, which morality will you adopt and what duties will you recognize? The answer will be simple: only a human morality and human duties, a morality which is in accordance with human nature, and duties which are in accordance with human rights."[34]

Although Heinzen is very much opposed to the idealistic philosophy, he is not therefore also opposed to ideal interests. On the contrary, his whole struggle is directed towards furthering these ideal interests, and only as a barrier to their realization does he denounce the idealistic philosophy. Nothing would be further removed from truth than the assertion that Heinzen recognizes only material interests, or that he considers the object of life to be merely a material, sensual enjoyment. Heinzen denied the existence and the validity of "spirit" only as independent of matter: he does not, however, maintain that the spiritual does not exist at all, but he does consider it as emanating from matter. "There is no more radical error than the assumption that the ideal or spiritual world will be destroyed if one makes it dependent upon the material world, or if one proves the identity of spirit and matter. All spirit is matter, and all matter is spirit, insofar as we understand by it in general a certain force inherent in matter, which under certain conditions will produce a feeling and a poem, as well as lightning or an electric current; which as a life force will produce a man, and as a physical force will produce a storm." Life is considered to be an interaction of physical and chemical processes in the organism, but "shall we consider feelings and thoughts as worthless, when produced by this interaction, because we have brought them back from a world of spirits to the sound basis of science? Will the ideal world be destroyed, if we prove it to be the product or rather a part of the material world, while hitherto it has been assumed that it produced, permeated and ruled the material world from above?"[35]

Frequently Heinzen uses the following comparison to illustrate his theory: "Nobody believes that the scent of a

[34]T. R. in Amerika, V. I, 7 f.

[35]T. R., N F., V. I, 34.

flower is a spirit, which has passed into or surrounds the flower. Everyone knows that this scent is merely a material action of particles of the flower upon our nerves of smell. But has the flower become worthless to us, because we know this? Do we love and value it less, because we do not commit the foolishness of considering its odor, which we can no more see than our soul, a spirit?"[36]

Heinzen is thus far removed from belittling the great influence which the ideal products, such as literature, music, and art, exert on the human race, only he considers these the blossom of materialism, and he loves the blossom more than the unclean root from which it has grown. Just as the gardener places the bulb in the ground in order to produce beautiful flowers, so Heinzen plants the bulb of materialism in men's hearts and minds in order to produce the ideal fruits of justice, freedom, and happiness for all men. He denounces those materialistic minded people, who are entirely devoid of higher interests and ideals, and who use the materialistic philosophy as an excuse for their vulgar desires and pleasures, just as severely as he condemns the idealistic philosophers and theologians. Thus he condemns the Communists. "They clothe this philosophy of degrading man to a mere animal, this doctrine of the trough and mud, this cult of bestiality, with all kinds of 'economic' phrases, and set up the doctrine that only 'interests', not 'ideals', determine and should determine men's actions. As if ideas did not represent interests. As if convictions did not demand satisfaction as summarily as bodily needs. Of course not for those who have no ideas and no convictions. Consequently these professors of stupidity, of vulgarity, of bestiality, must sweep out all humane conceptions, all science, all literature, all art, from the realm of human needs, and they let nothing remain except the tiresome industrial science of 'producing' for the sake of consuming'—the fist in the service of the stomach, the brainless beast."[37]

[36]Ibidem, 33.

[37]Teutscher Rad., N. F., I, p. 38.

Even Heinzen's conception of revolution was not merely forcible tearing down of existing institutions, a battle with cannons and guillotines, but a higher and nobler conception. He did not hesitate to advocate a revolution with fire and sword, but only when he considered it as the last possible means of securing the rights that were denied. As the world, according to science, was in a constant state of evolution, revolution was one of the instruments to accomplish this, but a revolution in the higher sense of progress, a revolution of the human spirit against everything that is antiquated, outworn, and unreasonable. "Revolution is life, in man as in nature, it is the future, it is the hope, it is the salvation, it is the poetry of the world, it is the striving of the spirit for the ideal of evolution, it is everything."[38]

That materialism does not mean the renunciation of what we usually term the higher interests of life, is sufficiently borne out by Heinzen's life. The gratification of his own personal desires was never considered when his ideals were at stake. His life was devoted to producing greater freedom for his fellowmen, and for this he fought no matter what the results would be. His personal welfare was always placed after the ideals for which he was struggling. And for this reason he had to suffer exile, poverty, hardships, and denunciations, but he never wavered in the pursuit of his cherished ideals. He was at the same time a patron of good art, of literature, and of music, and sought to create a greater interest[39] in them, and better understanding of them.

If we now pass on to consider Heinzen's critical principles, we will realize that his philosophical views are an important factor in determining his judgment. As in his opinion the materialistic point of view is the only justifiable one, and as the salvation of the world can only be accomplished by its agency, all the poets who favor the idealistic philosophy will naturally be condemned as obstructing the way to truth and to freedom. Similarly the Christian poets, the "standpatters",

[38]Ibid., II, p. 81.

[39]Teutscher Rad., N. F., I, p. 169.

the conservatives, will share the same fate. In fact only the propagandist has a right to literary activity, he whose ideals and convictions are opposed to the present state of affairs; only the champions of radicalism, of truth, of revolution, should be permitted to write. The mere production of literature for the sake of financial returns should cease entirely. "Nobody has a greater calling to write than he whose convictions reject that which is at present established, and who therefore feels the need to help in putting something better in its place. Only he should write, who must write. Those who make writing merely a business, have neither to give vent to the enthusiasm for the good, nor to the dissatisfaction against the evil; it does not require any self-sacrifice on their part to remain silent. We would soon be freed from all our useless writers if we could assure everyone of them a few hundred dollars more per year than he receives at present. Lord God Almighty, you who care for these scoundrels so paternally, let money rain into the pockets of all these good-for-nothings, so that no other voice will be heard than that of radicalism, of conviction, of truth."[42]

We must keep in mind that when Heinzen speaks of truth and conviction, he means that attitude of mind which he himself represents. He believes to have found the absolute truth, consequently there can be no other truth opposed to his ideas. Even sincere convictions in other directions are not recognized by Heinzen. Those people he either considers as cowards, hypocrites, or otherwise stupid. "All of these great statesmen, ministers, diplomats, professors, campaign-orators, *and literary men*, who have not comprehended and represented the rights of all men, are in my eyes, in spite of their distinctions and their triumphs, stupid, absolutely stupid, more stupid than the most stupid schoolboy."[40]

Into this class Heinzen puts all those who were not in sympathy with the revolutionary ideals of 1848. Those who were still in favor of monarchy, even a constitutional monarchy, have thereby shown their true colors and deserve no further notice.

[40]Teutscher Rad., N. F., I, p. 200.

The revolution was a kind of touch-stone with which the worth of the poets was tested. "All those who did possess a noble nature and were motivated by higher ideals, had to step forth during the revolution and show their colors. Whoever did not do this was either servile (reactionary), or what is the same thing, stupid. Of this caliber are all those who, after the suppression of the revolution, could be reinstated in their former positions."[41]

This naturally includes all those who were not forced to flee the country like Heinzen and Freiligrath, those who adapted themselves to conditions and sought to secure freedom and emancipation through a gradual transformation instead of a violent and bloody revolution. Heinzen is a bitter enemy of all compromises, and draws the ultimate conclusions in every case. Naturally he expects others to do the same, and denounces those that do not go to such extremes.

This raises the question whether Heinzen's emigration to America was not an important factor in influencing and determining his judgment of the contemporary German literature. I have indicated in the first chapter that a remarkable change came over the literature after the revolution. The very men who had summarily demanded freedom, and had advocated violent methods as a means of securing it, had gradually come to change their tone. The revolutionary poetry ceased almost entirely. Some of these poets became disheartened, others realized the impossibility of securing freedom and emancipation by a revolution, and now devoted their efforts to bringing this change about by lawful methods and by gradual changes. It is very likely that had Heinzen remained in Germany instead of coming to America he would also have been influenced by the general change of feeling, and would have modified his extreme position. But as it was, Heinzen did not depart one jot or tittle from his pre-revolutionary attitude. He continued to make the same demands which he made before the revolution. Living here in America, far removed from the scene of conflict, he could not understand the reasons for the change of

[41]Ibid., pp. 69 ff.

attitude in Germany. He regarded all of those who did modify their position, either as hypocrites or as cowards. This lack of consistency, this apparent lack of manliness, aroused his ire, and caused his wholesale condemnation of the post-revolutionary poets.

A fundamental question in Heinzen's criticisms, therefore, is the question of the author's character and his principles, as a criterion of judgment. This question has found different answers by various men. Heine, for instance, maintains that genius and character are to be entirely separated, and that the antithesis between talent and character has been invented by the envy and impotence of inferior men as a weapon against the powerful genius. Friedrich Kummer, in his History of Nineteenth Century Literature, takes an intermediate position, and wants both sides of the question to be considered. Heinzen, however, lays the emphasis in the first place upon character, and upon the principles of right, justice, and truth. And he feels justified in his position not only from a moral, but also from an aesthetic point of view. That which is bad, i. e., that which is bad in his opinion, cannot be considered beautiful, and the vulgar cannot be poetic. Even if the most gifted poet would treat of a subject which must be condemned in principle, if for example, he would make a prince or a despot the hero of his work, then it does not deserve the name of poetry. Similarly, a poet must be a man above all things, i. e., he must be radical, consistent, democratic. If he does not fulfill this requirement, he has thereby lost all claim to consideration as a poet."[42]

CHAPTER IV.

KARL HEINZEN AS LITERARY CRITIC.

Heinzen manifested an interest in literature very early in his life, and during his attendance at the University of Bonn, as I have pointed out, he neglected the study of medicine, for which he was registered, and devoted most of his time to literary studies. By reading the works of the great classical writers,

[42]Teutscher Radikalismus, N. F., I, p. 59.

Schiller, Goethe, and Lessing, he acquired good taste and judgment. That he had grasped the essential distinction between genuine and counterfeit poetry, I have endeavored to show by quotations from his early poetry. He improved his taste and widened his acquaintance with German literature in the subsequent years of his life by private reading. Even after his emigration to America he endeavored to remain in close touch with the intellectual life of Germany, and he succeeded in procuring all the latest publications, which he read and studied.

Heinzen considers literature one of the ideal treasures of the human race, of infinitely greater value than mere material possessions. He places it above all the other arts, above music, sculpture, and painting. He regards good literature as the most influential factor in shaping a man's character, in formulating his ideals, and in urging him to realize these ideals in practice. And what is true of literature in general he believes to be especially true of German literature. The greatest treasure which the Germans possess is their literature, the only thing of which a member of the German nation at that time could be proud.[43]

He wishes to have the American children instructed in the German language and literature. "A new world would thereby be opened to them, and the coming generation would be essentially different from the present one. What men like Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Jean Paul, and so many German poets have to offer, you will find in no other literature, least of all in American literature. And as far as religious enlightenment is concerned, the mother of all other enlightenment, no literature has done so much and so thorough work for it as the German."[44]

Here we see the reason for Heinzen's enthusiasm for German literature. It is not so much the perfect form of poetry, not so much the mere aesthetic qualities, which he admires, but rather the high ideals which are set forth in it. As champions of truth and freedom, of right and justice, as the

[43] T. R., N. F., I, 76 ff.

[44] T. R., N. F., II, 741.

apostles of a new and freer humanity, he values and admires these poets. He is less concerned with the artistic theories than with the contents. Classicism and romanticism, realism and naturalism, do not matter as much as the moral principles that permeate the artistic production.

However, in applying this criterion to German literature Heinzen finds himself obliged to limit his approval to a comparatively small circle of writers. Not in the poetry of his contemporaries, but in that of Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, and similar writers, he sees the salvation of his people. Goethe especially is the object of Heinzen's veneration, and this in spite of the fact that Goethe was not a political revolutionist. Goethe remained passive towards all movements for national unity, and for political freedom. Even the Wars of Liberation, which had incited the whole nation to the highest pitch, left him entirely cold. This was primarily the reason why Wolfgang Menzel had been such a decided opponent of Goethe. And inasmuch as the July Revolution of 1830 had not moved Goethe in the least, we should expect that Heinzen would have some severe words of censure for him. But this is not the case. Heinzen realizes that Goethe stood for more than revolution by mere force of arms. When the news of the July Revolution arrived in Germany, Goethe said to a friend: "The true revolution is that of the human spirit." Heinzen considers these words the greatest revolutionary truth,[45] and in them finds the best proof of his ideal conception of revolution.

Goethe, however, is not entirely above reproach, according to Heinzen's opinion. The poet's residence at the Court of Weimar, and his position as "Geheimrat", are not to be commended. And when in 1863 Heinzen had read the newly published correspondence between Goethe and the Duke Karl August, he was disappointed, because "it makes a very disagreeable impression by the servile phrases with which Goethe seeks to depict the exceedingly good fortune which consists of being humbled by the patronage of princely idols."[46]

[45]T. R., N. F., I, p. 153.

[46]Ibid., II, pp. 177 ff.

One of the few men of the later period for whom Heinzen expresses great admiration is Ludwig Börne. He considers a monument erected in honor of Börne as one of the most appropriate of all the monuments, a just recognition of a great mind and character which should have many followers.[47] Here again the reasons for Heinzen's admiration are apparent. Börne's ideals and aspirations were very similar to those of Heinzen, and he fought for them as courageously and persistently as did the latter. In a masterly style he carried on a campaign for freedom as journalist, critic, political propagandist, and satirist. At a time when interest was centered mainly on purely aesthetic questions, Börne regarded everything from the point of view of character and political attitude. This was exactly Heinzen's standpoint a few decades later. In addition to this, Börne's consistency, his absolute sense of justice, his striving for truth, his relentlessness, were factors calculated to appeal very strongly to Heinzen.

To what an extent Heinzen's philosophical and political views influenced his criticisms, becomes evident from his one-sided judgment of Ludwig Uhland. Uhland certainly was striving to procure freedom and representative government for his people. As a member of The Frankfort Parliament he took his seat at the extreme left of the left centre. Here he opposed the idea of an hereditary Prussian emperor and voted for an elective head of the empire to be chosen every six years. On this occasion he uttered the memorable words: "Believe me, gentlemen, no head will shine over Germany which has not been anointed with a full drop of democratic oil." But when at his death, in 1862, he was celebrated as the greatest German poet, Heinzen protested. He gives him credit for his high talents, and regards him as an honorable man, "but as poet and politician he belongs more to the past than to the present, because he was a narrow romanticist in both directions. Even up to his last moments the main subject of his erring thoughts was the poetry of the Middle Ages, and if Goethe died with the words,

[47]Ibid., p. 381.

'more light', then Uhland might have taken leave with the words, 'more darkness.'."[48] Heinzen, with his materialistic point of view regards the Middle Ages as the Dark Ages, a period of superstition and of feudal regime. What he desires is radicalism, not only in politics, in science, and in philosophy, but also in poetry, and this is not to be found in the Middle Ages.

Heinzen's antipathy to Heinrich Heine at first seems somewhat contradictory. We would suppose that because of his cosmopolitan ideals, and because of his derision of the Prussian Government, Heinzen would be in sympathy with him. But Heinzen looks below the surface. He does not maintain that Heine is ungifted, but he feels the lack of an important element in his personality, that of character. "Nobody would think of denying that Heine has a good mind, wit, and a poetic vein, but he is a diamond mounted in mud, and as a character wholly despicable."[49] Here we see clearly what an important factor the author's character is in Heinzen's criticisms. Heine's inconsistency, his frequent change of principles, calls forth bitter denunciation, especially when Heinzen hears that Heine has renounced his unbelief and glorifies the Catholic church. He believes that this is merely a clever ruse in order to secure the favor of the Jesuits, who were then in power. "It is to be expected from this character that he would seek to procure safety by renouncing principles which he had formerly confessed as his. Principles are for him as cheap as blackberries, and frivolity he would like to give out as superiority. In the mouth of a man, who has slandered all men of character who were devoted to freedom, and with whom he has come in contact, who has persecuted Platen during his lifetime, Börne in the grave, and Victor Hugo in exile, in the meanest fashion, who recognizes a "God" in the old despot Napoleon, and his "legitimate lord" in the new one, who was formerly an enthusiast for the Prussian Dynasty, and now dedicates his work to the degenerated Prince Püchler, at one

[48] T. R., N. F., II, p. 127.

[49] T. R., N. F., I, p. 98.

time the paid agent of Guizot and correspondent of the 'Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung' when it was in its lowest stages, in the mouth of such a frivolous and suspicious character the renunciation of his confession of faith has as much value as the confession itself."[50]

Heine's glorification of Catholicism is to be condemned not only from a moral and philosophical, but also from an aesthetic and poetic point of view. A man who writes poetry about the Madonna and sings of the "joy of resurrection" cannot lay claim to the title of poet.[51]

As a critic, however, Heinzen is chiefly concerned with the literary productions after 1850. I have indicated in the first chapter that a complete change came over the literature of Germany after the revolution. The political lyric, which had engrossed the attention of the people in the previous decades, now ceased to interest them, and gradually disappeared entirely. Instead they sought consolation for their down-trodden hopes in a very superficial, sentimental, and semi-romantic world of fiction. Richard M. Meyer, in his History of Nineteenth Century Literature, refers to the "great flood of poetry of exhaustion and relaxation" which came over Germany after the revolution.[55] Everything that bore evidence of the great crisis through which Germany had just passed, all elements that would appeal to the nation at large, were to be strictly excluded from poetry, all exertion and excitement was purposely avoided. This was characteristic of the younger generation, which usually puts forth a titanic effort to produce new and mighty works of art. Therefore many of these poets were not unjustly referred to as "fanatics of tranquillity."[52]

However, the center of this new and artificial poetry was the courts of princes and kings, who had bent all their efforts towards the suppression of liberal and radical literary productions. They now surrounded themselves with a circle of

[50]T. R., N. F., I, p. 98.

[51]Ibid., p. 100.

[52]R. M. Meyer, History of XIX Century Literature, p. 319.

these harmless writers, who were paid merely to amuse and entertain them. The most popular subjects were of an exotic kind, affected love-stories, world-removed, or sentimental, in an atmosphere of "Weltschmerz" and resignation.

We can readily see that this state of affairs in German literature must have irritated and enraged Heinzen very much. Even after his emigration to America he remained true to his pre-revolutionary ideals. He had not departed in the slightest degree from his previous demands, and was as enthusiastic in his support of a revolution in Germany as before his exile. The change of feeling in Germany he regarded as lack of manliness, as a sign of degeneration, as utterly contemptible. This becomes even more evident if we remember the great emphasis which Heinzen lays on literature as an important factor in the national life. If his ideals for Germany are to be realized, then the path must first be cleared by a radical literature. The absence of this makes his endeavors almost hopeless, and therefore he maintains that a radical literary criticism is just as necessary in Germany as political-revolutionary agitation.[53]

It is from this point of view that we must seek to understand Heinzen's criticisms. If we remember how much Heinzen considered there was at stake, and, furthermore, that he stood almost alone in his fight against this artificial effeminate, and degenerate poetry, we will perhaps pardon him the severe language which he uses against these writers. A few selections will suffice to illustrate Heinzen's disgust for the kind of poetry that was then most popular. Thus he speaks of the insignificance of the courtly poets:

"Es gibt nichts Widerlicheres, als die eitlen und hohlen Groszmännereien, Beräucherungen, Kameradereien, Hofmachereien, Bulletins, Komödien, etc., womit die hofrätlichen Literaten, welche jetzt das Gebiet der teutschen Literatur beherrschen, ihr Genügen an der Eunuchenzeit bekunden, deren Lieblinge sie sind, und die nichts so bedarf wie kräftiger Aufruhrgeister, welche dies

[53] T. R., N. F., II, p. 302.

ganze Geschmeisz in die Ecke fegen könnten. In den teutschen Blättern, namentlich den literarischen, werden jeden Tag die elendesten Kleinigkeiten unserer literarischen Hofräte mit einer Wichtigkeit, einer Geheimtuerei, und einem Ton besprochen, welche genau an die Gerüchte über die wichtigen Ereignisse an den Höfen erinnern . . . Man möchte dies ganze blasierte, servile und nichtige Literatengesindel Teutschlands, in dem nicht ein Funkchen männlicher Kraft und Würde mehr auflodert, unter dem Fusz verwischen wie einen Insektenhaufen."[54]

And again the wholesale manufacture of mediocre, harmless, sentimental poetry under the gracious protection of the powers that be, calls forth his anger:

"Es gibt nichts Widerlicheres, als die Art, wie jetzt sich wieder die servilen Amphibien in dem Sumpf der teutschen Literatur breit machen; das ist eine Behäbigkeit des Jammers, eine Süffisance der Mittelmässigkeit, eine Superfötation der Impotenz, kurz, ein unnatürliches Gewimmel und Wichtigtun und Produzierien eines Geschlechts, welches sich durch seine Unschuld vor der Gewalt und durch die Gewalt vor dem Besen der Revolution gesichert glaubt—dasz man nur mit dem Risiko des Übelwerdens einen Blick in diese Misere hineinwerfen kann."[55] The poets who enjoy the greatest favors are the same who had already poisoned the public mind before 1848, Gutzkow, Hebbel, Laube, Dingelstedt, Mügge, König, Beck, Schücking, Prutz, Geibel, etc. These "veterans of abomination" have only received reinforcement in courtly critics, such as Julian Schmidt, and in courtly poets, such as Paul Heyse, who do not, however, distinguish themselves from the others. Heinzen believes that the political condition of Germany, the rule of the despots, is responsible for this sad state of the literature, because the literature of the free spirit, the radical poetry, is suppressed by the police. A complete change would be brought about by a revolution, for in 1848 these "court and tea-table poets" had lost all prestige. Only when

[54]T. R., N. F., II, pp. 243 ff.

[55]Ibid., I, p. 61.

the reaction set in again, did they dare to venture forth from their obscurity.[56]

As model poets Heinzen considers Ferdinand Freiligrath and Richard Wagner. Freiligrath was a personal friend of Heinzen, who had gone to the same extremes in his political agitation. Personal considerations could not influence him, and therefore he had refused to accept a pension from the Prussian Government. Since then he had spent his life in exile and had not wavered in his politics, even after the revolution. Richard Wagner was another man to fulfill Heinzen's ideal as a poet. He was radical both in his philosophical and political views. He was an ardent supporter of the doctrine of materialism. He had also actively participated in the revolt and was forced to flee after its suppression.[57]

Regarding the general characteristics of the poetry of the time, Heinzen's criticisms have not missed the mark very much. The poetry of men like Friedrich Gerstäcker, Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer, Theodor Mügge, Otto Müller, Otto Roquette, M. G. Saphir, has since passed into oblivion. But along with these men Heinzen has also condemned a number of writers whose names have remained more or less illustrious, and these we will have to consider separately in order to understand Heinzen's attitude toward them.

Thus Hebbel is condemned because he is not in sympathy with the revolution, and because he writes poetry supporting the Austrian Emperor. Heinzen does not recognize Adolph Strodtmann's protest, who maintains that Hebbel deserves a laurel wreath and a citizen's crown, rather than the stigma of "abominable". Heinzen again does not deny that Hebbel has great gifts and talents, but he refuses to acknowledge his good sense and judgment. To support his contention he quotes the following poem to the Austrian Emperor:

> "War auch der Mörder, welcher tief verblendet,
> Den meuchlerischen Stahl auf dich gezückt,
> Ein Bote, den die Hölle selbst gesendet,

[56] Ibid., I, p. 61.

[57] Ibid., I, p. 61.

Nachdem sie ihn im Innersten berückt,
So hat es doch der Himmel so gewendet,
Dasz jetzt ihn die Apostelkrone schmückt;
Denn Kunde hat der Herr durch ihn gegeben;
Gefeit ist, weil geweiht, des Kaisers Leben."

Heinzen's point of view may be narrow and one-sided, but it is at least consistent with his political views. The autocratic rulers and despots he considers to be enemies of mankind, who are to be annihilated with fire and sword if necessary. Therefore who can still sing their praises has lost all claim to consideration, no matter how highly he is gifted. "A poet who could write poetry in honor of the Emperor of Austria in 1853, has according to my opinion renounced the title of poet, and become a despicable lackey. A poet must above all things be a man, and lackeys cannot be counted among them. Hebbel has not only become a lackey, but a traitor."[58]

Similarly Emanuel Geibel is severely censured for the following poem:

"O wann kommst du, Tag der Freude,
Den mein ahnend Herz mir zeigt,
Da des jungen Reichs Gebäude
Himmelan vollendet steigt,
Da ein Geist der Eintracht drinnen
Wie am Pfingstfest niederzückt,
Und des Kaisers Hand die Zinnen
Mit dem Kranz der Freiheit schmückt."

Heinzen considers this to be absolutely stupid, for "an emperor adorning the pinnacles with the wreath of freedom" is an impossibility. Therefore it is an empty phrase, mere flattery, and for this nonsense Geibel is also termed a "brainless lackey."[59]

Fanny Lewald, among others, is criticized because the hero of one of her novels is a "stupid and degenerate Prussian prince," and because the glorification of such a character cannot be considered as poetic.[60]

Because of their "apostasy" and their servility towards the rulers, Karl Gutzkow, Heinrich Laube, Franz Dingelstedt, Rob-

[58]Ibid., I, pp. 68 ff.

[59]Ibid., II, 442 ff.

[60]Ibid., II, 214.

ert Prutz and others are also denounced. Needless to say, these characters were not as black as Heinzen painted them. They continued their demands for liberal reforms and for national unity after 1848, but wanted to secure freedom in a lawful way. Heinzen, however, considered them cowards and apostates, inconsistent and despicable creatures. This mainly for the reason that they were favorites at the courts and received pensions and other distinctions from the rulers.

The lack of manliness, the sentimental resignation which Heizen tried to combat in the political life of Germany, is also denounced when it appears in the garb of poetry. A good example of this is Paul Heyse's novel, "Das Bild der Mutter", in which the hero is not the lover, but his friend, who voluntarily gives up his sweetheart to the former. The girl, by order of her parents, also resigns herself to her fate and marries the other one. Heinzen maintains that common sense as well as "poetic justice" demand that when two persons love each other they shall also possess one another. Heinzen draws his conclusions by analogy with the political conditions: a person who can give up a loved one voluntarily, will certainly have patience and resignation enough to give up all other human rights, and political freedom.[61]

It is evident that Heinzen lays the greatest emphasis upon the author's character, his principles, and his political views as a criterion of judgment. He does not maintain that the aesthetic qualities of literature are not to be considered, but he believes, and rightly so, that mere artistic form without a content of high principles and noble ideals is worthless. Heinzen's standpoint may be called one-sided, but his importance lies in the fact that at a time when the purely aesthetic considerations engrossed the attention of the poets, he called attention to the great mission which literature is to perform, by being a leader in the thought and in the life of the people.

[61] Ibid., I, p. 24.

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1. Gedichte, 8vo., 248 pages, Köln, 1841.
2. Dr. Nebel, oder Gelehrsamkeit und Leben, Comedy in Five Acts, 8vo., Köln, 1841.
3. Die Ehre, 8vo., 24 pages, Köln, 1842.
4. Reise eines teutschen Romantikers nach Batavia, 12mo., 216 pages, Köln, 1843.
   Second edition, 7vo., Mannheim, 1845.
   Third edition in "Erlebtes," Vol. I.
5. Die Kölnische Komödie, von Tante Allbieri zum kölnischen Karnival, Köln, 1842.
6. Die geheime Konduitenliste, 8vo., Köln, 1842.
7. Die preuszische Bureaukratie, 8vo., Darmstadt, 1844.
8. Ein Steckbrief, 8vo., Brussels, 1845.
9. Preuszisches und Teutsches, 8vo., Konstanz, 1845.
10. Mehr als zwanzig Bogen, 8vo, Darmstadt, 1845.
11. Blätter zum Lorbeerkranz eines Verschollenen, Zürich, 1846.
12. Weniger als zwanzig Bogen, 8vo., Münster, (fictitious), 1846.
13. Politische und unpolitische Fahrten und Abenteuer, 2 vol., 12mo., Mannheim, 1846.
    Vol. I. Ältere Fahrten.
    Vol. II. Neuere Fahrten und politische Romantik.
14. Dreiszig Kriegsartikel der neuen Zeit für Offiziere und Gemeine, 8vo., 36 pages, Neustadt, 1846.
15. Eine Mahnung an die teutschen Liberalen, Herisau, 1846.
16. Macht Euch bereit. Ein Wort an das teutsche Volk. Herisau, 1846.
17. Der Schleswig-Holstein'sche Nationallärm, 8vo., 28 pages, Bern, 1846.
18. Krakau. Den Schweizern gewidmet. Zürich, 1847.
19. Das Patent. Berlin, 1847.
20. Meine Ausweisung aus Zürich, 8vo., 44 pages. Bern, 1847.
21. Teutsche Revolution. Gesammelte Flugschriften, 8vo., 552 pages. Bern, 1847.
    Contains besides the articles mentioned under numbers 8, 9, and 14-20, the following articles, which appeared in the periodicals edited by him:
    1. Öffentliche Dankaddresse teutscher Preuszen an die Herren von Itzstein und Hecker.
    2. Künftige Kabinetsorders Olini's des Groszen.
    3. Die Schleuszen auf!
    4. Die Kölner Hetzjagd.
    5. Ein teutsches Rechenexempel.
    6. Kommunistisches.
    7. Was und wer ist liberal.
    8. Der gesetzliche Weg in ungesetzlichen Staaten.
    9. Politische Walfischtonnen.
    10. Teutsche Dummheiten.

22. Erst reine Luft, dann reinen Boden. 12mo., 46 pages. Bern, 1848.
23. Über Musik und Kunst. 8vo., 16 pages. Leipzig, 1848.
24. Frankreichs brüderlicher Bund mit Teutschland. 16mo. Basel, 1848.
25. Die Helden des teutschen Kommunismus. Dem Herrn Karl Marx gewidmet. 12mo., 104 pages. Bern, 1848.
26. An die Männer des gesunden Menschenvertstandes in Teutschland. Basel, 1848.
27. Ein teutsches Rechenexempel. (2nd ed.) Bern, 1849.
28. Was ist zu tun? Karlsruhe, 1849.
29. Einige Blicke in die badisch-pfälzische Revolution. 12mo., 52 pages. Bern, 1849.
30. Mord und Freiheit. London, 1850.
31. Die groszen Männer der Paulskirche. London, 1850.
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Die Deutschen und die Amerikaner.*

Ein Vortrag von Karl Heinzen. (1860.)

Viele von uns haben ihr Exil, ihren Aufenthalt in Amerika nur als ein Provisorium betrachtet. Sie haben in der Schule des hiesigen Lebens gleichsam nur hospitiert, um später wieder die eigentliche Arena ihres Strebens in Europa aufzusuchen. Sie konnten sich nicht finden in das demütigende Zugeständnis, daß ein momentaner Sieg der rohen Gewalt im Stande sei, den Strom ihres Denkens und Wollens für immer zu hemmen, oder unter dem Trümmerwerk äußerer Lebensverhältnisse zu verschütten. Und wenn auch die Zeit allmählich in ihnen die Zuversicht abschwächte, mit der alten Kraft und auf dem früheren Posten den unterbrochenen Kampf zu Ende zu führen, so hielt doch der Haß gegen Tyrannei und Verrat wenigstens die Hoffnung fest, den Tag der Rache auf heimatlichem Boden noch mitfeiern zu können.

Vielleicht auch diese Hoffnung wird für uns Verschlagene eine eitle sein, und so wie die Indifferenten sich längst mit dem Gedanken abgefunden haben, daß Amerika fortan ihre Heimat sei, so haben ihm auch Diejenigen in's Gesicht zu sehen, welche bisher in Amerika existiert, aber eigentlich in Deutschland gelebt haben.

Dieser Gedanke ist bald ausgedacht und erschöpft für Den, welcher hier nichts sucht, als Mittel und Gelegenheit, ein schützendes Dach zu bauen und unter diesem Dach seine Kasse und seinen Magen zu füllen. Wer aber sein Streben und seine Bedürfnisse nicht in diese Grenzen der platten Alltäglichkeit einschließen kann, hat lang mit sich zu Rat zu gehen und sich lang Rechenschaft zu geben, bis er in dem neuen Heere, womit er hier in den Kampf

* Dieser glänzende, leider fast vergessene Vortrag des großen Freiheitskämpfers ist nicht nur ein höchst wichtiges Dokument für die innere Geschichte des amerikanischen Deutschtums, sondern gewinnt gerade heute, wo wir mit ähnlichen Fragen zu ringen haben, die größte Bedeutung.

der Menschheitsentwicklung ziehen soll, seinen rechten Platz gefunden und eingenommen hat.

Je weniger eigentümlichen Gehalt und je weniger Selbstzweck ein Mensch hat, desto leichter nimmt er einen fremden Inhalt und Zweck in sich auf. Der Tiermensch ist überall zu Hause, wo er Magen und Beutel füllen kann. Ein neues Vaterland, in der edleren Bedeutung des Wortes genommen, ist nicht mit der Phrase geschaffen, womit man es begrüßt, und das bloße Naturalisieren ändert nicht die mitgebrachte Natur. Der Patriotismus, der sich bloß durch die neue Versorgung bildet, ist nichts als die Dankbarkeit des Bedienten oder das Attachement des Haustiers. Neue Verhältnisse zerstören nicht die alten Strebensziele, neue Aufgaben nicht die alten Ideen, neue Notwendigkeiten nicht die alten Wünsche, und wer als Herr ein Haus verläßt, findet sich nicht sofort als Gast in einem fremden zurecht. Um ganz zu Hause zu sein, muß der Mensch sein eigenes Haus haben. Kosmopolit sein in der Idee ist nicht schwer, aber es in der Praxis zu sein, erfordert Bedingungen der Betätigung, die man nicht im Reisekoffer mit sich führt. Kosmopolit zu sein in einem Urwald, den man nur mit Bären, Hirschen und Schlangen teilt, ist leichter, als Kosmopolit zu sein in einem neuen Gemeinwesen, wo verschiedengeartete Menschen die Priorität der Ansässigkeit geltend machen, den herrschenden Ton angeben und neue Bedingungen des Lebens und Strebens festgestellt haben. Amerika zur zweiten Heimat, zum neuen Vaterland zu machen, heißt daher nicht bloß einer ganzen Strebenswelt Lebewohl sagen, sondern zugleich sich eine ganz neue schaffen und als ihre Grundlage vor Allem das Verhältnis zu den neuen Staatsgenossen herausbilden und feststellen. Wer also als Deutscher und namentlich als deutscher Revolutionär oder Radikaler amerikanischer Bürger werden will, hat sich vor allen Dingen die Frage zu beantworten: was sind die Amerikaner und was sind die Deutschen; wodurch unterscheiden sie sich und wodurch ergänzen sie sich, welches ist ihr Verhältnis zu einander und worin besteht ihre beiderseitige Aufgabe?

Wenn ich in diesem Lande neben den Amerikanern bloß die Deutschen in Betracht ziehe, so geschieht es, weil unter der Einwanderung sie allein außer der numerischen Macht den nötigen geistigen Fonds besitzen, der ihnen eine Bedeutung in der Kultur-

entwicklung geben kann. Die eingewanderten Franzosen und Italiener, wie intelligent und tüchtig sie auch sein mögen, haben keine Bedeutung und keinen Einfluß wegen ihrer geringen Zahl und ihrer nationalen Abschließung; die Irländer sind zwar durch die nötige Zahl vertreten, jedoch auf ihrer niederen Bildungsstufe haben sie im Allgemeinen nur Bedeutung für diejenige Kultur, welche durch den Krummstab und die Sklavenpeitsche repräsentiert wird; die Deutschen aber legitimieren sich als Mitbewerber um die Zukunft dieses Landes nicht bloß durch Millionen Köpfe und Arme, sondern zugleich durch einen Kulturfonds, welcher die Resultate der Entwicklung des gebildetsten Volkes der Erde in sich schließt. Wir haben also ein Recht, wie wir die Aufgabe haben, hier zu fragen: was sind, was repräsentieren und was sollen die Deutschen, was die Amerikaner? Und die Beantwortung dieser Frage hat nicht weniger Interesse für die Amerikaner, als für uns selbst.

Staatsphilosophen vom Schlage der Herrn Gardner, Banks, Brooks[1]) u. s. w. sind um die Antwort nicht lang verlegen: sie sagen uns einfach, wir sollen ihnen womöglich zu gleichen suchen, wir sollen uns „amerikanisieren". Wann haben die Amerikaner selbst sich amerikanisiert? Nach meiner Ansicht in jenem Augenblick, wo sie ein gewisses Dokument unterschrieben, welches die Worte enthält: „Alle Menschen sind gleich geboren und mit unveräußerlichen Rechten begabt, zu denen das Leben, die Freiheit und das ungehinderte Streben nach Glück gehört." Wer am Treuesten an dieser Lehre festhält, ist nach meiner Ansicht der beste Amerikaner; müßten aber diejenigen über das Meer getrieben werden, welche jene Ur- und Original-Methode des Amerikanisierens vergessen haben, so fürchte ich, es müßten diesem gelobten Lande mehr Amerikaner den Rücken kehren, als Deutsche.

Wir sollen uns amerikanisieren! Dies Wort haben wir nun schon so oft gehört und vor der Wiederholung dieses Wortes sind wir noch immer so wenig gesichert, daß an Diejenigen, von denen es ausgeht, endlich die harte Anforderung gemacht werden muß, sich etwas dabei zu denken. In ihrem Sinne kann das Wort nur bedeuten, daß wir einen ganz neuen Menschen anziehen sollen,

[1]) Vertreter des Nativismus und des Knownothingtums von damals.

einen cisatlantischen Modellmenschen, und dieser Modellmensch ist natürlich Herr Gardner und Herr Banks, Herr Banks und Herr Gardner. Die Herren sollten bedenken, daß nicht jeder Mensch ein Modell sein kann, sonst bliebe keiner übrig, dem es zu dienen hat. Woraus besteht der Mensch, speziell der gebildete Mensch? Er besteht nicht bloß aus dem Fleisch und Blut, in welchem die Art seiner Eltern sich fortsetzte, er besteht auch aus allen den mannigfachen Einwirkungen, welche physische und politische Verhältnisse, welche Geschichte und Erziehung, welche Gesellschaft und Naturumgebung, welche Sitte und Lebensweise auf diese leibliche Gebilde mit seinen Anlagen und Kräften im Verlauf von Jahren und Dezennien gemacht haben. Er besteht aus den Gedanken, Gefühlen und Erinnerungen, welche die tausendfachen Bestrebungen, Erfahrungen und Berührungen seines vergangenen Lebens in ihm zurückgelassen haben. Er besteht aus angeborenen und erworbenen, gemütlichen und geistigen, praktischen und wissenschaftlichen, künstlerischen und literarischen Schätzen und Elementen, welche nach und nach sich in ihm angesammelt haben und gleichsam zellenweise wie ein physischer Organismus zu einem Ganzen in ihm verwachsen sind. Die Herrn Gouverneure Gardner und Banks, diese Tausendkünstler, machen mit diesem geistigen Organismus kurzen Prozeß. Reißt sie aus, rufen sie uns zu, werft von euch die Elemente, aus denen ihr besteht, und wenn dann gar nichts mehr von euch übrig bleibt, so seid ihr amerikanisiert. In dieser Weise würde ein „Know-Nothing" aus uns ein „Be-Nothing" machen und dann begrüßte er uns als Bruder. Und gibt er uns nicht für Alles Ersatz, was er uns genommen? Ist das Leben nicht wie ein Panorama, in welchem die Aufspannung eines „andern Bildes" genügt, das frühere zu verdrängen? Und hat noch irgend ein Bild der Welt ein Recht an die Erinnerung, nachdem das amerikanische vor euch aufgerollt worden? Steigt herab von den Alpen und erhebt den Blick zu den Alleghanies; vergeßt den mittelalterlichen Rhein, damit ihr den modernen Hudson bewundern lernt; streicht Berlin wie Heidelberg aus eurem Gedächtnis aus und verliebt euch in New York und Cambridge; werft Goethe und Schiller in den Ofen und lest dafür die Bibel und Miles Standish; begrabt den Hutten und den Börne und verehrt dafür den Webster und den

Everett; wendet euch ab von den Münstern und Mausoleen und erbaut euren Geschmack an feurigen „Brickhäusern" und dem eklektischen Stil steinerner Quodlibets; laßt Kiß und Rauch in den Schatten treten vor Crawford und Powers; kehrt Kaulbach und Lessing den Rücken und stellt euch bewundernd vor die Bilderläden, in welchen man Gemälde kauft, um Rahmen zu verkaufen. Wollt ihr aber außerdem noch Ersatz für eure Philosophen, so habt ihr — wenn die Bescheidenheit uns erlaubt dies anzudeuten — euren Gardner, Banks und Brooks bei der Hand.

Doch wie für eure geistigen, so ist auch für eure sonstigen Bedürfnisse gesorgt. Wozu wollt ihr Rheinwein trinken, wenn euch Tee geboten wird, jener heilige Tee, den die schwarzen Zöpfe produzieren und die rothaarigen Zöpfe trinken, der aber die Quintessenz alles Geistigen enthält, seit ihn die Bostoner in Seewasser getauft haben? Kann es euch Überwindung kosten, eure „gemütliche" Hauswirtschaft durch den Komfort der steifen amerikanischen Hausordnung zu reformieren? Was eure derbe deutsche Küche betrifft, so macht sie euch billiös oder blähsüchtig; mit Candies, Pies und Cakes, mit Pork und Beans und Boston Brown Bread aber amerikanisiert ihr euren Magen auf dem einfachen Weg der Dyspepsia. Sucht ihr gemütliche oder gesellige Unterhaltungen, so habt ihr Feuermannsparaden statt der Landpartien, Kotstraßen statt der Promenaden, Kirchen statt der Wirtshäuser, Thanksgivings-Tage statt der Volksfeste und vor Allem habt ihr Sonntags die echteste, ungetrübteste, himmlischste Langeweile: jene stille Wonne der inneren Nabelbeschauung, welche einen so erfreulichen Fortschritt über die äußere der asiatischen Talapoinen bekundet; jene stumme Bußübung für die böse Erbsünde, Gehirn im Kopf und Blut in den Adern zu haben; jenen eigentümlichen Zustand des Blödsinns ohne Gehirnerweichung, der Unempfindlichkeit ohne Chloroform, des Schlafens ohne Schlaf und der Leblosigkeit ohne Tod.

Um auf das Exempel des Amerikanisierens die entscheidende Probe zu machen, Herr Gardner und Herr Banks, wollen wir das Verhältnis einmal umkehren, wir wollen Sie von Amerika nach Deutschland auswandern lassen und fordern Sie dann mit teutonischem Patriotismus auf, sich zu germanisieren. Sträuben

Sie sich nicht, das Experiment ist bald gemacht. Zunächst also eignen Sie sich statt Ihres englischen „mixtum compositum", durch dessen Handhabung allein Sie hier große Männer geworden sind, unsere edle, reine deutsche Muttersprache an. Landen Sie, also ausgerüstet, glücklich an den „gastlichen Gestaden" Germaniens, so singen Sie zur Begrüßung nicht den „Yankee doodle", sondern: „Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" Kommen Sie nach Frankfurt, der Hauptstadt des „Reichs", so werden Sie es an Bostons Stelle als die „Wiege der Freiheit" verehren, aus der die „Pilgrime" der Paulskirche nach Stuttgart gewandert sind, in der später „die deutschen Männer" getagt haben und die einst Börne in dem „Hancock-House" der Judengasse beherbergt hat. Auch werden Sie dort statt der Webster-Statue die Goethe-Statue bewundern können, die eben so gut unter die Krämer paßt wie Webster unter die Abolitionisten. Wollen Sie das Bunker-Hill-Monument vergessen, so besuchen Sie bloß im Teutoburger Walde den Cherusker mit dem einen Arm oder den Tamerlanschen Knochenobelisk auf dem Schlachtfelde von Bronzell. Statt der „Union" lassen Sie die berühmte deutsche Einheit leben und an die Stelle Washingtons setzt Ihr neugebackener Patriotismus unseren großen Fr. Hecker, dem sämtliche „gärende Buttermilchtöpfe nachlaufen". In Berlin können Sie, wenn Sie „sound principles" haben, durch Vermittlung der Gendarmerie „Hands shaken" mit dem König in Uniform, statt mit Ihrem König im Frack. Spüren Sie einen Drang, die Sklavenhalter zu bekämpfen, so vergreifen Sie sich an jenen drei Dutzend Landesvätern, deren Sklaven den Vorzug haben, daß sie nicht bloß ihre Herrn, sondern auch sich selbst füttern und kleiden. Ihre Vorliebe für das Knownothingtum wenden Sie jenen Patrioten des „badischen Ländle" zu, welche zur Mithilfe an dem deutschen Befreiungswerke keinen „Foreigner" zulassen wollten, der unterhalb Mannheims geboren oder vom linken Rheinufer herübergekommen war. Spüren Sie Lust, sich in einen politischen „Klub" oder eine wühlerische „Loge" aufnehmen zu lassen, so treten Sie einem Vereine zur Abschaffung der Tierquälerei oder zur Verbreitung des besten Pflanzendüngers bei. Wollen Sie sich aufraffen zu einem Schwung über die Plattheiten des Lebens, so schwingen Sie sich nicht auf den Pegasus oder Ihr Pferd, sondern lernen Sie als

Turner den „Bauchschwung" und statt „Good bye" sagen Sie mit Jahnschem Biedersinn: „Gut Heil! Gruß und Handschlag!" Um bei der geistigen Unterhaltung nichts einzubüßen, lesen Sie unsern Redwitz statt Ihres Longfellow; für die Bibel aber werden Sie einige Entschädigung finden bei dem Vicarius Feuerbach. Am Sonntag lesen Sie Vormittags den „Faust" des Kirchenvaters Goethe und Nachmittags gehen Sie auf's Land und gestehen Sie mit Horaz ohne Anstand:

„Ein gutes Bier, ein beizender Tabak
Und eine Dirn' im Putz, das ist so mein Geschmack."

Nota bene, den Tabak dürfen Sie nicht nach hiesiger Weise innerlich anwenden, sondern nur äußerlich als Rauchopfer zu Ehren der Göttin Mephitis. Was aber des Leibes Notdurft betrifft, so werden Sie sich vor Allem, statt auf die Cakes, auf die bairischen Knödel verlegen und statt auf die Tomatoes werfen Sie sich auf das berühmte Sauerkraut, welches ein ganz vortreffliches Gericht ist, aber mitsamt dem „Fleischchen weiß und mild" Ihnen im Magen liegen wird wie den Bostoner Deutschen das Zweijahrsamendement.

Die Herrn Banks und Gardner, Gardner und Banks werden mich in Verdacht ziehen, daß ich Possen mit ihnen treibe. Und dennoch habe ich ihnen in vollem Ernst begreifen zu machen gesucht, was sie und alle andern Repräsentanten des Vollblut-Amerikanertums mit uns armen Einwanderern vorhaben, wenn sie uns die Zumutung machen, uns zu amerikanisieren, d. i. durch Umwandlung unserer ganzen Denk- und Lebensweise Menschen ihres Schlages zu werden.

Man werde sich also endlich darüber klar, daß das Amerikanisieren im Sinne solcher Schablonen-Patrioten nicht bloß eine Absurdität, daß es geradezu eine Unmöglichkeit ist. Und gleichzeitig muß endlich erkannt werden, daß es aus keinem stichhaltigen Grunde wünschenswert, daß es der größte Verlust für die Entwicklung und ein mächtiges Hemmnis für den Fortschritt wäre. Die Verschiedenheit der Nationalitäten, wie die einzelnen Individualitäten, mit der aus ihr hervorgehenden geistigen Reibung, Anregung und gegenseitigen Durchdringung ist gerade ein Haupterfordernis, diesem Lande die große Zukunft zu sichern, die ihm

bevorsteht, wenn es erst die Ketten zerrissen hat, die es noch an die Sünden der Vergangenheit fesseln. Amerika, auf die „Amerikaner" beschränkt, wäre von vornherein verloren.

Es ist eine leere Phantasie, einen Menschen ohne nationale Eigentümlichkeit vorauszusetzen, und doch wäre ein solcher Mensch das notwendige Erfordernis für das Experiment, einen Nationalcharakter durch Einimpfung oder Aufnötigung zu schaffen. Ein Mensch „an sich", ein Mensch ohne bestimmte Färbung und unterscheidende Natur, die er mit einem Stamm oder einer Nation gemein hat, ist für unsere Vorstellung eine reine Unmöglichkeit. Es gibt kein Land, wo Menschen „an sich" leben. Nur ein solcher Mensch aber, dem alle Voraussetzung und Traditionen einer Nationalität und Geschichte fehlen, wäre im Stande, sich von außen her einen Nationalcharakter ein- und aufprägen zu lassen. Und wer eine solche Absorbierung der verschiedenen Eigentümlichkeiten der Völker, eine Uniformierung des Nationalcharakters wünschen kann, will dadurch der Entwickelung ihre notwendigsten Bedingungen und ihren Produkten den schönsten Reiz nehmen. Auch der Kosmopolitismus kann nicht ein Aufgehen aller Nationalunterschiede in einem einzigen Typus verlangen, sondern nur ein Zusammenwirken der verschiedenen Menschheitstypen für die eine Menschheitsidee. Die unfruchtbaren, vegetierenden Abfälle oder Ableger von Nationalitäten, die sich als besondere Staatswesen zurechtmachen, kann die Geschichte ganz gut entbehren, nicht aber die Eigenschaften jener großen Gemeinwesen, die einen besonderen Menschheitstypus repräsentieren und die Mittel haben, ihn zur gedeihlichen Entfaltung zu bringen. Wir brauchen weder das französelnde Kapaunentum der Belgier, noch das entartete Germanentum der Holländer; weder das imbezile Portugiesentum, noch das arrogante Dänentum; weder das amerikanische Spaniertum, noch das spanische Amerikanertum. Wohl aber braucht die Geschichte die geistreiche Lebendigkeit und den gärenden Ungestüm der Franzosen, den umfassenden Gedankenreichtum und die gründliche Natur der Deutschen, die poetische Schönheit der Italiener, den praktischen Sinn und die rastlose Tatkraft der Angelsachsen. Hier in Amerika aber finden wir den freien Boden für eine Zusammenfassung und Vereinigung aller der Entwicklungselemente, welche die verschiedenen großen Na-

tionaltypen darstellen. Hier sind gleichsam die nationalen Pflanzen, welche drüben in geschiedenen Beeten wachsen, zu einem politischen Riesen-Bouquet zusammengefaßt. Wie die amerikanischen Wälder sich durch die schöne Mannigfaltigkeit ihrer Baumarten auszeichnen, ohne daß die eine die andere am Wachstum hindert oder verdrängt, so gewinnt die amerikanische Gesellschaft ein Hauptinteresse durch die Verschiedenartigkeit ihrer Volkselemente, und nur dem borniertesten, geistlosesten Knownothingtum kann es einfallen, den amerikanischen Wald zu einer eintönigen, abwechslungslosen Gruppe von Hickories oder Hemlocks machen zu wollen. Die dünkelhafte Unwissenheit und Gedankenlosigkeit hat nie eine rohere Forderung gestellt als diese. Habt ihr euch schon ernstlich gefragt, was euer „Amerikanertum" sei und wie es sich verhalte zu unserem amerikanischen Europäertum? Zu dem Ausspruch, das höchste Wissen bestehe in der Erkenntnis, daß wir **nichts** wissen, kam Sokrates, nachdem er Alles gelernt und durchdacht hatte. Die amerikanischen Sokratesse ersteigen die Stufe des Nichtswissers weit schneller, und direkter, als der griechische, nämlich ohne den lästigen Umweg des Lernens und des Denkens.

Statt uns also im Sinne der Herren Banks und Gardner zu amerikanisieren, wollen wir in dieser freien Luft erst recht unser wahres Deutschtum entwickeln, wir müssen hier erproben, was der Deutsche in der Freiheit gilt und werden kann, nicht in feindlichem Gegensatz, sondern in fördernder Gemeinschaft mit dem verwandten Angelsachsentum. Wir wollen so wenig in einem nationalen Zwittertum wie in einem nationalen Kapaunentum untergehen. Natürliche Amerikaner **können** wir nicht werden; Affen des Amerikanertums **wollen** wir nicht werden; weniger als die Amerikaner **dürfen** wir nicht werden. Seien wir also **Deutsche ohne Teutonismus**, aber auch Amerikaner ohne Amerikanismus, seien wir einfach amerikanische Bürger mit deutscher Natur und suchen wir das Amerikanisieren in der freien Entwicklung des wahrhaft Menschlichen nach der Anleitung der Unabhängigkeitserklärung. Gleichheit der Freiheit und der Rechte für alle Verschiedenheiten der Individualität — das ist hier die einzige wahre Nationalität und das festeste Band des Patriotismus. Nicht im Sinne nationaler Exklusivität sollen

wir unsere Eigentümlichkeit bewahren, sondern um unserer eigentlichen Natur treu zu bleiben, ohne die wir eben nichts sein würden als verwischte Lettern im Buche des Lebens. Ich bleibe bei meinem Spruch:

Sich amerikanisieren
Heißt ganz sich verlieren;
Als Deutscher sich treu geblieben,
Heißt Ehre und Bildung lieben;
Doch besser indianisch,
Als deutsch-amerikanisch.

Ja, lieber eine vollblütige, echte Rothaut des Urwalds, als jenes deutsche Affentum und Zwittertum, das sich vom Amerikanertum die rohesten Seiten aneignet, um damit dem Pöbel zu imponieren, und eine Sprache zusammen-„mixt“ und zusammen-„fixt“, vor welcher die deutsche Grammatik aus dem Einband fahren möchte. Solche „gemixte“ Deutsche sind beinahe so unausstehlich wie jene gewichsten, die sich von ihren Landleuten hochmütig als Aristokrätler abwenden, um bei den Amerikanern desto demütiger den Bedienten zu spielen. Die alten Römer hatten einen Janus mit zwei Gesichtern, von denen das eine vorwärts, das andere rückwärts schaute; gewisse Deutsche in Amerika stellen eine andere Art Janus dar, der das eine Gesicht rückwärts die Nase des Hochmutspinsels über seine Landsleute rümpfen läßt, während das andere vorwärts mit dem Grinsen des Lakaien bei den Amerikanern um das Gnadenbrot bettelt. Uebrigens haben auch diese amerikanisch degenerierten Deutschen ihre Aufgabe: sie zeigen dem Amerikaner, wie viel ein Deutscher verliert, wenn er sich aufgibt, lehren ihn daher Denjenigen schätzen, der sich treu bleibt. Die Amerikaner haben einen sehr guten Blick, diejenigen, die sich zu ihren Bedienten machen, von denjenigen zu unterscheiden, die sich selbst respektieren, und danach richten sie genau ihren eignen Respekt, wenn auch nicht immer ihre Anerkennung.

Als die wahren Amerikaner schätzen wir nicht diejenigen, welche durchaus „Amerika regieren“ und uniformieren müssen, sondern die europäisch gebildeten Amerikaner, welche dem amerikanisch gesinnten Europäer als Menschen die Hand reichen. Als wahre Deutsche aber werden uns die Amerikaner nur dann schä-

ten lernen, wenn wir unser Wesen selbstbewußt behaupten und unsere Vorzüge selbständig zur Geltung bringen. So lang wir dies nicht tun, ist es anmaßend, Anerkennung zu verlangen, oder beschämend, sie zu finden. Für das Ehrgefühl muß es drückender sein, eine unverdiente Anerkennung zu empfangen, als es für das Selbstgefühl ist, eine verdiente zu entbehren.

So stelle ich also den Deutschen und den Amerikaner als **koordiniert** zusammen, nicht den Einen dem Andern subordiniert. Die Zukunft mag entscheiden, wer „primus inter pares", der Erste unter den Gleichen, werden wird. Für die Gegenwart wollen wir unsere beiderseitigen Eigenschaften in einem flüchtigen Vergleich zusammenstellen und die charakteristischen Streitkräfte mustern, die wir beim Entwicklungskampf in's Feld zu führen haben.

Bei der Zurücksetzung, die uns die Amerikaner noch häufig bieten zu dürfen glauben, ist es für uns nicht ganz leicht, ihren Eigenschaften mit Unbefangenheit gerecht zu werden. Wo durch die Ungleichheit der Stellung eine **Anerkennung** in Gefahr kommt, den Schein der **Schmeichelei** zu tragen, ist auch der Gerechteste nicht immer geneigt, durch ein Lob sein Selbstgefühl zu exponieren. Ich muß es darauf ankommen lassen, ob mein Talent für die Schmeichelei sich genugsam verleugnen kann, um meine Anerkennung nicht zu entwerten.

Nehmen wir an, die ersten Kolonisten seien nicht Untertanen, sondern himmel- und höllenfeste Radikale und Revolutionäre vom Schlage unserer Achtundvierziger gewesen. Sie würden natürlich zuerst beflissen gewesen sein, die deutsche Einheit zu demonstrieren, indem sie über die Form der künftigen Universität, oder über die parlamentarische Ordnung der intellektuellen Unordnung so lang und so weise und so erschöpfend gestritten hätten, bis sie durch Bären, oder Indianer, oder den Hunger aller weiteren Kolonisationsbemühungen überhoben waren. Hätten sie sich aber über ein leitendes, entscheidendes Oberhaupt geeinigt, so würden sie sicher einen Mann gewählt haben, der die Kolonisation etwa mit folgender Aufforderung begonnen hätte: „Freunde, Brüder! Ehe wir Bäume fällen, Hütten bauen, das Land kultivieren und uns vor dem Verhungern und den Indianern schützen, laßt uns zuvor einen „Deutschen Zuschauer" gründen!"

Doch sind es nicht bloß solche Liebhabereien und Kuriositäten, welche die Grundursache bezeichnen, die uns Neulinge des selbstständigen Handelns zur praktischen Gestaltung einer neuen Welt aus dem rohen Material unfähig gemacht hätte. Die Grundursache finde ich in dem, durch unsere politische Erziehung verschuldeten oder doch vergrößerten Mißverhältnis zwischen unserer geistigen Anlage und unserer Befähigung zum praktischen Handeln. Wo es auf die Tat, die handelnde Initiative, den kühnen Angriff, die praktische Gestaltung und die ausdauernde Durchführung ankommt, da scheitern wir Deutschen noch durchgängig entweder an der Kritik oder an der Bummelei. Die Kritik umgeht das eigene Handeln, indem sie es schon im Voraus zergliedert und verurteilt; die Bummelei versäumt es, indem sie ihre Kräfte verlottert und an Allotria verzettelt.* Kein Volk ist stärker als das deutsche in Anläufen ohne Angriff, in Vorsätzen ohne Ausführung, in Verhandlung ohne Handlungen, in Worten ohne Taten. Zwar werden unsere Landsleute, wenn sie einmal zur Aktion kommen, auch gründlich handeln; aber wann sie dazu kommen, das kann niemand weniger vorausbestimmen als sie selbst. Die nötige Tat, die zeitige Tat, die entschiedene Tat, die energische Tat, die ausdauernde Tat, die nicht nachläßt, bis sie ihr Ziel erreicht — sie ist es, wozu der Deutsche sich nicht entschließen kann, sie ist es, die er stets verschiebt oder von Andern erwartet, die er so gern irgend einem erträumten „deus ex machina" überläßt und um die er gewöhnlich so lang herumkritisiert und herumbummelt, bis die Gelegenheit vorbei und das Fiasko gesichert ist. Dann geht er in sich, kritisiert sich selbst und tut Buße, indem er als doppelter Bummler zu Grunde geht, doch nicht als Betbruder. Die Anlage zur Kritik ist der größte Vorzug, sofern sie durch Ermittlung der Wahrheit dem Handeln die rechte Richtschnur anweist; aber sie ist der größte Fehler, wenn ihr nicht ein energischer Wille und schlagfertiger Entschluß zur Seite steht, der ihre Resultate rechtzeitig gestaltet und sich nicht tatlos mit dem selbstgefälligen Gedanken begnügt, sie gefunden zu haben. Keine Kritik und keine Tat — das ist irisch; Tat und keine Kritik

* Der deutsche Charakter, den Heinzen hier seinen Zeitgenossen zuschreibt, hat sich inzwischen, dank der Führung Preußens und Bismarcks, doch glücklicherweise gänzlich geändert.

— das ist amerikanisch; Kritik und keine Tat — das ist deutsch; Kritik und Tat zugleich — das ist, was die Deutschen und die Amerikaner mit einander zu Stande bringen sollen.

Die unzeitige deutsche Kritik, die nie beruhigte und nie befriedigte, die schwatzt wo sie handeln und räsonniert wo sie hören soll, die in ihrer Ausartung eben sowohl zur Klatschsucht wie zur Haarspalterei, zur Verkleinerungssucht wie zur Sophistik führt, ist bis jetzt noch überall die Feindin der deutschen Tat und Einigkeit gewesen und selbst die Not war nicht immer im Stande, sie zum Schweigen zu bringen. Den Deutschen genügt kein Plan und kein Führer, der an ihren Verstand appelliert; sie verzichten höchstens dann auf die störende Kritik, wenn man bescheiden genug ist, unter derselben zu bleiben. Dann sind sie im Stande, der größten Dummheit als Verdienst anzurechnen, was sie dem größten Verstande nie verzeihen würden; da aber in dieser klugen Welt der Mangel an Verstand immer nur einzelnen Individuen forthilft, nicht ganzen Völkern, so kann den Deutschen im Allgemeinen die Nachsicht, welche sie oft der Dummheit beweisen, eben so wenig nützen wie die Unerbittlichkeit, womit sie noch öfter den Verstand verurteilen. Daher rührt es, daß sie eben so unfähig sein würden, allein eine Kolonie zu gründen, wie sie bis jetzt unfähig waren, eine Revolution, ja auch nur eine erwähnenswerte Organisation für politische Zwecke durchzusetzen. Man gebe den Deutschen in der Wüste ihrer Zustände einen Löwen zum Führer und sie werden ihm mit der Zange ihrer Kritik alle Haare aus den Mähnen, alle Zähne aus dem Rachen und alle Klauen aus den Tatzen zu zerren suchen, um ihn womöglich zu einem Kamel zu machen. Nehmen sie aber ein Kamel zum Führer — was immer das Wahrscheinlichste ist —, so werden sie ihm mittelst einer Umkehrung der Kritik die Mähnen, die Zähne, die Klauen von hundert Löwen andichten, um dann nebst ihrem schrecklichen Führer von Tigern und Hyänen gefressen zu werden.

Neben der Kritik nannte ich als zweites Probatmittel der Erfolglosigkeit die Bummelei. Sie ist, wie ihre Schwester, die Gemütlichkeit, etwas so eigentümlich Deutsches, daß andere Völker nicht einmal einen Ausdruck für sie haben. Es gibt verschiedene Arten, Grade und Richtungen der Bummelei. Unsere edelsten Geister waren zeitweise so gut Bummler wie unsere ordinärsten

Eckensteher. Die Quelle der Bummelei ist eigentlich ein im leeren Beete der Tatkraft rinnender Ueberfluß an Gemüt und Phantasie, welcher sich ableitet in zielloses Träumen, phantastisches Schwärmen, ideales Schwelgen. Ist dieses Träumen, Schwärmen und Schwelgen einmal zur Gewohnheit geworden, was ihm in Deutschland sogar durch den Schutz der Polizei garantiert ist, so flieht es naturgemäß alles Handeln, wodurch es in Kontakt mit der störenden Wirklichkeit gebracht wird, und wirft sich höchstens auf das sogenannte „Genießen". Je nach der Art und Bildungsstufe des Individuums wandelt es an der Hand des Gemüts und der Phantasie ebenso wohl in's Bierhaus, wo es im Schaum des Gerstensaftes und im Qualm der Pfeife die unbequemen Störungen des wirklichen Lebens zergehen sieht, wie auf die Höhen des Parnaß, wo es sich inmitten eines Weltkampfes eine phantastische Welt über der wirklichen aufbaut. So führt den Deutschen die Bummelei ebenso gut in die Regionen des edelsten Geisteslebens wie in die Tiefen der gemeinsten Verkommenheit; sie macht ihn ebenso gut zum schaffenden Künstler wie zum arbeitsscheuen Strolch. Stets aber ist sie ein vager Hang, sich gemütlich und geistig frei zu ergehen, ohne sich an die störenden Bedürfnisse und hemmenden Schranken des gemeinen Lebens zu kehren, das überall rüstiges Handanlegen und resolute Konzentrierung des Willens auf bestimmte Einzelzwecke gebietet. Es läßt sich nicht leugnen, daß die Deutschen sich durch diesen Hang besonders qualifizieren zu Kandidaten für jene olympische Versammlung der Urbilder aller Bummelei, deren Präsident Jupiter, deren Sekretär Apollo und deren Schatzmeisterinnen Hebe und Aphrodite hießen; so lang aber das Zeitalter des künftigen Hellenentums noch nicht angebrochen ist, verscherzen die Deutschen ihre Ansprüche darauf, indem sie es als Bummler vorwegnehmen wollen, ohne es als Männer errungen zu haben.

Daß sie noch eine Vorschule durchzumachen haben, ist auch aus anderen Rücksichten sehr dienlich. Im deutschen Bummlerleben spielt der Bauch noch eine zu große Rolle, als daß der olympische Vorrat von Nektar und Ambrosia ihn zufriedenstellen könnte. Essen und Trinken ist zwar noch von keinem Volk als etwas Ueberflüssiges oder Verwerfliches angesehen worden und man braucht kein homerischer Hellene zu sein, um selbst einen

tüchtigen Braten mit Poesie zu würzen; aber Fressen und Saufen, zumal wenn es zu einseitig und ausdauernd der Quantität huldigt, ist nach den neuesten Ermittelungen der Philosophie und Aesthetik nicht durchaus erforderlich, in der Gegenwart einen Mustermenschen und in der Zukunft einen Olympier aufzubauen. Die Engländer können keine Politik und sonstige öffentliche Angelegenheiten betreiben ohne Zweckessen; aber die Deutschen haben immer Eßzwecke ohne Politik und öffentliche Angelegenheiten. Die leitende Idee der deutschen Massen liegt mehr im Magen als im Kopf, und ihre Sparpfennige verwandeln sich immer eher in Bier und Wurst, als in Zeitungen und Bücher. Warten wir also mit dem Olymp, bis wir sicher sind, daß wir Apoll und die Musen nicht daraus vertreiben und den Ganymedes und die Hebe nicht zu Tode beschäftigen.

Jetzt stelle man mit der deutschen Bummlernatur das amerikanische Wesen zusammen. Weil der nüchterne Amerikaner nicht an unserem Gemüts- und Phantasie-Ueberfluß laboriert, deshalb ist sein Sinn berechnend auf das praktische Leben gerichtet, und wo wir träumen, schwärmen und idealisieren, da handelt und schafft und erwirbt er. Selbst wo ihn Unlust und Arbeitsscheu auf den Weg der Bummelei führen, da muß sie sich mehr oder weniger tätlich verhalten, und was als Deutscher ein Träumer wird, das wird als Amerikaner ein Loafer; was als Deutscher ein Eckensteher wird, das wird als Amerikaner ein Rowdy; was als Deutscher ein Vagabunde wird, das wird als Amerikaner ein Flibustier. Der einzige Zustand, in welchem der Amerikaner wahrhaft bummelt, ist jene selige Gemüts- und Geistes-Verfassung, in welcher er vom Lehnstuhl aus als umgekehrter Titane die Schuhsohlen dem Olymp und das Haupt dem Orkus zukehrt. Der Amerikaner bummelt nur sitzend. Aber selbst in diesem Zustande kann er die Tat nicht ganz unterlassen: er zieht wenigstens die Lanze des Zahnstochers aus der Tasche, um auf die Infusorien seines Dentalsystems Jagd zu machen, oder das Federmesser, um das Fundament seines Bummelsystems, seinen Lehnstuhl, zu zerschnitzeln.

Was den Bauch oder Magen angeht, so hat der amerikanische entschieden eine geringere Leistungsfähigkeit als der deutsche, er arbeitet auch weniger auf Kosten des Kopfes. Wenig Amerikaner

entziehen ihr Geld der Presse, um es für den Bauch zu verwenden. Die Presse und die reine Wäsche, das sind zwei lobenswerte Bedürfnisse, welche der Amerikaner weder durch die Küche noch durch die Kneipe beeinträchtigen läßt. Man kann selbst den amerikanischen Bummler nicht eigentlich der Völlerei beschuldigen. Sein nervös tätiger, straff überzogener Körper ist dazu weniger disponiert als die phlegmatischere, mit loserem Ueberzug versehene, mehr zur Ausfüllung angelegte Natur des Deutschen. In seiner Phantasie spielen die Lebensmittel keine Rolle, er ißt nicht in Gedanken, sein Appetit ist nicht leidenschaftlicher Natur und er macht aus dem Essen kein Fest, es sei denn wenn er am „Thanksgivings"-Tage „Türkey" ißt. Was aber das Trinken betrifft, so eilt er rasch zum Ziel, ohne, bei seinem Mangel an Gemütlichkeit, den Weg für die Unterhaltung zu benutzen, er liebt, ohne Jean Paul'sche Phantasie, gleich Jean Paul den Geist „kondensiert", nämlich den Schnaps, er trinkt oder säuft, wie jenes kölnische Genie, „bloß der Wirkung wegen" und diese Wirkung ist die Entfesselung der Bestialität auf dem kürzesten Wege. „Im Wein ist Wahrheit", aber im Schnaps ist sie nicht minder, und während der Wein oder das Bier den deutschen Bummler treibt, seinen fremden Nachbar zu umhalsen, treibt vielleicht der Schnaps den amerikanischen, seinen nächsten Freund totzuschlagen. Amerikaner, lernt Wein trinken! Ißt und trinkt der Deutsche noch zu viel, um im Olymp Aufnahme zu finden, so ist euer Geschmack noch zu roh, um die Gesellschaft der Götter zu goutieren, denn Nektar "kratzt nicht auf der Zunge" und Ambrosia läßt sich nicht wie die Riesenaustern mit „Catsup" und Pfeffersauce verschlingen.

Soll ich einen alten Ausdruck für literarische Unterscheidungen zur Bezeichnung ethnographischer Unterschiede benutzen, so möchte ich sagen, die Deutschen seien ein sentimentales, die Amerikaner ein naives Volk. Die Sentimentalität, deren geistige Form das Reflektieren ist, nimmt das Handeln vorweg durch den geistigen Vorgeschmack desselben und ehe sie noch den Braten der Tat auf das Feuer setzt, sorgt sie schon dafür, daß er in einer recht reichlichen Sauce von Gefühl oder Betrachtung schwimme. Die Naivität aber serviert den Braten ohne Sauce, wenn er sie auf dem Feuer der Gesinnung nicht von selbst erzeugt. Die Sentimentalität unternimmt nichts, ohne sich im Spiegel der Reflexion be-

trachtet zu haben, und lernt es dadurch als höchstes Ziel ansehen, betrachtet zu werden. Daher ist sie auch die Hauptquelle der Eitelkeit, welche zum Kokettieren wie zum Renommieren führt und sich von der einen Seite durch unfruchtbare Versuchungen wie von der anderen durch leere Schaustellungen befriedigt. Nur die Deutschen können es ertragen, ja eine Genugtuung darin finden, die ganze künftige Freiheit in der Vorstellung und den ganzen Despotismus in der gegenwärtigen Wirklichkeit zu haben. Nur dem deutschen Volk war es möglich, einen Klopstock, Hölty und andere Poeten hervorzubringen, die so sehr von der Wirklichkeit zu abstrahieren verstanden, daß sie sich sogar abquälten mit sehnsuchtflennenden Gedichten an — man denke sich — die „künftige Geliebte". Liebeserklärungen einem Wesen zu machen, das gar nicht existiert, aber doch erst existieren muß, ehe es zu Liebeserklärungen Anlaß geben kann — ist das nicht die höchste Leistung sentimentaler Abstraktion? Und dieselben Liebhaber, die der „künftigen Geliebten" entgegenschmachteten, wären vielleicht wie ein ägyptischer Josephissimus davon gelaufen, wenn eine wirkliche den Zipfel ihres „deutschen Rockes" ergriffen hätte. Aehnlich haben sie es auch mit anderen Geliebten gehalten. Sie haben Gedichte gemacht an die künftige Freiheit und die künftige Revolution; als diese so oft gerufenen Damen aber endlich erschienen und ihren Werbern die ausgebreiteten Arme entgegenstreckten, da wandten die Schmachtenden verschämt die Augen und die Hände weg, alles Entgegenkommen war vergeblich und die befreiende Potiphara legte sich höhnend auf das andere Ohr.

Die amerikanische Naivität unterhält, befriedigt sich und kokettiert nicht mit dem Eindruck einer Tat, ehe sie getan ist, aber ergreift ohne Reflexion die Gelegenheit beim Schopf, wo sie sich bietet. Sie erzeugt so wenig einen eitlen Romantiker, wie einen allwissenden Kritiker, oder einen unschlüssigen Hamlet. Die Tat, das Vollbringen, als einziges Ziel im Auge, löst sie in ihren Willen nicht im Voraus auf in einem Brei von Betrachtungen über die Rolle die sie spielt und die Figur die sie macht. Der Amerikaner setzt sich aufs Pferd, um nach dem Ort seiner Bestimmung zu reiten, nicht aber, um sich zum Ziel von bewundernden Augen zu machen, welche die deutsche Selbstbetrachtung hinter jedem Vorhang vermuten wird. Kein Amerikaner würde mit

Herrn Kinkel, als er in aller deutschen Unschuld zur Revolutionszeit mit einem romantischen Heckerhut bewaffnet durch ein friedliches Tal der Pfalz ritt, ausgerufen haben: „wenn uns jetzt unsere Weiber sähen." Noch weniger würde ein Amerikaner, nach dem ersten fruchtlosen Versuch, mit Herrn Hecker im Walde den Karl Moor gespielt, das Pistol drohend betrachtet und den umstehenden Bäumen und Adjutanten versichert haben: „jetzt ist mein großes Leben zu Ende" — was bekanntlich nicht ganz der Fall war. Der Amerikaner sieht zunächst darauf, was er erreicht, der Deutsche darauf, welchen Effekt er macht, auch wenn er nichts erreicht. Der Amerikaner büßt dadurch freilich viel Romantik ein und handelt häufig auf Kosten der Aesthetik; aber was er als Romantiker und Aesthetiker verliert, das gewinnt er wenigstens als Mann. Indem ich diese Seite am Amerikaner hervorhebe, vergesse ich übrigens nicht, daß er an die Freiheit gewöhnt, daß die freie Betätigung ihm zur anderen Natur geworden ist in einem Lande, dessen ganze Entwicklung alle müßige und eitle Reflexion ausschloß, und daß daher seine ganze Erziehung ihn eben sowohl innerlich vor schwächlicher Selbstbespiegelung schützen, wie sie ihm eine größere Sicherheit des äußeren Auftretens gewähren mußte. Wir Deutschen dagegen hatten nur die Betrachtung frei; in der freien Betätigung haben wir erst begonnen uns zu versuchen. Mit Völkern geht es wie mit Kindern. Jedes Kind glaubt die Aufmerksamkeit aller Welt auf sich gerichtet und hört nicht auf zu paradieren, wenn es zum ersten Mal die Hosen an hat, und unsere deutschen Freiheitshosen sind noch ziemlich neu.

Merkwürdiger Weise gibt es eine, und zwar eine sehr praktische Richtung, in welcher die tatenbedürftige Energie der Amerikaner eine noch weit größere Scheu vor dem Handeln hat, als die zaudernde Kritik und ziellose Bummelei der Deutschen — ich meine die Revolution. Die Unempfindlichkeit und Geduld, mit welcher diese Scheu trotz aller Freiheit und allen Mitteln der Gegenwehr die empörendsten Mißhandlungen erträgt, wenn sie sich den Mantel der Gesetzlichkeit umhängen, ist ebenso beispiellos wie unbegreiflich. Fast die ganze Geschichte der Sklavenhalterei gibt dafür Zeugnis ab. Das sprechendste Zeugnis aber lieferten die Vorgänge in Kansas, durch welche man in Zweifel kam, ob man sich mehr gegen die Sklavenhalter und ihre Werkzeuge, oder

mehr gegen diejenigen empören sollte, welche sich von ihnen so ruchlos mißhandeln ließen. Erst durch einen schlichten Farmer mit grauen Haaren mußten die Gegner der Sklaverei über die Art belehrt werden, wie freie Männer sich gegen eine Tyrannei zu verhalten haben, die jede Art von Willkür und Schandtat im Namen des Gesetzes begeht. Nach den Erfahrungen in Kansas zu schließen, müßte man annehmen, daß ein entschlossener Präsident mit einem stehenden Heere von 50,000 Mann im Namen des „Gesetzes", der „Konstitution" und der „Union" alle Freiheiten der Republik zu vernichten im Stande wäre. Und doch hat dieses Volk schon im Jahre 1776 sich selbst die Regel des Handelns für die Fälle vorgezeichnet, in welchen eine Regierung despotischen Mißbrauch von ihren Mitteln macht. Die Unabhängigkeitserklärung, welche das Recht der Revolution voranstellt, sagt u. A.: „Wenn eine lange Kette von Mißbräuchen und widerrechtlichen Anmaßungen, die unveränderlich dasselbe Ziel im Auge haben, klar die Absicht anzeigt, die Menschen unter einen unumschränkten Despotismus zu zwingen, so haben diese das Recht, so ist es ihre Pflicht, eine solche Regierung abzuwerfen und für neue Schutzwehren ihrer zukünftigen Sicherheit zu sorgen." Nun, ich sollte denken, die „Kette" der sklavenhalterischen „Mißbräuche" und „Anmaßungen" ist schon „lang" genug und ihr „Ziel" und ihre „Absicht" ist ebenso unverkennbar, wie es klar ist, daß ohne Durchbrechung der konstitutionellen Schranken die Sklaverei nicht mehr unschädlich gemacht werden kann. Der sogenannte gesetzliche Fortschritt auf einer Basis, welche ein absolutes Unrecht gesetzlich sichert, kann ewig nur gesetzlicher Rückschritt sein. Trotz dieser unumstößlichen Wahrheit lassen die Amerikaner sich von dem „gesetzlich" gesicherten Unrecht lieber jede Ungesetzlichkeit gefallen, als daß sie durch ein kühnes Handeln, wozu namentlich Kansas Gelegenheit gab und wozu jeder nördliche Gouverneur durch jeden Sklavenauslieferungsfall Gelegenheit erhält, sich des Alps entledigen, der sie so lang gedrückt hat. Statt den Knoten der „gesetzlichen" Schlingen, wodurch sie nach und nach von einer Macht gefesselt und stranguliert werden, die sich selbst aller Fesseln entledigt, bei Zeiten mit einem rebellischen Messer zu durchschneiden — was schon deshalb das „Praktischste" wäre, weil „time money" ist —, lassen sie den Knoten unter endlosen Erniedrigungen und

Quälereien so fest verschlingen und schürzen, daß sie ihn später nicht mehr lösen können ohne sich selbst in den Hals zu schneiden. Bis zum Auftreten des alten Brown sind in Amerika die Sklavenhalter die einzigen Revolutionäre gewesen. Wenn dies alles nicht gegen den Verstand der Amerikaner sprechen soll, so muß es gegen ihren Mut sprechen und doch fehlt es ihnen im Allgemeinen nicht daran. Aber woran es ihnen fehlt, das ist außer der Aufopferungsfähigkeit für gewinnlose Geschäfte der Sauerteig radikaler Ideen, welcher ihren angelsächsischen, stereotyp geschulten Geist aus dem eingefahrenen Geleise des politischen wie kommerziellen Schachers heraustreibt. Mit diesem Artikel könnten ihnen die politischen Flüchtlinge Europas, namentlich die Deutschen, ebensowohl in der Politik aufhelfen wie im sozialen Leben. So wenig Nordamerika von den Engländern frei geworden ist ohne Revolution, so wenig wird es ohne Revolution frei werden von den Sklavenhaltern und es ist zu hoffen, daß an dieser Revolution die Deutschen einen rühmlicheren Anteil haben werden als an ihrer eigenen. Wir betrachten keinen Deutschen als Landsmann, der auf der Seite der Sklaverei steht, und wünschen im Interesse unserer Ehre jedem den Strick, der beim Entscheidungskampf in den Reihen der Menschenhändler getroffen wird.

Ich habe die Frage erhoben, wie es mit dem amerikanischen Mut bestellt sei. Der Mut ist ein Thema von Bedeutung, das wir auf Tribünen wie in Wirtshäusern alle Tage verhandeln hören, ohne darüber in's Klare zu kommen. Hier nur ein Paar Worte, Mut ist im allgemeinen die Fähigkeit, mit Bewußtsein und Kenntnis der Gefahr etwas zu wagen für einen Zweck. Er ist also zu messen nach dem, was gewagt wird, und nach dem, wofür etwas gewagt wird. Hat derjenige Mut, der sein Leben wagt für eine Dummheit? Er ist toll. Hat derjenige Mut, der seine Knochen preisgibt für eine Balgerei, aber keine Meinung abzugeben wagt für die Freiheit? Er ist roh und gemein. Herr Emerson sagte neulich, es gebe Menschen, die sich ruhig vor den Mund der Kanone stellen, aber nicht wagen den eigenen aufzutun. Ja, den Mund auftun, das ist der Hauptmut, auf den es bei den Fragen des Fortschritts ankommt und den man am meisten da vermißt, wo das Mundauftun ein verbrieftes Recht ist. Die J. Brown's des Wortes und der Feder sind seltener, als die J. Brown's der

Muskete. Hier, in diesem Lande, wo jeder im Stande ist, eine Rede zu halten, ist unter Tausenden nicht einer im Stande, den Mund aufzutun. Wer hält mehr Reden als die Amerikaner. Sie sind dazu in Stand gesetzt nicht nur durch eine langjährige Uebung, sondern auch durch den Mangel jenes Ideenüberflusses, dessen Sichtung und logische Verbindung mitunter das Haupthindernis selbst für begabte Menschen bildet, wenn sie dem momentanen Redebedürfnis entsprechen sollen. Die amerikanischen Redenhalter haben ihren Ideenvorrat wie ein „Set" von Werkzeugen stets übersichtlich zur Hand, weil er sich beschränkt auf diejenigen Dinge, mit denen sie sich in dem geschlossenen Kreise ihrer Politik und ihrer Geschäfte von jeher beschäftigt haben. Daher jenes ewige Wiederdreschen tausendmal durchdroschener Fragen; daher aber auch jene Sprachfertigkeit, welche in jedem Moment dem Geschäftsbedarf Genüge leistet. Am Redenhalter wird dann der Mund, was der Heber am Faße — ist er einmal am Laufen, so läuft er ganz von selbst, nur mit dem Unterschiede, daß jedes Faß endlich leer wird, aber nicht jeder Redenhalter, denn das Ausgelaufene läuft immer wieder auf's Neue. Wie gesagt, trotz dieser Redefertigkeit fehlt den Meisten der Mut, sie für die rechten Dinge zu benutzen. Und weshalb? Weil das Risiko hier einen Punkt betrifft, den das rechnende „Büsineß" niemals aus den Augen setzt, nämlich den Geschäftsnachtheil, die Einbuße an Geld oder an Aussichten auf Gewinn und Stellungen. Der Mut des Soldaten bringt Sold und Erhöhung; der Mut des Entdeckers bringt Reichtum und Ruhm; aber was bringt der moralische? Kein Mut kostet mehr Geld als der moralische, denn er bringt keines ein. "It won't pay," sagen die Yankees. Zwar ist er ein Rentier, der von seinen Zinsen lebt; aber sein Kapital ist die Wahrheit und ihre Zinsen sind Entbehrungen und Verfolgungen. Für solche Zinsrechnung haben die Rechner des Dollars keine Passion. Wie der Deutsche den Mut und Entschluß in der Kritik und der Bummelei abschwächt, so hebt ihn der Yankee auf durch das Rechnen und dann macht er die Heuchelei zur Geschäftspraxis. Der Amerikaner scheut sich keineswegs Geld herzugeben für die Sache seiner Ueberzeugung, und das ist seine noble Seite; aber er scheut wie das Feuer die Gefahr, um seiner Ueberzeugung willen kein Geld mehr machen zu können, und das ist seine schwächste Seite.

Er gibt lieber 1000 bare Dollars für die Freiheit her, als daß er sich durch Bloßstellung für die Freiheit die Gelegenheit rauben läßt, 100 zweifelhafte Dollars zu „machen". Nicht der Geiz macht ihn zum Feigling, sondern die Habgier; nicht sowohl der Besitz, als vielmehr das Erwerben. Nicht mehr erwerben, nicht mehr „Geld machen" zu können ist für ihn die größte Strafe, weil das Geldmachen hier das größte Glück ist. Deshalb finden wir da den wenigsten moralischen Mut, wo das meiste Geld gemacht wird, so wie leider das wenigste Geld, wo der meiste moralische Mut ist. Der größte Feigling der Welt ist überhaupt der Geldsack, aber noch mehr der leere, der voll sein will, als der volle, der nicht leer werden will. Hätte ich einen Yankee zum Freund, ich würde mich im Fall der Not eher darauf verlassen, daß er zu meiner Rettung $10,000 opferte, als daß er riskirte, durch geoffenbarte Sympathie für meine Ungläubigkeit eine Kundschaft von $100 zu verlieren. Er will „available", möglich bleiben bei denen, die nicht seiner Ueberzeugung sind oder eben so ängstliche Rücksichten nehmen wie er. Das ist der Zauber der ihn bannt, das ist das Gift, das ihn entnervt, im Geschäfts- wie im politischen Leben. Die Rücksicht auf die „Availability" ist das Joch, das hier auch der hochmütigste Nacken trägt, und so wie fast jeder Politiker sich zum Kompromißmann machen läßt beim Gedanken an ein Amt, an einen Sitz im Kongreß und an den Präsidentenstuhl, so läßt fast jeder Geschäftsmann sich zum Heuchler machen durch den Gedanken an eine Spekulation, an ein Vermögen und an eine Million. Aber „available" zu bleiben für einen freien Mann, dem der Charakterstolz mehr gilt als alle Aemter und die Wahrheit mehr als alles Geld, das ist nur für wenige, vorzugsweise Verrufene ein Gegenstand des Ehrgeizes. Entschiedenheit gegen Sklaverei bildet auch in den freiesten Staaten noch einen Gegenstand gefürchteter Denunziation und so wie jeder Politiker vor dem Vorwurf zittert, er sei ein „Abolitionist", so verkriecht sich jeder Geschäftsmann und Literat vor dem Verdacht, er sei ein „Infidel". Die Peitsche, die den Sklaven zerfleischt, zerbrechen und das Kreuz, das die Menschheit niederdrückt, zu Boden werfen wollen — das ist ein Verbrechen, dessen sich hier Niemand beschuldigen läßt, der ein Amt erlangen oder ein Geschäft machen will. Schmach über diese Unmännlichkeit, Unehrlichkeit, Feigheit!

Trotz alledem wird der Mut überall geachtet, selbst vom Geldsack. Der Grund davon liegt wahrscheinlich in dem geheimen Gefühl, daß der Mutige dem Mutlosen die Notwendigkeit des Hervortretens und des Handelns ersparen hilft. Man lernt durch den Mut Anderer den Abstand berechnen, durch welchen man selbst von dem Punkt entfernt ist, wo zur Vertretung der Menschheitsinteressen Jeder verpflichtet ist mutig zu sein. Die Handlungsweise des Mutigen ist daher eine Art Herzenserleichterung für den Mutlosen. Der Erste übernimmt gleichsam die Pflicht des Letzteren und die Anerkennung, die er für sein Auftreten erhält, ist gleichzeitig ein Ausfluß der Erkenntlichkeit für einen geleisteten Dienst. Man könnte hiernach schließen, daß da, wo vom Mut der meiste Lärm gemacht wird, die meiste Erkenntlichkeit, d. i. die meiste Mutlosigkeit existiere.

Meiner Meinung nach sind die Amerikaner durch ihre natürliche Anlage, auf die doch zunächst das Meiste ankommt, befähigt, eines der mutigsten Völker der Erde zu sein und zwar ursprünglich als Soldaten oder Eroberer. Die westphälischen, friesischen und sonstigen Eichen, welche aus Nord-Deutschland in den keltischen Boden Britanniens verpflanzt wurden, haben in der englischen Seeluft jenes harte Produkt erzeugt, dessen Eigenschaften man hier durch den Vergleich mit dem Hickory bezeichnet. Hickory heißt die Unverwüstlichkeit und Unbeugsamkeit der Tatkraft, deren erstes Attribut der Mut ist. Soll ich den Vergleich weiter führen, so möchte ich den Amerikaner zur Hickorynuß, den Deutschen aber — nicht zur Eichel, die von den Schweinen gefressen wird, sondern zur — Wallnuß machen. Die Hickorynuß hat einen kleineren Kern, ein weniger volles Herz, aber ihre Schale widersteht dem Hammer des Schicksals; die Wallnuß hat ein größeres Herz, aber jeder Stoß bringt ihm eine Wunde durch die dünne Schale bei. Das Herz der Wallnuß in der Schale der Hickorynuß — das wäre die wahre Nuß, die kein Kinnbacken der Welt zu knacken vermöchte.

Eine weitere Vergleichung würde in das Gebiet der Physiologie und Phrenologie führen. Das Angelsachsentum hat durch die britannische Mischung an Festigkeit des Materials und an Schärfe des Gepräges bedeutend gewonnen; aber an der Schönheit der

Körperform hat es eingebüßt und seine Schädelform hat sich offenbar verengt. England hat eine Masse von solider Kraft und wackerem Talent, aber Beides arbeitet in engen, vom Herkommen tyrannisch aufrecht erhaltenen und sklavisch eingehaltenen Grenzen, hinter denen erst die wahre Welt der menschlichen Freiheit und des geistigen Lebens beginnt. Im Amerikanertum hat sich die angelsächsische Form einigermaßen wieder erweitert und variiert, aber, auf sich selbst beschränkt, müßte sie sich wieder stereotypieren und abnutzen wie jede abgeschlossene Lebens- und Gesellschaftsform. So weit ich beobachtet habe, ist die Schädelbildung der Amerikaner freier und edler entwickelt als die der Engländer; aber zu ihrer Vervollständigung würde sie der deutschen und französischen bedürfen. In einer Gesellschaft von Amerikanern wird man durchschnittlich mehr charakteristische Köpfe und scharfgeschnittene Physiognomien beobachten können als in einer gleich zahlreichen Gesellschaft von Deutschen. Unter den unterscheidenden Merkmalen aber wird man bei den Amerikanern die Verschiebung des Schädels nach hinten auf Kosten der Stirnbreite und das kräftige, vorstehende Kinn, bei den Deutschen den umfassender gewölbten Vorderkopf über einem schwächlicheren Untergesicht finden. Das Kinn liefert den Charakter der Bestimmtheit, der Festigkeit, der Positivität, der aggressiven Tatkraft. Es ist gleichsam das architektonische Fundament für die erste Etage der Physiognomie und die zweite des Gehirns; es ist der furchende Kiel, der dem Schiff die Bahn bricht und gleichzeitig die obere Wölbung vor dem Umschlagen sichert. Das Kinn aller Kinne hatte Napoleon, der Meister der kühnen Aggression und geschworene Feind der Ideologie. Ohne sein Gehirn hätte er freilich durch das Kinn es nicht zum Korporal gebracht; aber ohne das Kinn wäre er kein Welteroberer geworden, trotz seinem Gehirn. Man besehe sich die französischen Soldaten: was sie durchgängig auszeichnet, ist das kräftige, ich möchte sagen, das martialische Kinn, welches auch die alten Römerköpfe charakterisiert. Und dieses Kinn, über dem als entsprechende Weiterbildung der scharf geschnittene Mund als Gedankenstrich der Energie sich abzeichnet, finden wir bei den Amerikanern. Die Deutschen, unter denen es, wie gesagt, weit seltener zu finden, entschädigt als natürliche Ausgleichung eine weitere Ausbildung der Schädelform und zwar da, wohin die Phrenologen die Organe

der Idealität placieren. Ohne das Kinn hätten die Amerikaner dies Land der materiellen Kultur nicht unterworfen; ohne die Organe der Idealität wird es nicht für die geistige humanisiert werden. Das Kinn und der Schädel müssen in Harmonie gebracht werden, dem Kinn muß der Oberkopf mit der Kühnheit des Denkens, dem Oberkopf das Kinn mit der Kühnheit des Handelns zu Hülfe kommen, dann erobern sie die physische wie die geistige Welt.

Wie ich oben sagte, sind die Angelsachsen ursprünglich erobernde Soldatennaturen; aber die See hat ihre Agressivkraft in eine andere Bahn geführt, sie sind aus Soldaten Schiffer, aus Schiffern Kolonisatoren, aus Kolonisatoren Kaufleute geworden. Man könnte jetzt sagen: sie sind Soldaten moderiert durch das „Busineß", Säbel moderiert durch den Dollar, und auf diesem Punkt begegnet ihnen das Deutschtum mit der Forderung einer Moderation durch die Idee und für die Idee.

Dies leitet uns auf die Hauptbestimmung, welche die Deutschen in diesem Lande haben können.

Die Seele alles amerikanischen Lebens und Strebens ist der angeerbte englische Geschäftsgeist, der Handelsgeist, der Erwerbsgeist. Dieser, in seiner Ausschließlichkeit so verächtliche und verderbliche Geist beherrscht durchgängig die Gedanken wie die Wünsche, die Köpfe wie die Herzen, die Bildung wie die Moral, die Intelligenz wie die Gesinnung, die Politik wie das Privatleben und überträgt sich als Geist der egoistischen Berechnung auf alle Gebiete. Wo der Deutsche eine Phantasie hat, da hat der Amerikaner eine Spekulation; wo Jener eine Idee hat, da hat Dieser eine Zahl; wo Jener ein Prinzip hat, da hat Dieser ein Geschäft; wo Jener die Wissenschaft kultiviert, da kultiviert Dieser die Empirik; wo Jener die Kunst liebt, da liebt Dieser den Zeitvertreib; wo Jener nach Geschmack handelt, da handelt Dieser nach Profit; wo Jener die Aesthetik studiert, da studiert Dieser das Rechenbuch. Wo der amerikanische Geist diese Sphäre überschreitet, wo das zurückgedrängte geistige Bedürfnis sich Luft macht, wo ein höheres Interesse die Schranken des kalkulierenden Daseins durchbricht, da geht er gewöhnlich ex abrupto, ohne Zusammenhang mit logischen Motiven an's Werk und verirrt sich, weil er nicht

von Hause aus der Richtschnur ideeller Tendenzen, umfassender Wissenschaftlichkeit und logischen Denkens hat folgen gelernt, in das Gebiet einer mystischen Laune oder eines plötzlichen Einfalls und macht mit der ganzen fanatischen Einseitigkeit eines unverwendet gebliebenen Eifers aus der einen eine Religion, aus dem anderen eine Doktrin. Darauf beruht der Spiritualismus, der Temperenzeifer, der Sonntagsfanatismus, die Revival-Krankheit und ähnliche Schrullen der Einseitigkeit, von denen mitunter selbst die ausgezeichnetsten Menschen sich wahrhaft fanatisieren lassen im direktesten Gegensatz zu den Grundprinzipien, welche ihr sonstiges Glaubensbekenntnis bilden. Ich glaube, daß die Amerikaner die ausgezeichnetsten Talente für alle Gebiete des Lernens und Schaffens, des Denkens und Bildens haben würden, wenn nicht die „praktische" Einseitigkeit ihrer Erziehung und die spekulierende Beschränktheit ihres Strebenskreises, verbunden mit der Selbstgenügsamkeit ihres nationalen Dünkels, sie an der allseitigen Ausbildung und Entfaltung ihrer Kräfte hinderte. Wie aber die Dinge stehen, haben sie nicht einen einzigen Mann aufzuweisen, der das geistige Gebiet unter einen Ueberblick gebracht, die Grundprinzipien des geistigen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens in sich verarbeitet und ihre Konsequenzen nach allen Richtungen gezogen hätte. Wie viel geistiges, reformatorisches, ja revolutionäres Talent ist in Männern wie Parker, Emerson, W. Phillips u. A., vereinigt. Und wie Großes würden solche Männer in jeder Richtung zur Entfesselung der Geister aus den Banden alter Anschauungen leisten, wenn sie nicht selbst noch zum großen Teil darin befangen wären. Man empfindet ein schmerzliches Bedauern, wenn man solche Männer mit dem Schritt geistiger Riesen heute die Bahn der Freiheit wandeln und morgen schwächlich von der Straße abbiegen und in einer Kapelle des Aberglaubens sich auf die Knie werfen, oder in einer Schutzanstalt für Unmündige Zuflucht suchen sieht. Sie haben bei all ihrem Talent und all ihrer freien Gesinnung keinen Begriff von dem, was wir Deutschen unter Radikalismus verstehen, von jener selbstherrlichen Stellung des menschlichen Geistes in der Natur, von jener kosmischen Allseitigkeit, von jener stolzen Rücksichtslosigkeit bei der Bloßlegung der Wurzeln aller Erkenntnis und jener umfassenden Uebersicht und Konsequenz, welche alle Gesetze der Entwicklung im Zusammen-

hang zu erfassen und dadurch die Entwicklung selbst in Harmonie zu bringen sucht. Die an den Amerikanern gerühmte Taktik, ihre Tätigkeit immer auf eine Frage zu konzentrieren, bis sie erledigt ist, wird zum Fehler der Einseitigkeit und Beschränktheit, wenn dabei der leitende Ueberblick fehlt, welcher den Zusammenhang mit anderen Fragen festhalten und deren Vernachlässigung verhüten lehrt, so wie bei den Deutschen der umfassende Ueberblick nur zu oft von der Tätigkeit für das Einzelne, zunächst Nötige ableitet. Was hilft es, die Menschheit heute in einer einseitigen Richtung vorwärts zu treiben, wenn sie morgen zur Umkehr genötigt ist, um das in einer anderen Richtung Versäumte nachzuholen? Die Kultur-Entwicklung muß harmonisch vor sich gehen wie die körperliche. Am Körper wächst nicht heute ein Arm, morgen der Magen und übermorgen der Kopf. Alle Organe und Glieder wachsen und entwickeln sich im Zusammenhang und in Uebereinstimmung. So kann auch an dem organisch zu gestaltenden Ganzen der Kultur nicht ohne Nachteil heute die politische Bildung wachsen, um nachher die vernachlässigte geistige an die Reihe kommen zu lassen; nicht heute die wissenschaftliche, um die politische auf unbestimmte Zeiten zu vertagen; nicht heute die ökonomische, um bei verspäteter Gelegenheit mit der ästhetischen zu beginnen. Vor allem aber ist es beschränkt, töricht, geradezu wahnwitzig, politische und soziale Freiheit zu erwarten ohne religiöse. Alle verschiedenen Zweige der Kultur müssen gleichmäßig wachsen, und damit sie dies können, müssen sie dem nämlichen Stamm und der nämlichen Wurzel entsprossen sein. Die Wurzel ist aber das autonomische, freie, aller außermenschlichen Autorität und Zwecke entkleidete, souverän auf dem Gebiete der Natur thronende, alles Wissen und Denken in Uebereinstimmung mit den Naturgesetzen für seine eignen Zwecke beherrschende Menschentum. Hier ist der entscheidende Punkt, wo alle angelsächsische Kultur sich abwendet oder in die Knie sinkt. Und der Grund dazu liegt sicher mehr in der Gesinnung, als im Kopf, mehr im Mangel an humaner Erziehung, als im Mangel an natürlichem Verstand. „Gott fürchtet", wer gelernt hat sich selbst zu fürchten. Wie nur Derjenige äußeren Temperenzzwang verlangt, der sich selbst nicht vor Unmäßigkeit bewahren kann, so sucht gegen Versuchungen der Unmenschlichkeit nur Derjenige außermenschlichen Beistand, der im Denken und

Fühlen nicht ganz Mensch ist. Die Angelsachsen müssen schon deshalb beschränkte Christen sein, weil ihre, geschichtlich ihnen anerzogene allmächtige Habgier, die als Mittel ihrer Befriedigung ebensowenig Blutvergießen und Sklaverei wie Heuchelei und Kriecherei scheut, sie innerlich noch zu Barbaren macht. Die Engländer sind das einzige Volk, welches den Geldbesitz als persönlichen „Wert" eines Menschen in Ansatz bringt, so daß, wer keinen Cent hat, keinen Cent „wert" ist; sie sind auch das einzige Volk, welches sich durch das Geld zum Henker machen läßt, indem es den Diebstahl mit dem Galgen bestraft. Merkwürdig: das Mittel des Lebens schlagen Diejenigen am höchsten an, die das Leben selbst am Wenigsten zu schätzen und zu benutzen wissen. Wer das Geld so hoch einschätzt, wem der Diebstahl so schwer wiegt wie der Mord, der hat zu sehr das Bewußtsein des Barbaren, um den Zaum des Glaubens fallen zu lassen, und zu sehr den Hang des Tiermenschen, um sich als Freidenker zurechtzufinden. Das erste und letzte Wort des Angelsachsen ist „Selfgovernment" und doch stehen alle ihre Gedanken unter dem Government einer eingebildeten Macht in den Wolken, weil ihr Sinnen und Trachten das Bedürfnis einer äußeren Bändigung fühlt. Baco hat den Engländern die Philosophie gelehrt, mittelst der Wissenschaft sich die Natur zu unterwerfen, aber sie tun es, um sich selbst einem Herrn der Natur zu unterwerfen, den diese zurückweist; Locke hat ihnen die Philosophie gelehrt, die Erfahrung und die Sinne als die Quellen aller Erkenntnis anzusehen, aber sie benutzen sie, um einen Gespensterglauben zu unterhalten, der aller Erfahrung und allen Sinnen Hohn spricht. Sie lassen den Himmel voll Wolken, damit sie, freilich mit aller Freiheit, auf Erden im Nebel und Kote wandeln können. Wir Deutschen haben wenigstens für die Freiheit des Kopfes gesorgt, wenn wir auch unsre Glieder noch nicht entfesseln konnten. Erlangen wir die äußere Freiheit, so bringen wir die innere schon mit.

Die Beschränkung, die ich mir in den Grenzen dieses Vortrags auferlegen muß, erlaubt keine weitläufige Besprechung der amerikanischen Literatur; doch darf sie bei einem Blick in die Zukunft, auf den meine Bemerkungen hinausführen, nicht ganz übergangen werden. Das Material einer Literatur wird geliefert durch das abstrakte Denken, durch das positive Wissen, durch die geschichtliche

Ueberlieferung und durch das Schaffen der Phantasie. Die oberflächliche Betrachtung der amerikanischen Zustände ergibt, daß jenes Material in diesem Lande nicht in hinreichendem Maße vorhanden ist und vorhanden sein kann, um eine eigentlich nationale Literatur zu erzeugen, die im Verhältniß stände zu der materiellen Entwicklung. Vom abstrakten Denken habe ich im Vorhergegangenen genug gesagt. Was die Wissenschaft betrifft, so hat man die deutsche längst als die Amme der hiesigen erkannt, wenn auch ihre Hauptträger nicht hier residieren und der Plagiarismus sie oft genug verleugnet. Die Geschichtsschreibung scheint sich schon jetzt erschöpft zu haben, weil ihr die Geschichte fehlt, und ihr bedeutendster Repräsentant mußte seine Stoffe in Europa suchen. Die Politische Oekonomie hat hier die meisten Aussichten, doch ohne radikale politische Kritik, die hier vor dem Aberglauben an die bestehenden Formen verstummt, kann sie auf keine große Erfolge rechnen. Die Literarische Kritik ist oberflächlich und anarchisch, offenbar weil ihr die literarische Geschichte fehlt, an der sie sich heranbilden könnte. Was aber die Schöne Literatur, speziell die Poesie, angeht, so fehlt derselben in Amerika trotz allen Talenten wieder ein notwendiges Requisit, nämlich ebenfalls der geschichtliche Boden. Wenn Göthe Amerika gratuliert hat, daß es keine Vergangenheit und keine „Basalte“ habe wie „Europa das alte“, so hat er ihm damit keinen Vorzug in literarischer Beziehung zuerkannt. Der Baum der geistigen Entwicklung eines Volkes muß Zeit haben, über die Region seiner häuslichen Einrichtung hinauszuwachsen, ehe er die vollen Blüten einer gediegenen Literatur hervortreiben kann. Hundert Jahre mögen genügen, einen Kontinent zu entwildern und mit Häusern zu besäen, aber sie genügen nicht, den notwendigen geschichtlichen Bodensatz zur Hervorbringung einer nationalen Kulturblüte zu bilden. Die geistige Blüte erfordert einen tieferen Humus und längere Bearbeitung des Bodens, als die vegetabilische. Die amerikanische Literatur schmeckt noch, wie der amerikanische Wein, nach der Erde. Was Europa produziert hat, konnte erst als das Resultat einer Jahrtausende alten Kultur zu Stande kommen. Amerika kann ihm nicht eine neue Art Kultur ex abrupto vormachen wollen, es kann keine Geschichtsentwicklung improvisieren, es muß die Schätze der europäischen übernehmen, verarbeiten und einbürgern. Man ver-

gegenwärtige sich die Art und den Gehalt derjenigen poetischen Aufgaben und Schöpfungen, in denen es Originelles produziert hat. In dem ernsten Drama und dem sog. Heldengedicht hat es fast gar nichts geleistet und selbst dies Wenige ruht auf europäischen Reminiszenzen. Es hat auch dazu keine eigne, das Volk lebendig interessierende Stoffe, weil es keine Vergangenheit hat, die weit genug hinabreicht, um der Poesie bei der Behandlung historischer Figuren die nötige Freiheit zu erlauben, abgesehen davon, daß sie ihr nicht den erforderlichen Reichtum an geeigneten Erscheinungen darbietet. Die amerikanische Geschichte ist bis in alle Details zu bekannt und zu nüchtern, um als Quelle pathetischer Poesie zu dienen. Für das Lustspiel, das mit seinen Stoffen an keine Zeit gebunden ist, scheint hier die meiste Disposition und das meiste Talent vorhanden zu sein; aber der rohe und ungereinigte Geschmack, dessen Gesetz die naturwüchsige Willkür ist und den keine Kritik kontrolliert, läßt es zur pöbelhaften Posse und Farce herabsinken und ermuntert keine edlere Schöpfung. Der Roman und die lyrische Poesie — wo finden sie ihren interessantesten Stoff? Im Urwald bei den trostlosen, finstern, unzivilisierbaren Indianern. Der rohe Urwald, der Aufenthalt der Bären und der Rothäute, bildet für die Amerikaner den geschichtlichen Hintergrund der Poesie, und weil sie selbst keine Vergangenheit haben, nehmen sie die Romantik der Indianer zu Hülfe. Es begegnet ihnen dabei das Unglück, daß sie sich begeistern für die Schönheiten und Tugenden von Menschen, die sie überall wegen des Gegenteils mit Eifer aus der Welt zu schaffen suchen. Es ist, als wollten sie dieselben möglichst bald vollständig historisch machen, um ihren Kirchhof mit Ruhe als Blumenbeet ihrer Poesie benutzen zu können, und als wollten sie ihre Personen bloß vernichten, um ungestörte Erben des Zierrats ihrer wild klingenden Namen zu werden. Schlagen wir die ruchlosen, gemeinen Indianer tot, damit wir die tugendhaften, edlen Erschlagenen besingen können!

In dem Walde der deutschen Literatur werden die Amerikaner bessere Motive, Anregungen und Hülfsquellen für die Bereicherung ihrer geistigen Welt finden, als in den öden Schlupfwinkeln der Barbaren des Urwaldes. Die Passion für die Romantik des Urwaldes ist roh wie der Urwald selbst; der Sinn für Bildung

wendet sich den Sitzen der Bildung zu, und die Aneignung Dessen, was Andre für sie getan, kann nicht beschämen, sondern nur ehren. Ist es demütigender, den Geist des Meisters Goethe zu studieren, als den Geist eines Skalpiermeisters? Kein Amerikaner fühlt sich dadurch beschämt, daß die deutsche Musik hier eingebürgert ist; wie könnte es ihn beschämen, auch die deutsche Literatur einzubürgern? Wie unsre Tonsprache, muß auch unsre Schriftsprache hier ein anerkanntes Bürgerrecht erlangen, sie muß nicht bloß geduldet, sondern kultiviert, nicht bloß Gegenstand der Liebhaberei, sondern des Bedürfnisses werden. Und sie wird es werden in demselben Verhältnis, in welchem der Geist wahrer Bildung hier fortschreitet. Jeder Deutsche lernt hier Englisch, so gut er kann; so sollte auch jeder gebildete Amerikaner Deutsch verstehen. Der Hauptvorteil wäre dabei auf seiner Seite. Die Kultivierung einer fremden, namentlich der deutschen Sprache wird den Amerikanern nicht bloß in eine neue Welt von Anschauungen und Ideen einführen, sondern sie wird ihm auch jene Beschränktheit nationaler Exklusivität nehmen, die ihn so oft unleidlich macht. Ein Risiko hat er dabei nicht, und es ist für diese kosmopolitische Republik so wenig eine Demütigung, daß sie sich durch die Intelligenz und die Bildung, wie daß sie sich durch das Kapital und die Arbeitskraft der Eingewanderten bereichert. Das geschichtliche Defizit, welches der Entwicklungsfonds dieses Landes aufweist, kann durch keinen Zuschuß besser gedeckt werden, als durch den, welchen die deutsche Einwanderung und Literatur darbietet. Nachdem das Amerikanertum sich als selbstständiger Ableger vom Engländertum abgetrennt, steht es demselben zu fremd gegenüber, als daß es dessen Literatur ohne den Stempel des geistigen Vasallentums übernehmen könnte.* Es muß trotz der Gemeinsamkeit der Sprache zum Engländertum auch in der literarischen Welt einen Gegensatz, wenigstens eine eigentümliche, die Originalität ersetzende Differenz bilden, wozu es aber die Mittel nur gewinnt durch Aufnahme eines dritten Elements und dies ist naturgemäß das deutsche. Die Aufnahme des deutschen Geistes macht den amerikanischen nicht zum Vasallen, sondern nur zum literarischen Mitbürger. Auch hat er von demselben kein bedrückendes Uebergewicht im Staatsleben zu

* Und heute! Amerika ist nicht nur literarisch, sondern auch politisch zum Vasallen Englands herabgesunken.

fürchten. Es liegt in der kosmopoltischen Natur des Deutschen, daß er seinen Geist und sein Wesen kann Propaganda machen sehen ohne dadurch im Staat herrschsüchtig zu werden. Er kann nur nicht verzichten auf das Recht dieser Propaganda und auf die Anerkennung Dessen, was ihm durch keine Vernunftgründe streitig zu machen ist. Auf diesem Punkt trifft er aber noch immer mit einem unedlen, kleinlichen Zug zusammen, der im Amerikanertum noch gehässiger hervortritt, als im Engländertum: ich meine die gemachte, forcierte Geringschätzung oder Nichtschätzung Dessen, was seinen Gesichtskreis und seine Leistungsfähigkeit überragt. Diese Untugend bezeugt gerade das Gegenteil Dessen, was sie zur Schau tragen möchte: sie bekundet Schwäche statt Selbstgefühl, Beschränktheit statt Ueberlegenheit und kommt schließlich auf den ordinärsten Eigennutz hinaus. Die Amerikaner lassen es sich gefallen, einen Goethe und Humboldt aus der Ferne zu bewundern. Lebten Goethe und Humboldt als Eingewanderte in Amerika, sie würden, wenn auch nicht geringgeschätzt, doch sicher ignoriert werden, wenn sie ihre Superiorität nicht dadurch abbüßten, daß sie sich den Amerikanern auf die eine oder die andre Art unterordneten oder dienstbar machten. Man würde sie zwar respektieren, aber schweigend. Respekt ist eben keine Sache der Willkür, es kann ihn niemand beliebig mit Geringschätzung vertauschen; aber geäußerter Respekt ist Anerkennung, und Anerkennung einer Superiorität ist Zugeständniß der eigenen Inferiorität. Ueberdies aber ist sie dem Rechner eine Art Bezahlung, und ein Kaufmann bezahlt nur wo er etwas kauft. Edle und unabhängige Geister aber verkaufen sich nicht, sie dienen nur allgemeinen Ideen und erwarten Anerkennung als menschlichen Tribut, nicht als kaufmännische oder paarteihändlerische Bezahlung. Wer den allgemeinen Ideen nicht ebenfalls dient, hat gar kein Recht, ihren Vertretern mit seiner eigennützigen Bewunderung zu nahen; wer die allgemeinen Ideen aber anerkennt, muß es für unedel und unrecht halten, ihren eingewanderten Trägern die Ueberlegenheit des hausherrlichen Herkommens an der Stelle von Vernunftgründen fühlbar zu machen und eine dienende Anbequemung als Preis der Anerkennung abzufordern. Das Geistige und Humane hat ein natürliches Recht,

seinen wahren Wert bedingungslos zur Geltung zu bringen, wo es auch sei.

Die Einbürgerung und Kultivierung der deutschen Sprache und Literatur als eines unentbehrlichen amerikanischen Entwicklungselements wird diesem Lande mehr Ruhm und Nutzen bringen, als die ganze Weisheit jener bevorzugten Geister, welche durchaus die „Fremden“ „amerikanisieren“ und „Amerika regieren“ müssen. Sie ist auch das einzige Mittel, die Scheidewand umzuwerfen, welche die entscheidenden Teile der amerikanischen Bevölkerung noch trennt. Wenn die Amerikaner es als einen Gewinn betrachten lernen, geistig deutsch zu werden, können die Deutschen es nicht mehr als einen Verlust ansehen, politisch Amerikaner zu werden.

Nicht „Amerikaner“ müssen Amerika regieren, sondern die Intelligenz, die humane Bildung und die Grundsätze der Freiheit. An diesem Regiment aber werden wir Deutschen unsern berechtigten Anteil haben. Eben die Grundsätze der Freiheit erinnern wieder und werden fortwährend erinnern an das Hauptverbrechen, an dem Amerika krankt, an dem es noch kranken würde, wenn es auch den Krebsschaden der Sklaverei ausgeschieden hätte, und zu dessen Neutralisierung vorzugsweise Diejenigen einen Beruf haben, die noch nicht „amerikanisiert“ sind und es niemals werden wollen. Es ist der schon besprochene Handelsgeist, der Geist der Habgier und des Schachers, der, wie er das ganze Leben beherrscht, sich entsittlichend und reagirend auch auf das Gebiet der politischen Grundsätze übertragen hat. In dieser handelsgeschäftlichen Atmosphäre ist die Verwaltung der Republik ein Handelsgeschäft geworden wie jedes andre; die Politiker sind Rechner geworden wie die Kaufleute und sie rechnen mit Grundsätzen wie diese mit Zahlen. Man addiert, subtrahiert und dividiert Prinzipien wie Ziffern, nur das Multiplizieren scheint man zu scheuen; passen ganze Prinzipien nicht in den Handel, so halbiert oder vierteilt man sie und nennt das ein Kompromiß. Wenn die Deutschen mit ihrer humanen Bildung und Prinziptreue irgendwo am Platze sind, so ist es da, wo es gilt, Handelsgeschäfte mit Grundsätzen zu hintertreiben. Der verstorbene Rob. Wesselhöft von Brattleboro sagte: „die Amerikaner zeichnen sich aus durch Treue gegen die Partei, die Deutschen durch Treue gegen die Prinzipien.“ Wir hätten

unseren Ruhm gesichert, wenn wir diesen Ausspruch stets bewahrheiteten und es dahin brächten, daß Treue gegen die Prinzipien immer das einzige Mittel wäre, uns zur Treue gegen die Partei zu bewegen. Die Voraussetzung, daß die gerühmte deutsche Ehrlichkeit und Idealität sich hier in die gemeine amerikanische „Smartneß“ und „Praxis“ verkehren können, würde eben so wohl einer Verzichtleistung auf unsre ganze Zukunft gleichkommen, wie die Annahme, daß die deutsche Abhängigkeit und Unterwürfigkeit unter dem hiesigen Parteiregiment sich in derselben Weise bewähren werde, wie drüben unter dem Regiment der Fürsten. Wenn es nicht unsere Mission ist, hier ohne gemeinen Eigennutz wie ohne servile Abhängigkeit den Radikalismus auszubreiten, die Wahrheit nach allen Seiten aufrecht zu halten, die Resultate der deutschen Bildung einheimisch zu machen und die konsequente Befolgung der Freiheitsgrundsätze zu kontrollieren, so haben wir keine Mission und wir sollten dann mit dem ersten Schiff dorthin zurückkehren, wo die Untertanen wenigstens den Mangel an äußere Freiheit als Ursache anklagen können, daß sie als Menschen und Männer nicht die Probe bestehen.

Die interessantesten Fragen, die Amerika zu lösen gibt, betreffen seine Zukunft. Wer kann vorherbestimmen oder berechnen, was aus diesem, ohne geschichtliches Vorbild und Beispiel entstandenen Tummelplatz der Entwickelung noch werden wird? Der Eine hat Nordamerika das neue Rom, der Andre das neue Phönizien, der dritte gar das neue Karthago genannt. Alle diese Vergleiche hinken mit beiden Beinen. Nordamerika spottet deshalb jeder Berechnung, weil es niemals fertig ist, weil es sich mit jedem Tage verändert, weil es räumlich wie gesellschaftlich stets am Wachsen ist, weil es immer neue Kultur-Elemente, die rohesten wie die gebildetsten, in sich aufnimmt und fortwährend in allen Richtungen neue Beziehungen und Bedingungen der Entwicklung erzeugt wie kein andres Land der Welt. Wie aber auch die Zukunft dieser ewig bewegten Republik sich gestalten mag, als Hauptanhalt zur Berechnung ihrer kommenden Geschichte muß die Natur und Bedeutung derjenigen Volkselemente dienen, welche hier den Ausschlag geben, und das werden und müssen neben den Amerikanern die Deutschen tun. Demnach wird das interessanteste Rätsel der nordamerikanischen Zukunft in der Frage stecken: welches Völkergebilde

und welche Entwicklung wird aus der Verbindung der amerikanischen und der deutschen Natur und Kultur hervorgehen? An der Lösung dieses Rätsels mitzuarbeiten, ist für alle geistig Strebenden eine würdige, ja eine große Aufgabe.

Mögen, wenn es einmal sein soll und muß, unsre europäischen Lieblingspläne in Nichts verlaufen wie die Irrfahrt eines Entdeckers, mögen die Wogen der Zeit über unsern alten Hoffnungen zusammenschlagen wie die Brandung über dem Wrack, mag der Sturm der Ereignisse die Spur unserer früheren Bestrebungen verwehen wie Fußtapfen in der Wüste —, es darf auch dies unsern Charakter nicht beugen, unsern Geist nicht lähmen und was wir drüben in Trümmer gehen sahen, müssen wir hier auf andrer Grundlage neu zu gestalten suchen. Der souveräne Geist der Freiheit und Humanität, der fort und fort in uns gebietet, pflanzt seine Fahne mit unverjährbarer Berechtigung auch in der neuen Welt als Besitzergreifer auf und wenn einst die Geschichte seine Taten mustert, möge auch unser Name in ihren Blättern stehen.

Seien wir überzeugt, daß auch hier unser Wirken nicht vergeblich ist. Das Deutschtum muß in Amerika eine Zukunft haben, oder seine Vergangenheit war eine Lüge. Eine Bevölkerung von fünf Millionen, die ihre Sitten diesem Lande schon aufzuprägen begonnen, ihre Kunst und Geschicklichkeit an allen Enden zum Bedürfnis gemacht, ihrem Geist in der Presse wie in der Schule einen festen Halt gegeben, eine solche Bevölkerung, die trotz allen sonstigen Differenzen an einer gemeinsamen Sprache, Literatur und Vergangenheit festgehalten, kann im Gewühl der hiesigen Entwicklung nicht mehr verschwinden, kann nicht von einer anderen Nationalität absorbiert werden, sie muß also ihre Weiterentwicklung nach ihren eigenen Anlagen und ihrem eigenen Charakter durchsetzen. Eine Nationalität, die absorbiert werden soll, darf der absorbierenden nicht an Kulturentwicklung gleichstehen oder überlegen sein. Die Griechen impften den Römern ihre Kultur ein, obschon sie von ihnen erobert waren, und uns haben die Amerikaner nicht erobert. Lassen wir uns dennoch absorbieren, so sind wir nicht wert zu existieren, so sind wir, wie ich mich bei einer anderen Gelegenheit ausgedrückt, bloßer Mist auf dem Felde fremder Kultur. In der Ueberzeugung, daß das Deutschtum hier nicht unter-

gehen kann, liegt eine mächtige Triebfeder, es zu kultivieren. So lang Zweifel bestehen an der Zukunft des deutschen Elements, ist die Teilnahme an seiner Entwicklung gelähmt; der Glaube an diese Zukunft aber muß jede Kraft anspannen, zu ihrer würdigen Vorbereitung beizutragen. Deutsches Schulwesen, deutsche Wissenschaft, deutsche Kunst, deutsche Presse und Literatur im Sinne der Freiheit zu unterstützen und zu pflegen, das ist eine gebieterische Aufgabe für Jeden, der der Zivilisation angehört, und zugleich das einzige Mittel der Entschädigung für die verlorenen Bestrebungen der Vergangenheit.

THE PREMISES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S LETTER TO THEODORE CANISIUS

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I was anxious to speak with you on politics a little more fully than I can well do in a letter. My main object in such conversation would be to hedge against divisions in the Republican ranks generally, and particularly for the contest of 1860. The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to "platform" for something which will be popular just there, but which, nevertheless, will be a firebrand elsewhere, especially in a national convention. As instances, the movement against foreigners in Massachusetts; * * * in Ohio, to repeal the Fugitive Slave law. * * * In these things there is explosive matter enough to blow up a half a dozen national conventions, if it gets into them.—A. Lincoln to Schuyler Colfax, July 6, 1859.

In its issue of May 25, 1859, *The Daily Express and Herald* of Dubuque, Iowa, the most influential Democratic paper in the state at that time, contained the following racy editorial article, the product probably of the editor's own pen, Mr. J. B. Dorr's:

The Leaders Panic Stricken

> A class "in definitions" was reciting its lessons in school once upon a time, where we were present, when the word "panic" fell to the lot of a boy who had a good deal of native talent, but was rather negligent of his studies. This little fellow abhorred the idea of an appearance of failing and would always say something whether right or wrong. The teacher repeated, "John define 'panic'." John hesitated a moment as if collecting his thoughts, and then spoke up,—"Panic, Sir, Yes, Sir, panic is a dog running most scared to death, with a tin pan at his tail."
>
> This boy's definition of panic was forcibly brought to mind yesterday in looking over a number of our Republican exchanges in which we observed the panic struck running and dodging of the Republican leaders of the Northwestern states. Their alarm is awful, their fright is complete, and they are "running most scared to death,"

as if they were precisely in the predicament of the boy's dog.

The "tin pan" effectively attached to the "narrative" of their party is *the proscriptive action of Republican Massachusetts* and her placing naturalized white men beneath the Negro in political rights. In Massachusetts the party of shams is strong enough to be independent of the German votes, but in the Northwestern states this is not the case. Hence the leaders here are panic stricken, lest the action of their party in that state excite disaffection in the minds of intelligent and honest Germans of this region.

In order, therefore, to prevent this result, these frightened leaders are just now performing some tall feats, by way of endeavoring to run away from the *thing of terror* which eastern Republicanism has firmly fastened on their party. They cannot do it, however. The more they run the more frightened they appear to become, and do all they can, they still feel the dreaded thing clinging to their cowering carcasses—they fear it will be the death of them, and probably it will.

The first symptoms of terror among them in this portion of the Union, were shown by the "Republican State Central Committee" of this State, in their issue of a set of resolutions condemning the action of their Massachusetts brethren in the name of the party in Iowa.—This document was followed by letters from the Congressional delegation. About the same time with these the panic began to operate among the leaders in Illinois and Wisconsin, and it has increased until the present time. It now seems to be at its highest pitch, and the whole brood of Republican leaders from Lincoln down to Wentworth are uttering their disclaimers, issuing letters deprecatory and denunciative, and presenting to the mind's eye the picture of a hundred howling curs in the same predicament as the boy's panic stricken dog.

Well, it is none of our funeral. * * *

The panic thus particularly referred to by Mr. Dorr's paper was the nation-wide disturbance produced among German Republicans and in consequence among the leaders and managers of the Republican party by the proposal and final adoption on May 9th in a state referendum by the people of Massachusetts of what was currently called the "Two Year" Amend-

ment to their constitution, whereby the right of voting and holding office in the Old Bay State was denied to the foreign-born until they could certify a residence within the United States of seven years with naturalization as a prerequisite therein. Mr. Dorr's caustic comments, while strong and sweeping, were in fact not without warrant.

The sudden display of energy by the Republican leaders of Iowa and Illinois during April and May in direct and obvious attempts to placate the German voters indicated that the party chiefs experienced a degree of anxiety and perplexity so urgent as to approximate panic. The developments in Iowa and the aggressive measures of the Republican leaders west of the Mississippi attracted general attention, and as the narrative will display, produced the urgency and specific developments in Illinois. Within two weeks of the publication of the resolutions and letters of the leaders in Iowa, sundry resolutions, and explicit and emphatic statements were given forth in Illinois by seven of the foremost leaders of the Republican party, each declaring hostility to the principle and policy of the "Two Year" Amendment of Massachusetts.

Mr. Dorr's editorial exhibits another fact of no small significance. His specific reference to Abraham Lincoln and the mode of the reference signalize in a definite and substantial fashion the high altitude of his interstate reputation and the marked consideration given his views and actions outside of Illinois a year before he was nominated by the National Republican convention at Chicago, May 18, 1860. Mr. Dorr was an editor with no little influence among Democratic partisans. It was to him Senator Stephen A. Douglas addressed a noteworthy letter on June 22, 1859, stating the terms on which he would consent to be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency before the Charleston convention; and he had a keen eye for the major facts and personalities in the impending political campaign.

The occasion of Mr. Dorr's reference to Abraham Lincoln was the publication a few days before in the press of Illinois and Iowa, of a letter to a fellow-townsman of Springfield, Dr.

Theodore Canisius, editor of a then recently established German paper, *Illinois Staats-Anzeiger*. Mr. Lincoln's letter was written in response to some particular inquiries addressed to him by a committee of Germans of that city with a view to discovering his attitude towards the principle of the "Two Year" Amendment. The letter had a double, if not a triple, significance. The writer's distinction by reason of the national fame he had achieved in his debates with Senator Douglas in 1858 made any expression of his on matters in controversy in politics a fact of general interest. It was significant because Mr. Lincoln was not accustomed to indulging in epistolary effusions, being more than ordinarily cautious in this respect. The exigency that would elicit such a letter, Mr. Dorr could easily discern, was nothing else than the threatening belligerency of the Germans. The letter was extensively reprinted in the Republican press of the country, both German and American papers publishing it entire.

The letter to Dr. Canisius became, in the present writer's judgment, a primary fact, and perhaps the major fact, in the production of that favorable state of mind among the liberty-loving, progressive Germans that caused them to be reconciled to, and instantly to applaud the nomination of Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency by the Republican party a year later. The substantial truth of this assertion is clearly indicated in the fact that immediately upon the reception of the news that Mr. Lincoln had been nominated at Chicago the Republican and Independent press throughout the country, both German and American, very generally reprinted the letter entire; with the positive assertion, or with the implication, that the Germans and the friends of the foreign-born had therein indubitable proof of the liberality of the Republican candidate for the Presidency on which they could rely with confidence respecting his course, should he be elected, in matters of legislation and public policy affecting the status of the foreign-born.

In what follows the premises of Mr. Lincoln's letter to Dr. Canisius will be exhibited. Two major objectives are chiefly contemplated: first the demonstration of the causal relation of prior developments in Iowa to the formulation and publication

of Mr. Lincoln's letter; and, second, the exhibition of antecedent and collateral developments in Illinois that produced the concentration which constrained Mr. Lincoln to reply to Dr. Canisius.

The important facts as to the origin and nature of the disturbance produced among Republicans in the northwest states by the adoption of the "Two Year" Amendment in Massachusetts, and the range and significance of the agitation resulting—especially as regards Iowa—have been given by the present writer in considerable detail in previous pages.[1] The facts therein presented are assumed in the ensuing exposition. Some of the more important facts as they affect the matter in hand will be briefly restated in order to indicate the premises of the probability of the general and particular connection between the developments in Iowa with the immediate developments in Illinois.

I.

On the morning of April 20, 1859, the political horizon of Iowa displayed no serious sign of storm or portent of gathering cloud. Nevertheless, the currents had for weeks been running rapidly and converging, and concentration had taken place some days before. The Republican State Central Committee, composed of seven party leaders from as many different sections of the state, on April 18, at Des Moines, agreed upon a series of resolutions condemning in the most downright and

[1] See the writer's "The Germans of Davenport and the Chicago Convention of 1860," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* for July, 1910, vol. x, pp. 156-163. Also *Ibid*, "The Germans of Iowa and the 'Two Year' Amendment of Massachusetts," *ibid*, Jahrgang 1913, vol. xiii, pp. 202-308. Also, *ibid*, "The Germans in the Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859," *ibid*, Jahrgang 1914, vol. xiv, pp. 451-623.

In a paper read at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, in Evanston, May 17, 1911, entitled "Massachusetts, the Germans and the Chicago Convention of 1860," the writer dealt at length with the general effect throughout the country of the adoption of the "Two Year" Amendment in Massachusetts and its direct bearing upon the decision of the Chicago convention. The paper was reserved from the *Proceedings* by the writer and is not yet published.

outright language the Legislature of Massachusetts for the passage of a proposal to amend the constitution of that Commonwealth, which would exact a two years residence after naturalization of all foreign born who should thereafter desire to exercise the franchise and hold office. Although the resolutions were formally agreed upon at Des Moines on the 18th, there are a number of reasons for suspecting that the Chairman and some of the members had met at Davenport in the two weeks preceding and conferred upon the advisability of such an expression, being prompted so to do by the increasing discontent among the Germans of eastern Iowa and their evident belligerent disposition in respect of the act proposed in Massachusetts.

The resolutions of the State Central Committee were published at length on April 20th, in *The Weekly Iowa Citizen* at Des Moines, John Teesdale, editor and State Printer. Accompanying the resolutions was an extended Address, "To the Republicans of Massachusetts and of the Union," signed by the Chairman, Mr. John A. Kasson, a resident of Des Moines. He probably was the author of the resolutions as well as of the Address. The Address was a vigorous indictment of the principle of the "Two Year" Amendment and a stirring appeal to the patriotism and prudence of the Republicans of Massachusetts to defeat the pending proposal.

The resolutions promulgated by the State Central Committee in Iowa were given extensive circulation outside the state. They were printed at length on the editorial pages of *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago on April 29th and on the same date they appeared on the editorial page of *The Tribune* of New York; and on May 5th they were given similar distinction on the first page of *The National Era,* at Washington, D. C. All of the papers named had an extensive circulation in the states of the Northwest, particularly Greeley's *Weekly Tribune.*[3]

[3] The circulation of the *Weekly Tribune* in Iowa in the forepart of 1859 was 7,523, more than double the circulation of *The Hawkeye* of Burlington, the most influential and widely read Republican paper in eastern Iowa.

The Germans of Iowa, however, did not seem to be entirely satisfied. Their confidence in the integrity and reliability of the Republican party had been so rudely shocked by the act of the Legislature of Massachusetts controlled by Republicans and nominal liberals and "progressives," as philanthropists and reformers, then, as now-a-days, fondly called themselves, that they were highly suspicious and insisted that all of those charged with the leadership of the party should make the most explicit and unequivocal avowals of their attitude toward the "Two Year" Amendment.

Sometime in the latter part of March some of the leaders among the Germans began to suspect that the Republicans were very wary of expression anent the act proposed in Massachusetts. Probably during March Nicholas J. Rusch, a state senator from Scott county, addressed a long communication to Greeley's *Tribune*, which appeared April 11th, in which he pointed out this fact in language that left no doubt as to the alarm and discontent among the Germans in Iowa. Again, although the resolutions of the Republican state central committee and Mr. Kasson's address were very outspoken, many of the leading Republican papers gave the resolutions no commendation in their editorial columns and a number of the influential party editors sharply criticized Mr. Kasson and his colleagues of the committee for their action, declaring it *ultra vires* and without justification; among others condemning the Committee were, *The Dubuque Daily Times*, *The Oskaloosa Herald*, *The Montezuma Republican*, *The Spirit of the West* of Sigourney, and *The Weekly Nonpareil* of Council Bluffs. It was not strange that the suspicious Germans concluded that the Republicans were not overzealous in their opposition to the proposed act of the Republicans of Massachusetts.

Another fact loomed large in the minds of Germans and enhanced their suspicion and cynical contempt for formal declarations. The first National Republican convention at Philadelphia had concluded their platform with an appeal to "men of all parties," the final words of which were an explicit declaration and pledge of opposition to all legislation or public

policy adversely affecting the naturalized citizens. The plank reading:—"believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security." As the Republicans of Massachusetts had proposed and submitted to their constituents the "Two Year" Amendment with that unqualified pledge staring them full in the face, and with indignant Germans pressing its obligation upon their consideration, the disturbance and doubts among Germans were normal resultants. Hence the decision to resort to decisive and conclusive measures to discover the position of the Republican leaders, to force them to come out into the open and to stand by their guns. Both in method and in results their maneuvre was in truth, what our military experts would call a reconnoissance in force.

Sometime in April the leaders among the German Republicans of Dubuque, Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington and Keokuk began to correspond and to confer concerning the situation and to concert plans for discovering the true feelings of the standard bearers of the Republican party severally and in such a way as would give no opportunity to fearful or shifty politicians for hedging or dodging or denial.

Whether the manoeuvre agreed upon was first urged at Dubuque, or at Davenport, or at Burlington, or elsewhere; who first suggested or urged concert of action; who took the lead in promoting it; what the various plans suggested were and what the precise plan ultimately agreed upon—all these important items probably are now matters for conjecture. The files of the *Staats Zeitung*, and of the *Volkstribun*, both of Dubuque, of the *Zeitung* of Muscatine and the *Freie Presse* of Burlington have been lost; the columns of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport give us no clue; and the American papers disclose nothing of the prior developments. In view of the intense feeling among the Germans and the noteworthy results of their concert of action it is passing strange that the editors of some of the German papers did not let the public know something of the preliminaries and the persons foremost in the prosecution of the manoeuvre. Sundry facts indicated in the initial

responses obtained by the Germans, however, enable us to learn the names of some of the leaders in the movement and somewhat of their plan of operations.

Consultations and correspondence among the German leaders concluded in a decision to formulate a letter containing a series of specific questions to be presented personally to each of the members of the Congressional Delegation of Iowa, namely to Senator James Harlan and Senator James W. Grimes, and to Colonel Samuel R. Curtis of the First or Southern District, and to Mr. William Vandever of the Second or Northern District. The interrogatories numbered three and were as follows:

> 1. Are you in favor of the Naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation time?
>
> 2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?
>
> 3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts legislature, attempting to exclude the adopted citizens for two years from the ballot box, as unwise, unjust, and uncalled for?

It is not quite clear whether the letter containing the foregoing interrogatories was a circular letter with the same subscribers to each and all presented to the Congressional Delegation or not. From some of the responses it would appear that it was substantially a circular letter; but the names of the initial subscribers seem to have varied more or less with the locality of the Congressman addressed. The number who joined in presenting the questions seem to have been a considerable group—in one instance, at least, exceeding fifty.[8]

[8] Senator Grimes addressed his reply to Messrs. Hillgaertner, Bittmann, Freund, Olshausen, Guelich and others. See *Der Demokrat*, 5 Mai. Senator Harlan addressed his reply to Mr. J. B. Webber and others, *The Hawkeye*, May 11. Col. Curtis' letter of May 13 was directed to Messrs. Kuestenmacher, Henry Richter, Silas Schmidt and "49 others," *The Gate City*, May 19; and Mr. Vandever's response was addressed to Messrs. Richter, Olshausen, Kuestenmacher "and others," *The Buchanan County Guardian*, June 2.

Among the signers were several prominent German leaders; men with reputations exceeding the bounds of their city or state:—Messrs. Theodore Guelich and Theodore Olshausen of Davenport, the first named being the original editor, and the second the then managing editor of *Der Tägliche Demokrat;* and Messrs. Henry Richter, John Bittmann and George Hillgaertner of Dubuque. Mr. Richter was the editor of the *Iowa Staats-Zeitung* and Dr. Hillgaertner was an associate editor with him.

Their circular letter, at least those addressed to Senators Grimes and Harlan appear to have been dated April 30. There is color for the notion that a committee of Germans at Burlington presented the letter addressed to Senator Grimes in person. He either had been forewarned, or he responded with remarkable haste, or assurance; for he replied instantly, on the same day. His reply was printed in *The Hawkeye* on May 3 and appeared at length in *Der Demokrat* at Davenport on May 5. Senator Harlan's response, an extended document of approximately 3500 words, was dated at Mt. Pleasant May 2. It did not appear in *The Hawkeye* until May 11 and in *Der Demokrat* at Davenport until May 13. These dates we shall have occasion later to note are significant.

II.

In the light of the immediate and widespread consequences of the Circular letter addressed to the Congressional Delegation of Iowa by the Germans of eastern Iowa, the authorship of the letter becomes a matter of more than vagrant curiosity. The loss, or disappearance of most of the papers whence authentic information might be obtained; and the utter silence of those editors whose papers are preserved make conclusions wholly a matter of generous inference and surmise.

Four names that appear among those to whom the Republican Congressmen of Iowa sent their replies, and one not named, may not unreasonably be accredited with conceiving and executing the plan composing the letter containing the categorical inquiries—Messrs. Bittmann, Hillgaertner, Guelich

and Olshausen, already mentioned and Mr. Hans Reimer Clausen of Davenport. All, save Mr. Bittmann, were refugees from the arbitrary and oppressive government of their Fatherland; all were liberals of the advanced or radical sort; all were pronounced opponents of Slavery and outspoken in their opposition to its extension and continuance; and all had stood forth in the forefront of many a fight for the furtherance of their ideas.

Mr. Clausen was not specifically named in any of the letters as one of those addressed; but it is inconceivable that a man as active and aggressive as he was in promoting the interests of liberal German-Americans was not active in the conferences that concluded in the German Circular letter. He was among the leaders of the bar of Davenport and was an aggressive and dominant type of leader in practical politics. The letter of April 30, 1859, was in no small measure a repetition and enlargement of a letter addressed by him publicly to Mr. Vandever on September 8, 1858, as a candidate for Congress.[4] His questions were the same, and the method of his maneuvre to elicit an unequivocal expression from Mr. Vandever was precisely followed in 1859; and Mr. Vandever was again one of those addressed in April, 1859. If he did not first suggest or initiate the plan thus to concert action, his letter of 1858 may have served as the prompting suggestion.

Mr. John Bittmann, founder and editor of the *Staats-Zeitung* of Dubuque, and Mr. Theodore Guelich, the founder of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport, were each capable of conceiving the plan of the circular letter and of vigorously pressing matters to an issue, for both were liberals of the irreducible, not to say, irrepressible sort, able, ardent in temperament, and

[4] Mr. Clausen's questions presented to Mr. Vandever, September 8, 1858, as stated above, were the following:

1. Are you willing, when a member of Congress, vigorously and with all your power to oppose any attempt to change the laws of naturalization so as to extend the time of probation?

2. As any legislative measure which prevent a naturalized citizen, after his naturalization for a certain length of time from voting, are equivalent to the extension of the time of probation, are you willing to act for or against such measures?

energetic and courageous in all affairs arousing them to action. In the organization of the Republican party in Iowa in 1856 Mr. Bittmann and Mr. Guelich were two of three German editors who balked because the state convention at Iowa City refused to declare itself plumply against all men and measures affected with Know-Nothingism,[5] and they were not a whit less energetic and outspoken in 1859.

In respect of ability and character, discernment and courage, the same observations are to be made of Mr. Theodore Olshausen, then editor of *Der Demokrat*. He had been a man of distinction in Schleswig-Holstein as a lawyer and statesman. From 1851 to 1856 he had been a resident of St. Louis where he engaged in literary work. In 1856 he took charge of *Der Demokrat* and his distinction added greatly to the influence of that journal in the Mississippi valley. Mr. Olshausen's career later at St. Louis, as the editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* during the critical days of 1861 when the hearts of the burghers of that fair city were torn with Disunion disclosed that he had the discerning eye, the steady courage and persistent purpose, that would have compassed the manoeuvre in Iowa in 1859, had he discerned the urgency for so doing.

The name of Dr. George Hillgaertner of Dubuque produces strong presumptions in favor of the conclusion that he took the lead in formulating the circular letter of April 30. He fled from Bavaria under sentence of death for his part in the Revolution. He came to the United States about 1852. He accompanied Professor Gottfried Kinkel, as his Private Secretary, in his celebrated tour of our eastern and southern states in his attempt to raise a loan of a million dollars to promote a liberal government in Germany. In the forepart of 1854 he settled in Chicago and immediately became one of the editors of *Der Illinois Staats Zeitung* and one of the influential leaders of the Germans in that city. He was an out-and-out

[5] See *Dubuque Daily Republican*, March 3, 1856, in which the statement signed by Messrs. Bittmann and Guelich and L. Mader of the *Freie Presse* of Burlington, declaring that they will hold aloof from the new party until it is purged of the "impure elements" by which it was then "infested."

opponent of Slavery, of Know-Nothingism and of "Maine-Law-ism" as the drastic "temperance" legislation of those days was designated. In the notable Mass-meeting of the Germans in South Market Hall on the night of March 16, Dr. Hillgaertner was made chairman of the committee on resolutions and brought in and presented the ringing resolutions denouncing Senator Douglas for his course in respect of the part he had taken in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Later in that year he spoke out so vigorously against the prevalent propagandism against the foreign-born then raging and against pending proposals or proceedings to restrict or prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors as beverages that a storm broke about his head and mob-violence and judicial proceedings seemed to threaten his liberty, if not his life. His was a character that had no patience for arbitrary government in any form or place and he had an ardent temperament which made him reckless of policy or prudence. It was probably the reaction of his course that caused him in 1855 to sever his connection with the *Staats Zeitung of Chicago* and remove to Dubuque where he became associated with Mr. John Bittmann, as an associate editor in the conduct of the *Staats Zeitung* of that city. In his new home city proslavery sentiment was so preponderant that Democrats fondly called Dubuque "The Gibraltar of the Democracy of Iowa." In Iowa, as in Illinois, Dr. Hillgaertner immediately stepped to the fore in the stormy discussions of that day. When the opponents of Slavery first assembled in a mass-meeting in Dubuque to effect the first local organization of the Republican party in that county, Dr. Hillgaertner was made one of the two secretaries and was one of the two asked to address the meeting. He was sent as a delegate to the first Republican state convention at Iowa City on February 22. Dr. Hillgaertner was a licentiate in law of the University of Munich. His ability as a forceful writer was signified in October, 1859, by a call to join the editorial staff of *Der Westliche Post* of St. Louis and that of *Der Anzeiger des Westens* on which he remained until his death in October, 1865, aged 41.

A conclusion as to the first proposer of the Circular letter

of April 30 and as to its author must be clouded by uncertainty. The similarity of the questions presented to the Congressional Delegation of Iowa in 1859 to those submitted to Mr. Vandever in 1858 by Hans Reimer Clausen strongly suggests him as the man foremost in the matter.

Senator Grimes' reply gives us a definite clue. It was apparently delivered to him at Burlington in person. But the first person named among the addressees is Dr. Hillgaertner. This suggests that Senator Grimes formally responded to the committee of Germans who signed the letter and Dr. Hillgaertner's name, it would seem, headed the array of signatures. As Dr. Hillgaertner was a resident of Dubuque, and probably was not a familiar acquaintance of Senator Grimes, the conclusion would seem fairly to be that Senator Grimes first named the chairman or prime mover in the project. It is customary—although not invariable—for the chairman of a committee to formulate the sentiments of the body or persons interested. There is thus a strong presumption in favor of such a conclusion. The character and career of Dr. Hillgaertner confirms and strengthens this conclusion.[6]

[6] For additional information as to Hans Reimer Clausen see the writer's "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln," in *The Annals of Iowa,* vol. viii, pp. 205-206; and also his "The Germans of Davenport and the Chicago Convention of 1860," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* vol. x, pp. 156-163.

See Gue's "Life and Death of Theodore Guelich," *Annals of Iowa,* vol. i, pp. 46-52.

The writer is indebted to Dr. August P. Richter, formerly editor of *Der Demokrat* of Davenport for data as to the careers of John Bittmann and Theodor Olshausen.

For the career of Dr. George Hillgaertner see *Illinois Staats-Zeitung,* Jubilee edition, July 4, 1898: *Georg Hillgaertner—Eine biographische Skizze.* [By Dr. Emil Pretorius?] St. Louis, 1866: Deutsche Geschichtsforschung für Missouri, No. 5, April 1914, "Georg Hillgaertner, ein Held der Feder und der That in Deutschland und Amerika," pp. 138-144; and the writer's "The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* vol. xii, pp. 156-163.

The writer is indebted to Dr. George Minges of Dubuque, Iowa, and to Mr. Wm. A. Kelso of *The Daily Post-Dispatch* of St. Louis for most of the data and references to sources of information as to the career of Dr. Hillgaertner.

Let us now follow developments across the river and discover if there are any causal relations between events in Iowa and those preceding Mr. Lincoln's reply to Dr. Canisius.

III.

The American press of Illinois became aroused to the serious political significance of the proposed "Two Year" Amendment to the constitution of Massachusetts as soon as the press of Iowa. The first noteworthy expression was a striking editorial in *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago, March 21. Its length, its earnestness and vigor demonstrate that the editor saw in the growing agitation of the Germans consequent upon the proposal in Massachusetts, serious and imminent danger threatening the success of the Republican party in both state and nation. In these distant days it is not easy to realize the nature, sweep and significance of the alarm that suddenly took possession of the foremost Republican editors and party leaders of the anti-slavery and Opposition forces in the forepart of 1859 anent the act submitted to the electors of Massachusetts; and in order that this fact may in some part be realized the entire editorial is here reproduced:

VOTE IT DOWN.

> The Legislature of Massachusetts has lately proposed an amendment to the constitution of that state restricting the right of voting, among adopted citizens, to such as have been two years naturalized. The amendment is to be submitted to the people at the next general election. We hope that it may be voted down; and that the Republican party of the Commonwealth will be preeminent in its opposition to the proposed change. It is due to the integrity of our organization, composed as it is of the masses of the educated foreigners of all nationalities that a measure in itself so unjust and unexpected—one against which they supposed that the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia in 1856 had given them a sufficient guaranty—should meet with its quietus by Republican hands. Good faith and fair dealing with those who separated themselves from the bogus Democracy to assist the party of Freedom in the accomplishment of th

results which it proposes—who have for the sake of principle been willing to fraternize with Know Nothings, their most deadly enemies—and who have, in their action on national questions at issue between parties, displayed a degree of patriotism and fidelity which many an American might imitate with advantage,—good faith to these demands that there should be no hesitation, no dodging, no compromises in this thing. It must be killed, or Republicanism in all the Northwestern States and not a few of the eastern States is needlessly and imminently imperilled!

While we speak thus decidedly, let not our Massachusetts friends understand that the Republicans of Illinois and the adjoining states, where the value of the aid of the adopted citizens in the progress of the Republican principles is recognized and appreciated, ask for a continuance of the naturalization laws as they are. Our Germans, Scandinavians, English, Protestant Irish and French, to a man, will not only assent to, but gladly declare themselves in favor of an important change. They see as clearly as Americans can the frauds which, under the existing law, may be and are perpetrated, and they will, we are assured, co-operate with whomsoever will take the lead in the legislation that may be necessary for greater security of their inestimable rights. They will cordially agree that no man shall vote within two years of the date of his past papers, if those papers can be obtained by a three years residence; or, what is better still, they will consent that five years may intervene between the date of the naturalization papers, and the first exercise of the elective franchise, provided that naturalization may take place within the first year's residence in the country. But they demand, and justly enough, that the law shall be a law of Congress uniform in action and universal in its application; and it is a wonder that the members of the Massachusetts Legislature could not so far respect their principles as to memorialize Congress for an enactment which all Republicans, native and adopted, might support, rather than throw the element of discord into our political discussions which should be directed towards the best methods of releasing the country from the wicked rule of the Slave Democracy.

It is time, however, that this question misnamed Americanism should be met, and that the abuses of the elective franchise, by which the Democracy of the North

> usually secure their triumphs, should be prevented. We are not afraid of the agitation which will follow a re-opening of the whole matter. We know that the adopted citizens working with the Republican party for the principles of freedom are sincerely desirous of adopting any just measures for securing purity in our elections, preventing the illegal naturalizations of aliens, and guarding the perfect expression of the popular will as Americans themselves. The experience of the past six years has taught them that they have nothing in the way of intolerance and proscription to fear from the American people. The bugbear of Know-Nothingism has lost its terror, and as might be expected of a body of men who enjoy here the rational liberty they have been denied elsewhere, they grow more and more solicitous to preserve that liberty to themselves, and to hand it down to their children unimpaired. Massachusetts owes it to these men to put under foot the injustice which her legislators have proposed.

The editorial was widely quoted[7] and it was unquestionably one of the decisive expressions that operated powerfully in the furious discussion that immediately swept over the country. On March 25 the *Daily Illinois State Journal* at Springfield published a half column editorial denouncing the measure pending in the Old Bay State. Its drift and energy may be inferred from its title: "Massachusetts' Constitution—Shameful Attempt at Proscription."

On March 24 the Republican State Central Committee of Wisconsin agreed upon and published an Address "To the People of Wisconsin." Its occasion was the act submitted to the voters of Massachusetts. After citing a series of resolutions adopted by the state convention of their party in 1857 the Committee condemn in no uncertain terms the proposed Amendment in the Old Bay State and they appeal to their Republican confreres in Massachusetts to "efface the single stain upon that escutcheon which the Republicans of Massachusetts have so nobly borne." This pronouncement was published in *The Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* in its issue of March 28.

[7] Thus *The Davenport Daily Gazette* on March 31 cited from it at length in an editorial; and Garrison's *Liberator* in Boston reprinted it entire in the issue of April 8.

The next day *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago again dealt with "Massachusetts and the Naturalization Laws," and observed: "Everywhere the Republicans are speaking out manfully and independently against the recent action of the Massachusetts Legislature. . . . There is no divided opinion upon the subject in any of the free states of the Union, and it is our deliberate conviction that even in Massachusetts the Republicans will vote in solid phalanx against it." The editorial quotes at length from the statement of the Republican state Central Committee of Wisconsin and concludes with the sentiment and hope: "This is well done, and we hope to see the Republicans of every State in the Union uniting in solemn and emphatic protest against the Massachusetts proposition."

The pressure of public interest was constant for the next day, March 30, *The Press and Tribune* took notice of some "spirited resolutions" adopted by The Young Men's National Republican Association of Cincinnati, Ohio, "condemnatory of the attempt now being made in Massachusetts" and again observes: "The Republicans of Massachusetts owe it to themselves and to their brethren of other states to put an emphatic negative upon the proposed amendment at the polls—a duty we doubt not they will most gladly perform."

Precisely similar sentiments were expressed at Springfield on April 2, in an editorial of the *State Journal* in citing and commenting upon some resolutions adopted at a meeting of Germans of Toledo, Ohio, condemning the act of Massachusetts and appealing to the voters, and particularly to the Republicans of that state to defeat the Amendment. The *Journal* hopes that the Republicans of every state will unite in a "solemn and emphatic protest" against the proscriptive measure submitted in Massachusetts. On April 5 the *Journal* tells its readers that "The Massachusetts Constitution" receives an "emphatic rebuke from Wisconsin"; and on April 8 it again enlarges upon the pending proposal in Massachusetts dealing with sentiments expressed by the Boston *Traveler*.

The notable speech of Mr. Carl Schurz in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the evening of April 18 on "True Americanism" which was a protest against the principle and policy of the

"Two Year" discrimination and a plea for its defeat, and the remarkable reception accorded the brilliant young German advocate of Milwaukee by the elite of Boston elicited some additional comments from *The Press and Tribune,* April 22, that enhanced the antagonism to such proscriptive legislation.

The same journal on April 29 printed as an editorial article the resolutions of the Republican State Central Committee of Iowa adopted April 18, already referred to. A week later, May 5, under the caption "Massachusetts," the following editorial expression was given in respect of a recently published letter of Senator Henry Wilson to Congressman Gillette of Connecticut:[9]

> With rare courage, but with a degree of devotion to the principles that underlie the Republican movement that might have been expected, Hon. Henry Wilson, Senator from Massachusetts, takes open and decided objections to the two year amendment of the Massachusetts State constitution. His letter on the subject, printed at length in all the Boston newspapers, is an able and exhaustive discussion of the whole subject, so able that we of the West where the foreign element is most powerful, and where its dangers and advantages are properly estimated, cannot see how a Republican can fail to be quieted by its facts and reasonings. Mr. Wilson seems to know, as we do, that that portion of the foreign vote which is not wedded by the Catholic Church to Pro-Slavery Democracy in indissoluble bonds, will gladly join in any just and proper movement by which the abuse of the elective franchise may be prevented. Republican foreigners desire nothing more than the purity of the ballot box, and dread nothing more than the frauds by which its value has been measurably destroyed. They want just and salutary reform; not proscription. * * *
>
> "We thank the Senator in the name of the Republicans of the West, for his timely defense of the principles of the party and the integrity of the organization; and we trust that the appeal which he has made to the good sense and honesty of his state will prove not to have been made in vain."

[9] The initial paragraph of Senator Wilson's letter is reprinted in the writer's article in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* vol. xiii, p. 212-213.

The determination of the "Two Year" Amendment was to be made on May 9 and it is clear that Messrs. Ray and Medill had begun to suspect from sundry signs which they observed in the reports from Massachusetts that the defeat of the proposition was uncertain. For the next day there was published a long leader in which the major purpose was to show that the proposed Amendment and the perplexity of the Republicans were really due to the machinations and plots of the Pro-Slavery Democrats of the Puritan Commonwealth. There were three political parties in Massachusetts—the Republicans, the Americans and the Democrats, and of these the Democrats easily and obviously held "the balance of power." The American party for years had been striving to secure drastic measures restricting the electoral privilege and rights as to public office for naturalized citizens. The Republicans, it was contended, had steadily resisted their adoption. Finally the Democrats perceiving their opportunity had joined with the anti-foreign propagandists and pushed the "Two Year" Amendment through the General Court. The situation in the state at large was more or less the same. The Republicans were working against it: "But the Republicans alone cannot defeat it. Their vote is nearly equal to that of the 'Americans' proper. The Democrats hold the balance of power upon the question; and our advices from Massachusetts lead us to believe that a secret purpose exists on their part to vote for the amendment, partly with the hope of placing the odium of its adoption on the Republicans, and partly because they would really prefer to have the large masses of the anti-slavery foreign population disfranchised. We warn our fellow citizens of foreign birth in advance, of the trick of the slavery propagandists. They may rest assured that the Republicans not only of Massachusetts but everywhere are unanimous in their opposition to the proposed amendment, and that it can only gain a footing through the secret aid and votes of the Democrats. If the results on the 9th should be adverse to what Republicans of every state and of every nationality ardently desire, the Pro-Slavery Democracy of Massachusetts will be responsible for it. The balance of power is in their hands. Watch and see how they use it."

It needs hardly to be observed that *The Press and Tribune* was manifestly hedging against the storm of criticism that would break upon the Republican party in the event the Amendment should carry at the polls. The argument put forth is somewhat fanciful, not to say fallacious. Furthermore it was not correct to say that all the leading Republican papers and party leaders were actively opposed to the Amendment. Even such a stout anti-slavery champion as Gen. Wm. Schouler, then editor of the Boston *Traveler,* supported the Amendment. While Senator Wilson openly opposed its adoption, the majority of the party leaders either openly endorsed it or gave it tacit support. Governor Banks had commended the principle to the legislature and had signed it. Eight of the eleven Congressmen were listed as supporting it, among the number being Charles Francis Adams[9] and Anson Burlingame. As to the iniquity of the Democrats in conspiring to secure the adoption of the measure for petty partisan advantage, Gen. Schouler wrote Salmon P. Chase that the whole project was a scheme of the friends of Senator Seward to undermine Governor Banks among the Germans of the West and thus weaken his strength before the national convention.[10]

IV.

The advices of *The Press and Tribune* as to the prospects of the passage of the "Two Year" Amendment were well founded. The proposal carried at the election May 9. The vote, as is usual with such a popular referendum, was light—21,119 for, and 15,398 against the Amendment. The total vote cast was about one fourth that cast for Fremont and Buchanan in 1856. The measure was rejected in seven of the fourteen counties of the Commonwealth and was given a majority in the other seven. The seven counties wherein the Amendment carried were the most populous counties: namely, Bristol, Essex, Middleessex, Norfolk, Plymouth, Suffolk, and

[9] *New York Tribune,* May 17, 1859.

[10] Wm. Schouler to S. P. Chase (Mss.), Boston, May 3, 1859, in Chase Correspondence in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Worcester. With the exception of Northhampton, Springfield and Worcester, the Amendment carried in all of the leading cities and towns: e. g., in Boston, Charleston and Cambridge; in Fall River and Gloucester; in Lawrence and Lowell; in Medford, Milford and Newburyport; in Roxbury, Salem and Waltham. Even in Senator Wilson's hometown of Natick the Amendment was carried by a vote of 92 to 86.[11]

Instantly the Democrats realized that they had a new war club with which they could belabor the Republicans and play vigorously upon the sensibilities of the Germans and the foreign born, to the detriment and embarrassment of "the party of liberty and high ideals" that prided itself upon its opposition to slavery and all forms of race discrimination. Under the new Amendment of Massachusetts a Southern Slaveholder, or a runaway slave from the rice swamps of South Carolina or the cotton fields of Mississippi could acquire the complete franchise in respect of the ballot and office-holding by a single year's residence and such types of University bred men as—Charles Bernays, A. Douai, Julius Froebel, Fred. Hassaurek, Fred. Hecker, Carl Heinzen, George Hillgaertner, Francis A. Hoffman, Francis Lieber, Fred. Kapp, Gustav Koerner, Arnold Krekel, Fred Munsch, Theo. Olshausen, E. Pretorious, C. G. Ruemelin, Geo. Schneider, Franz Sigel, Rheinard Solger, G. Struve, J. B. Stallo, Henry Villard and August Willich—these, and scores of like cultured men, would have to live in that Commonwealth seven years before they could exercise the highest privilege of an American citizen. The contrast between the rights of an ignorant, stupid, and mayhap, vicious negro and those of the *literati* of Europe's most renowned seats of learning presented a spectacle in contrasts that would arouse sensitive Germans to the highest pitch of wrath. Such alert, far-seeing editors, as Messrs. Ray and Medill of *The Press and Tribune* early anticipated with what delight the Democrats would descant upon such an odious discrimination.

[11] *Address of His Excellency, Nathaniel P. Banks, to the Two Branches of the Legislature* of Massachusetts. Appendix, pp. ii-xv.

Prior to the first of May the Democratic papers had not given much attention to the proposed Amendment. It was not until they began to perceive how great was the indignation and so manifest the belligerent activities of the German editors and party leaders against the measure that they awakened to its serious strategic importance as a political fact. The first noteworthy expression in *The Chicago Times,* the chief organ of Senator Douglas, was on May 5 in an editorial upon "The Proscription of Foreigners." On May 7 its batteries were again turned upon the Republicans in an editorial with the caption, "A Silly Effort to Shirk Responsibility"; such attempts as that of the *Press and Tribune* to get from under the load of obliquy for the part taken by Republicans in the passage of the act and its submission to the voters eliciting its finest scorn. When the result of the election on May 9 became known *The Times* again laid about with great gusto, saddling upon the Republicans the sole responsibility for the Amendment, precisely as the *Press and Tribune* had prudently forewarned the public would be done by the ungenerous and unscrupulous Democrats.

The *Times* contemptuously asked the *Press and Tribune* to explain and make some sort of a defence for the iniquity wrought. The Republican organ while manifesting the usual contempt and hauteur that editors are wont to exhibit anent the pin-pricks and thrusts of contemporaries did not deem it prudent to ignore the challenge, although it felt constrained to characterize the article of the *Times* as "a column of twaddle;" and on May 14 it presented a half dozen reasons why the Democrats should be directly charged with the offense of conceiving, promoting and producing the odious measure. The reasons given are both interesting and instructive and are briefly summarized:

First, the whole number of votes in Massachusetts is about 150,000. Second, The Democrats in that state number about 50,000 all-told. Third, The total number of votes cast at the election on May 9 was about 40,000, or about one fourth the normal vote of the State. The number who voted *against* the Amendment was *only* about 17,000 (the official count reduced

the number to 15,398). Fourth, Had the Democrats turned out and cast their ballots against the amendment it would have been defeated by more than 25,000 votes. Fifth, The truth is that three-fourths of the Democrats *stayed* at home for the express purpose of letting it pass; and a large majority of those who did go to the polls *voted for it* in order to throw the odium of the measure upon the Republicans. Sixth, Fully three-fourths of all the votes thrown against it were cast by Republicans. No party in Massachusetts was anxious to have the amendment adopted, save the Democratic party which hoped to make a little party capital out of it. The indignation vented by the *Times* was the merest sham. Its editors, in common with all the Democratic politicians in Chicago, were glad that the amendment had been adopted, and if they had lived in Massachusetts would have voted for it just as did the editors of the Boston *Post*.

As Jove himself, as well as the lesser Gods, is wont now and then to nod, and on occasion slump, and anon run amuck, it is not strange that hard pressed editors, especially those who serve as high priests at the oracles, suffer likewise and plunged head formost into the pit of puerilities. The contention of the *Press and Tribune* was compounded of crass assumption and bland assertion, heedless of the prosaic probabilities that usually control common sense and interpretation. If there was a Republican state in the Union it was Massachusetts. The anti-slavery forces, or the Republicans, had general charge of the ship of state; and all the honors and all the pains and penalties of place and power attached to the party in office, responsible for the general administration of affairs. The plea of the *Press and Tribune* in mitigation, or rather in denial of the charge lodged against the Republicans was so obviously futile as to make one conclude that it was a reckless pretense which the editors themselves were aware of and which they would have given short shrift and repudiated with utter contempt had the shoe pinched the foot of the Democratic party. The editorial demonstrates how hard put the Republicans were to "save their face" as the parlance of the street would phrase it. The inanities of the editorial may suggest some-

what of their sense of the desperate straits of the party, should the alarm and belligerent activity of the Germans, then apparent in all of the northern free states west of New England, not be circumvented and confuted. From all points of the horizon they could observe sheet lightning and flashes of fire that meant a gathering storm and the wreckage of party crafts if the indignation and suspiciousness of the Germans could not be allayed and their confidence in the character and good faith of the Republican party renewed.

In full view of the facts just set forth we may now appreciate the remarkable demonstration among the Republican leaders of Illinois during the two weeks between May 6 and May 20.

V.

On Tuesday morning, May 6, *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago contained the following editorial:

> LETTER FROM EX-GOV. GRIMES OF IOWA.
>
> We publish in another column a letter from Gov. Grimes of Iowa on the proposed two year Amendment in Massachusetts called out by a note addressed to the Congressional Delegation from that state by a number of leading German citizens. It is an open, frank declaration of sentiment upon the subject involved, and corresponds fully with that entertained by the Republicans, not of Iowa alone but of every State in the Union.

This editorial note calling attention to Senator Grimes'[12] answer to the interrogatories of the Germans of eastern Iowa was given a conspicuous place on the first page in the first column near the top, so that all readers, casual and regular, would be sure to observe and make note of it. The letter which it commends to its readers and to the public is reproduced without abbreviation because of its important bearing upon subsequent developments in Illinois.

> To Messrs. Hillgaertner, Bittmann, Freund, Olshausen, Guelich and others:
>
> Gentlemen:
>
> I have just had placed in my hands a copy of your letter to the Congressional Delegation from Iowa, in which you propound to them the following inquiries, viz.:

[12] Mr. Grimes was then the junior Senator of Iowa at Washington, D. C.

"1. Are you in favor of the naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation time?

"2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party, as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?

"3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature, attempting to exclude the adopted citizens for two years from the ballot box, as unwise, unjust, and uncalled for?"

To each of these interrogations, I respond unhesitatingly in the affirmative.

In regard to the recent action of the Massachusetts Legislature I have this to say: that while I admit that the regulation sought to be adopted is purely of a local character, with which we of Iowa have nothing whatever *directly* to do, and while I would be one of the last men in the world to interfere in the local affairs of a sovereign state, or with the action of any party in that state upon local matters, yet I claim the right to approve or condemn as my judgment may dictate. I believe the action of the Massachusetts Legislature to be based upon a false and dangerous principle, and fraught with evil to the whole country, and not to Massachusetts alone. Hence I condemn it and deplore it, without equivocation or reserve. Knowing how much the proposed constitutional provision will offend their brethren elsewhere, the Republicans of Massachusetts owe it to their party that this amendment shall be overwhelmingly voted down.

Yours truly,

JAMES W. GRIMES.[13]

Burlington, Iowa, April 30, 1859.

The response of Senator Grimes to his German constituents is characterized by a conciseness, explicitness and lucidity that are delightful. There are no *ifs*, or *ands*, or *buts* that leave one in a fog of doubts as to meanings, or fears as to mental reservations. Again, he couples downright and outright assertion with caution and clearcut limitation of the sweep of his declaration. He completely recognizes what may appropriately be designated as "northern states' rights" that in the decade of the Fugitive Slave law and the Dred Scott decision became a major tenet in the work-a-day creed of northern antislavery champions that energized, directed and controlled much of the discussion and practical politics and legal controversy carried on in the north by Abolitionists and Republicans, especially after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. At the same time he declares in unequivocal language his unqual-

[13] Reprinted in *Weekly State Journal*, May 12.

ified opposition to any disturbance of the *status quo* as regards naturalization and the franchise, and to any sort of discrimination between native and naturalized citizens. Finally, he suggests that while each state should be permitted to go her way and do more or less as she or her citizens may please to do, we have a grand common interest that is nation-wide and manifests itself in our common Federal government. The conduct of one state may affect adversely the feelings, if not the immediate rights, of citizens in all the states in our great Commonwealth. Consequently, if a local law or a policy gives grave offense in other sections and works a revulsion of public sentiment dangerous to the Party preserving or seeking to secure the major common interest, then the rule of comity should control, the major interest should predominate over the minor or local interest. Senator Grimes does not specifically name the approaching presidential contest as the major consideration; but his language and the drift of his thought obviously implies that he had it in contemplation.

The interrogatories quoted in Senator Grimes' letter, the character of the sentiments expressed in his response, and the method of his exposition should be kept constantly in the foreground in considering the developments in Illinois that followed after May 9; for they seem to give us the chief clue to the course of events and to have been a guide or suggestion that controlled the nature and form of expression.

Characterizing Senator Grimes' letter *The Press and Tribune* declared that his sentiments corresponded with those entertained by Republicans of "every state in the Union." The assertion was somewhat stronger than the facts justified; but it correctly stated the situation so far as the foremost anti-slavery editors and spokesmen represented the Republican party. Gideon Baily of *The National Era;* Samuel Bowles of *The Springfield,* (Mass.) *Republican;* Wm. Cullen Bryant of *The N. Y. Evening Post;* Wm. Lloyd Garrison of *The Liberator,* and Horace Greeley of the *N. Y. Tribune,* all these, the cautious and conservative no less than the irrepressible fanatic and radical, stood forth in opposition to the principle and pol-

icy of the "Two Year" Amendment and added their pleas to the indignant protests of the Germans.

To an anxious inquiry of Mr. Carl Heinzen, editor of *Der Pionier,* Lloyd Garrison at Boston branded the proposed Amendment in *The Liberator,* April 8, 1859 as "an act of political injustice * * * and we have scarcely a doubt that the proposed amendment * * * will be rejected by a decided majority."

Greeley's *Tribune* on April 25 addressed an earnest, not to say solemn "Word to the Bay State." Therein the people of Illinois read: "But we pray the Republicans of Massachusetts to vote down the proposed provision. It has been extensively paraded as a bugbear before the eyes of Republicans of foreign, especially those of German birth, and its adoption now would work enormous mischief, especially throughout the Free West. It might defeat the election of a Republican President in 1860. Just vote it down, let reason resume her sway among our Adopted citizens."

On April 28, *The National Era* printed at length an address of the German Citizens of Toledo, Ohio, protesting the act of Massachusetts and thus commended its sentiments: "We do not wonder at the feeling manifested by our German fellow citizens, but let them remember that the Republican party stands committed, not for, but against any such discrimination."

We have already noted that *The Press and Tribune* had called the attention of its readers to the official pronouncements of Republican leaders and bodies in various states protesting against the proposed Amendment in Massachusetts, to the formal protest of the Republican State Central Committee of Wisconsin in March, and to a like action by the same body in Iowa in April. The readers of Greeley's *Tribune* for May 3 read a long and earnest Address of the Republican State Central Committee of New York: among the signers being Horace Greeley, R. M. Blatchford, later one of President Lincoln's appointees to the Federal Supreme court at Washington, and Frederick Kapp. On May 11, *The Press and Tribune* informed its constituents that another prominent Republican leader had

spoken out against the act of Massachusetts. As he was a conspicuous figure in the national arena and regarded as among the few upon whom the Republican nomination for the Presidency might fall in 1860, his expression was of more than common interest. A portion of its editorial is given:

GOV. CHASE ON NATURALIZATION.

> Governor Chase of Ohio in forwarding to the State Central Committee a communication addressed to him by German Republicans of Sandusky and vicinity with reference to the proposed naturalization law in Massachusetts, takes occasion to express his own views. He feels "very confident that the Committee fully concur in the almost, if not entirely, unanimous (Republican) opinion in this state, that no discrimination should be made by amendment of a state constitution or otherwise between citizens of foreign and native birth.
>
> "Such has always been my opinion. I was therefore opposed, as is well known, to the proposition urged upon the consideration of our legislature, some two or three years ago, for the incorporation by amendment into our state constitution of a provision similar to that proposed in Massachusetts, requiring one year's residence only after naturalization, instead of two."

Writing apparently before the result of the election in Massachusetts was known, Dr. Bailey noting with concern "the sharp contest" within the Republican ranks of Massachusetts over the wisdom of submitting and considering the "Two Year" Amendment, observed:

"The Republicans of Iowa and other Western states have sent to Massachusetts formal protests, in the name of common cause of Republicans, against the ratification (of the Amendment). Apart from the local injustice it will inflict upon the adopted citizens of Massachusetts its effect upon the character of the party, throughout the Union, as the conservator of universal Freedom, will be injurious."

VI.

The facts just set out disclose clearly that the leaders of the anti-slavery forces in all of the Northern States west of New England, save New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and possibly Indiana, looked upon the "Two Year" Amendment as a serious menace to the Republican cause. They also make man-

ifest that the entire conservative element of the party—if Dr. Bailey and Horace Greeley are fair samples—as well as the radical element earnestly desired the defeat of the measure because it was felt that approval of the measure would place the party's chances in jeopardy in the approaching national election. As most of the influential editors and responsible leaders of the Republican party assumed—at least proclaimed their assurance and confidence—that the Amendment would be decisively defeated by the Republican electors of Massachusetts, it was decidedly disconcerting, not to say distressing, to learn from the returns on May 9 that the "odious Amendment" had carried by a considerable majority, carrying too in the most populous counties and in the chief cities where wealth and education may be presumed to be at their maximum.

The Press and Tribune might charge that the Democrats were the real marplots in compassing the adoption of the "Two Year" restriction but its editors and all weatherwise political leaders knew that the Germans and French and Scandinavians, Bohemians, Hungarians and Swiss, adversely affected by such legislation would not swallow such an explanation—the Republican party was in full control in Massachusetts and would have to assume and carry all the obloquy and condemnation resultant from the passage of the act and the favorable action thereon at the polls. Sundry ugly facts could not be ignored or tossed aside. The Philadelphia platform of 1856 seemed to be grossly disregarded. Public confidence among the Germans in the reliability of the party as to its pledges was rudely shaken by the conduct of the Republicans of Massachusetts. Alarm and suspicion, discontent and dissension, revolt and secession were not remote possibilities, but were imminent probabilities.

To dissipate this alarm became a matter of the greatest urgency. It was necessary immediately to convince the Germans that the Republicans in the West were not of the same ilk with their brethren of the Old Bay State; that they did not contemplate and would not give countenance to, or tolerate any like proposal in local legislation. Convincing and conclusive proof that the Republican leaders of Illinois were seized with anxiety, that suggested panic, was given the public in an aston-

ishing demonstration. In the Week and a half following May 9 every responsible Republican leader in Illinois came out in the open and in the most explicit unequivocal fashion declared himself.

The significance of the expressions here referred to are so important in determining subsequent developments in the career of Abraham Lincoln and played such a serious part in controlling the course and drift of things generally and they have been so utterly ignored—or rather they have been so utterly overlooked by all historians, that sundry literary canons are violated and all of the communications are given *in extenso.* In this way only can the reader of the present day appreciate the contemporary importance of the matter in issue and the enormous strategic significance attached to formal declarations by the responsible Republican leaders. The communications are presented in chronological order, without comment. Analysis, comparison and interpretation will follow.

VII.

On the 16th of May, *The Press and Tribune* of Chicago reprinted from *Die Illinois Staats-Zeitung,* the following letter addressed to the editor thereof, Mr. George Schneider:

Galena, Illinois, May 11, 1859.

My Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of yesterday propounding to me the following questions:

"1. Are you in favor of the naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation [time]?

"2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party, as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native-born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?

"3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature, [for] attempting to exclude the adopted citizens of two years from the ballot-box, as unwise, unjust and uncalled for?"

In answer to the first question I state that I am in favor of maintaining the present naturalization laws intact, and am utterly opposed to extending the time of probation.

In regard to the second proposition: I most certainly regard it as one of the highest duties of the Republican party to resist

all discriminations between native-born and adopted citizens as to the right of suffrage.

Referring to the third question: I desire to say, I can find no language to express my abhorrence of the action of those Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature who passed the law proposing the Amendment to the Constitution of that State, excluding the adopted citizens from the right of suffrage for two years, and also the Republicans *out* of the Legislature who have just voted for the adoption of the Amendment. This action is the outgrowth of that "intolerant Know-Nothingism" which culminated in what is known as the "Heiss" of 1855 and is not only "unwise, unjust and uncalled for" but is a lasting disgrace and reproach to the State. Denouncing Know-Nothingism in the heyday of its power and strength, I should be unjust to myself if I did not now denounce its last and meanest act in securing the adoption of the illiberal, unnecessary and cowardly amendment to the Constitution of Massachusetts. The Republicans of Massachusetts—the Republicans in that State, who have voted for the amendment, have placed themselves beyond the pale of sympathy with the Republicans of the other states, who universally condemn their action and who will not hold themselves responsible for it in any way, shape, or nature. I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) E. B. WASHBURNE.

Three days later the same journal reprinted from the *Staats-Zeitung* a letter from Congressman J. F. Farnsworth:

St. Charles, May 13, 1859.

Geo. Schneider, Esq.,
Editor "Ill. Staats-Zeitung."

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter of the 10th, in which you allude to the Amendment of the Constitution of Massachusetts, recently adopted in that State, by which naturalized citizens are debarred the right of voting until two years after the period of their naturalization.

Although this action of Massachusetts may be regarded as local, which cannot affect the citizens of other states, and with which we are not *directly* concerned, yet I fully agree with you in the expression that it is an "odious Amendment"—odious because it is insulting and unjust to that class of citizens who are affected by it. It discriminates between the native and the adopted citizen in favor of the former. *That is wrong;* and as a Republican, knowing something, I trust, of the principles of that party, and of the sentiments of its leading members, I believe I but echo the voice of the great mass of the Republican party when I protest against any attempt, come from what quarter it may, to fasten upon us or to make the Republican party in any manner responsible for a principle like that involved in the Massachusetts Amendment.

In my opinion, *nine tenths* of the Republican delegation in Congress, at least, are opposed to any change of the present

naturalization laws. They are satisfied with those laws as they *now are*.

These are at all events my sentiments, briefly expressed, and you are at perfect liberty to publish them; indeed, I am glad of the opportunity your note affords me of uttering my opinions through the channel of your valuable paper.

Very truly yours,

J. F. FARNSWORTH.

On Saturday evening, May 14, the Republicans of Springfield appear to have met in a general mass meeting in the hall of the Young Men's Republican Association. The nature and earnestness and design of their proceedings are exhibited in a most instructive manner in a special despatch that appeared at length in *The Press and Tribune,* May 18. The despatch with headlines follows:

THE MASSACHUSETTS AMENDMENT.

Resolutions of the Young Men's Republican Association at Springfield.

"Correspondence of the Press and Tribune."

Springfield, Ill., May 15, 1859.

I forward the accompanying copy of the resolutions adopted at a special meeting, held on the night of 14th inst., at the rooms of the Young Men's Republican Association, in accordance with the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of the resolutions adopted at this meeting to all the leading Republican papers throughout this State, with a request that they be published.

Yours very respectfully,

JOHN C. BARKER,
Sec'y Y. M. R. A.

At a meeting held at the rooms of the Young Men's Republican Association, on Saturday evening, May 14th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, has by recent vote, sanctioned a law depriving the foreign born American citizens of the elective franchise for two years after naturalization; and

WHEREAS, Silence thereto by political bodies elsewhere may be constructed as an approval of such provisions; and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of the (so called) Democracy, north and south, to lay to the charge of the Republican Party all their own petty meannesses; and

WHEREAS, The great Republican party in their platforms, and elsewhere, have repudiated every principle that would in

any degree recognize any distinction between their fellow citizens of foreign birth and others; and

WHEREAS, We hold that every true Republican must rejoice at the manner in which the foreign vote has lately rebuked the demagoging Democracy, and shown, unequivocally, their warm love of Liberty and Equal Laws; and

WHEREAS, They are one with us in sustaining the great fundamental doctrine, enunciated by Jefferson, fought for by Washington, and defended and maintained by all the great and good of every country, clime and age, "That all men are created equal," therefore,

1st. RESOLVED, That we, Republicans of Illinois, regard with feelings of scorn, detestation and contempt any act calculated in any degree to overthrow the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, be it from whom or where it may.

2nd. RESOLVED, By the Republicans of the city of Springfield, Illinois, that, disclaiming all right or inclination to interfere with the action of a sister State, we protest decidedly and solemnly against any provision by which a duly naturalized foreigner must be in the United States a period beyond five years, before he can lawfully vote; and assert that no discrimination should be made, by amendment of a State Constitution, or otherwise, between citizens of foreign and citizens of native birth.

WHEREAS, Our naturalized fellow citizens in the magnanimous enthusiasm with which they united in our State, at the recent elections, with their American brethren, have proven themselves on the sacred side of Freedom and Reform, therefore

RESOLVED, That we feel ourselves bound by every obligation of duty and honor to oppose earnestly and persistently every attempt to impair or abridge any privileges now enjoyed by them or their fellow immigrants.

4th. And WHEREAS, In the firm and manly position taken by the Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, on the question of the naturalization laws, he has evinced the true principles and spirit of the doctrines of the Republican Party; as also have Messrs. Schurz of Wisconsin, Chase of Ohio, and Grimes of Iowa; therefore

RESOLVED, That we most heartily concur in and endorse the course pursued by these honorable gentlemen, and herewith tender our most sincere thanks for the able manner in which they have vindicated the integrity of the Republican Party.

JAMES OUSLEY,
President pro tem.

JNO. C. BARKER,
Secretary.

Springfield, May 14th, 1859.

The meeting at which the foregoing resolutions were adopted was not a dull, "cut and dried affair." There were speeches and apparently a generous outpouring of intense feeling. Among the speakers was no less a notable than Mr. William H. Herndon, the law partner of Abraham Lincoln and

later his biographer. His speech was evidently esteemed of more than ordinary importance, either by the speaker or by the audience, for it appeared at length in the columns of *The Daily State Journal* on May 17 in its account of the proceedings of the meeting of Saturday night, as follows:

MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENSHIP.
Speech of WM. H. HERNDON.

Mr. Herndon, after rapidly surveying the state of Europe, and the European crisis, and the struggles of the people of the continent for liberty and nationality, complimented the American people on their prosperity, peace and power, and spoke substantially as follows:

Finally, Mr. President, we are gathered here in this hall tonight—we Republicans, native and foreign-born—for the special purpose of giving vent to our sentiments and expression to our ideas on the late act of Massachusetts in relation to her naturalized citizens. We Republicans, as citizens of this city and the State of Illinois, do not pretend that we have any right to dictate to a sister State of this Union what institutions she shall or shall not have. But as American citizens—as Republicans—we have some dear rights; and when any law of any State projectingly acts upon us, reaches outside of that State, and by its spring and sweep, injuriously and destructively affects us, then we have an undoubted right to give speedy and quick utterance to our sentiments, and expression to our ideas in relation thereto. This far we go, but no farther. The late act of Massachusetts touches the whole Republican party from Maine to Georgia, and from New York to California, not only now, but far distant in the future, unless fully understood.

It is now well understood in Massachusetts that the Democracy of that State is partially, if not wholly, responsible for the passage of the Constitutional provision, odious as it is. I now hold a letter in my hand from Boston, which says in substance "that the Democracy really wanted the law passed; some voting for it, some scattering tickets in its favor on the day of the election, and all wanting it to pass, and voting stoutly for it. They could have killed if it they had wished to do so."

Were we not now quickly to speak out our ideas on this law of Massachusetts, it might be inferred, it would be meanly implied by the corrupt Democracy for political purposes, that the Republicans of Illinois approved of the act, together with its cruel and destructive policy, and rank injustice to our foreign-born citizens. The Republican principle on this question is—once an American citizen always an American citizen, with all the burthens, rights and privileges attaching thereto, and which is never to be taken away, except by forfeiture through the man's own acts. This law of Massachusetts denies or repudiates this, and we, as Republicans, do now and here say that we most heartily and unanimously disapprove this law, because it is contrary to fundamental principles, and for the following reasons:

First, because it is impolitic, and second, because it is wrong and unjust to all that class of American citizens who happen to be born on European soil, and others not Americans. These citizens, intelligent, good and patriotic men, have fled from the towering oppressive thrones—iron chains and glittering bayonets of the despots of the Old World, and have landed among us to make this their adopted free homes, supposing that there would and should be equality—at least, as broad as that laid down in the Dred Scott case—among all American citizens. We see, however, that they are to be somewhat mistaken, if the Legislature of Massachusetts vitalizes this latent constitutional power by an operative act.

This law is wrong and unjust. Once an American citizen always so. The Republicans all over this State have taken broad, deep and radical grounds against this law; against its cruel impolicy and its stinging injustice; and so now and here tonight, in this Republican hall, we solemnly protest against it, in the name of Republicanism, and send out our protest to the world.

I have as a Republican long since and often in speeches and in print—in private circles and on the stump, all over this State, expressed my views on this subject, and have said that I know of no distinction among men, except those of the heart and head. I now repeat that, though I am native born, my country is the World, and my love for man is as broad as the race, and as deep as its humanity. As a matter of course I include native and foreign people, Protestant and Catholic, "Jew and Gentile." I go the full length of justice to all men—equality among all American citizens, and freedom to the race of man. That party—that class—that man or party who adopts different ideas and expresses them by word or act—gives vent by tongue or deed to them—is cruelly or wickedly despotocratic, though it may call its principles Democratic. In the center of its heart it is a despotism, soon to bloom into one-man, iron-willed Absolutism. Names are nothing, but principles are as deep as the world. The roots of things—the purposes and intents—are the tests. Look at this—justice and liberty to all men, and then at this—justice and liberty to a special few, and they to judge of the times and necessities. In the one is Heaven's justice broad and deep, and in the other despotism.

Republicans, score deep on your banner mortised and buttressed on the Philadelphia platform, and let there be no cowardly dodging for timid policy's sake from this, this ever-living vital principle, liberty and equality to all American citizens, native or foreign born, and freedom and justice to the race of men around the globe. With these principles nothing can impede your young, living, irresistible power, or prove victorious over you, for you have the sweep and power of God's great rushing currents to bear you on to victory o'er the world.

Mr. President, I conclude as I began, and by this principle I am willing to live or die—freedom and justice to all men—equality and liberty to all American citizens, native or foreign born, Protestant or Catholic; and may the chains of universal or partial despotism on mind or body—on individual or the race, be shivered and broken and snapt; and ring out loud and

long against the Bastile prison doors, crossed barred and iron grated—"Keeper, open this door and let us go out joyous, bounding and happy, for we too now are free by God's great law."

Tuesday, May 17, was a busy day for the Republican leaders of Illinois, for on that date three of the prominent spokesmen of the party composed extended and important replies to letters addressed to them by committees of Germans asking them for specific declarations as to their attitude on the subjects referred to. One was written by Mr. N. B. Judd, as a member of the Republican State Central Committee; another was written by Abraham Lincoln, and the third by Mr. Lyman Trumbull, U. S. Senator. They are presented in the order named:

Chicago, May 17, 1859.

To Messrs. Theobald Pfeiffer, E. Violand and Louis Deider:

Gentlemen:—Your communication on behalf of the German Club of Peoria reached Chicago during my absence in a neighboring State.

The State Central Committee is composed of eleven members, viz.: two from the State at large and one from each Congressional District. The distance at which they reside from one another renders it impracticable to assemble the Committee to act upon the subject matter of your communication. I had supposed that the position of the Republican Party of Illinois, in upholding equality among citizens, whether native or adopted, and hence its opposition to any burdens or restrictions upon the right of suffrage that should distinguish between classes of citizens, was so well defined that it did not require a repetition. The first State assemblage in Illinois, called for the purpose of organizing a resistance to the slave oligarchy, and at which the Republican Party was organized, met at Bloomington on the 29th day of May, 1856.

That Convention did not limit its action to measures only looking to the resistance of slave encroachments upon the rights of freemen, but it met the other question of Proscription, and adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience, as well as political freedom; and that we will proscribe no one, by legislation or otherwise, on account of religious opinion, or in consequence of place of birth."

The Convention did not confine itself to words, but by its acts proved its good faith by nominating for some of its highest places your countrymen, Hon. Fred. Hecker and Hon. Francis A. Hoffman.

The Convention that nominated John C. Fremont assembled at Philadelphia in June of that year, and it confirmed the posi-

tion taken by Illinois by adopting as a part of its National Platform the following resolution:

"Believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security."

The incorporation of that resolution into the Philadelphia Platform was effected principally by the united efforts of the delegates from the State of Illinois, and by no one was it urged more earnestly than by our German friends in the delegation. George Schneider of the *Staats-Zeitung,* Greiun (Grimm?) of Belleville and H. Kreismann of this city. In the contest that followed, the Illinois Republicans maintained the position thus taken. The party has had another State Convention, viz: in 1858, and your countryman, Gov. Koerner, was its presiding officer. Such have been the principles and practices of the Republicans in Illinois and the history of the party on this question of Proscription.

The local history of the party will show that in all cases where it had the power, offices, honors and rewards have been meted out regardless of nationality or birthplace. The Republican press condemned, in no measured terms, this unjust discrimination proposed by Massachusetts as wrong and anti-Republican in principle, and oppressive to that noble band of adopted citizens, who, believing in freedom, free labor, free homes and free lands, had, side by side with the native-born, fought the political battles of freedom.

As a member of the State Central Committee, it never occurred to me that any one could doubt the hostility of the party in this State to any change in the laws by which the equality among citizens should be disturbed.

I believe that all the members of the committee agree with me in the opinion that all discrimination between native and adopted citizens is unjust in itself and a violation of the equal rights which are the basis of our free institutions. The action of a small fraction of the people of Massachusetts is, in my opinion, an act of tyranny and oppression that should be rebuked by the Republicans throughout the Union.

Respectfully yours,

N. B. Judd,

Chairman Rep. State Cen. Com.

Wednesday morning, May 18, the *Daily State Journal* of Springfield, contained the following editorial which is reproduced *in extenso:*

MR. LINCOLN ON THE MASSACHUSETTS AMENDMENT.

We are indebted to Dr. Canisius for a copy of a letter written by Mr. Lincoln, in reply to a note requesting his views upon the late action of the State of Massachusetts in restricting the right of suffrage. We subjoin the letter together with the note which accompanied it:

Springfield, May 17, 1859.

Editors Journal:—

I have received today a letter from Hon. Abraham Lincoln in regard to the "Massachusetts Amendment" and the proposed "fusion" of the Republican party with other opposition elements in 1860. This letter of one of the gallant champions of our State is in accordance with the views of the whole German population, supporting the Republican party, and also with the views of the entire German Republican press. It therefore would afford me pleasure if you would give it publicity through your widely circulated journal.

I am, yours, etc.,

THEODORE CANISIUS.

Springfield, May 17, 1859.

Dr. Theodore Canisius:

Dear Sir:—Your note asking, in behalf of yourself and other German citizens, whether I am for or against the constitutional provision in regard to naturalized citizens, lately adopted by Massachusetts, and whether I am for or against a fusion of the Republicans and other opposition elements, for the canvass of 1860, is received.

Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State; and it is no privilege of mine to scold her for what she does. Still, if from what she has done an inference is sought to be drawn as to what I would do, I may without impropriety speak out. I say, then, that as I understood the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption in Illinois, or in any other place, where I have a right to oppose it. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the *elevation* of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to *degrade* them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I should favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of *white men,* even though born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself.

As to the matter of fusion, I am for it, if it can be had on Republican grounds, and I am not for it on any other terms. A fusion on any other terms would be as foolish as unprincipled.

It would lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still carry the whole South. The question of *men* is a different one. There are good patriotic men and able statesmen in the South, whom I would cheerfully support if they would now place themselves on Republican ground; but I am against letting down the Republican standard a hair's breadth.

I have written this hastily, but I believe it answers your questions substantially.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

We are glad Mr. Lincoln has written this letter. It is plain, straightforward and directly to the point. It contains not one word too much, neither does it omit anything of importance.

Mr. Lincoln occupies the same ground as does the entire Republican party of the nation, and his letter will meet with their cordial concurrence and sympathy.

The next day, Thursday, the *State Journal* contained the following response of Senator Lyman Trumbull to a letter addressed to him by Dr. Canisius, Charles Hermann and others, the same committee probably that addressed Mr. Lincoln; the editorial comment in introduction closed with the observation: "It has the ring of true metal."

Alton, Ill., May 17, 1859.

Messrs. Theodore Canisius, Charles Hermann and Others:

Gentlemen:—Unlike some of our political opponents who refuse to express their opinions on the propriety of introducing slavery into Kansas, because they do not live in the Territory, saying that if the people of Kansas [want it] it is their right to have it, and if they do not want it, they may, if the courts will let them, exclude it, and it is nobody's business out of the Territory, which they do, I am ready on all proper occasions to express my condemnation of illiberal and anti-Republican movements, no matter where they originate.

Loving freedom and hating despotism, I can never be indifferent as to which shall prevail in any country, and while I recognize the authority of each State in the Union to determine for itself the qualifications of its voters, I deny the position assumed by our opponents, that the citizens of every other State are precluded from the expression of any opinion as to the propriety of its action. I have, therefore, no hesitation in answering your inquiries in regard to the recent amendment of the Massachusetts constitution, excluding persons hereafter naturalized, for two years thereafter, from the right of suffrage. Such a provision creates an unjust discrimination between citizens, violates the great principle of equal rights, and is in the very teeth of the Republican creed. Massachusetts in adopting it has placed herself in opposition to every other Republican State, and to the Republican party in the country, which stands pledged in its National platform *to oppose all legislation impairing equality of rights among citizens.* While, therefore, I condemn the action of Massachusetts, I think the course of the Democrats, in striving to make political capital out of it, deserving of still greater condemnation. In the first place they stultify themselves before the country and repudiate the so-called *great principles* of leaving the people of each state *perfectly free* to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, by saying anything about the internal affairs of Massachusetts. Their mouths, if governed by principle, should be forever shut, no matter what Massachusetts has done. Secondly, they themselves in their attempts to deprive foreign residents in Minnesota of any participation in the formation of their State government, and rights of suffrage, long enjoyed, were guilty of greater outrage than the people of Massachusetts, for the latter (as I understand) have not attempted to interfere

with the rights of suffrage enjoyed by foreigners now residents of the State, but only to prescribe a different rule for those who shall come hereafter; while the Democratic party, not of an isolated State, but of the Nation, undertook in Congress to take away from persons of foreign birth, then residing in Minnesota, the right of suffrage which under previous acts of Congress and the Territorial Legislature they had long enjoyed. In this attempt they were defeated by the Republicans. Let Democrats answer for this attempt of the majority of their party in the nation to rob foreign residents in Minnesota of previously vested rights, before they attempt to arraign Republicans of the Nation for the action of a few in Massachusetts, contrary to the declared creed of the party.

Very respectfully,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

On May 21, *The Press and Tribune* contained the following resolutions adopted at Peoria:

"*Resolutions of the Republicans of Peoria.*"—At a meeting of the Republicans of Peoria, of which Dr. J. D. Arnold was the President and Wm. L. Avery Secretary, L. R. Webb from the Committee on Resolutions reported the following, which was unanimously adopted:

The Republicans of the city of Peoria, in meeting assembled, for the purpose of considering the recent act of the people of Massachusetts imposing additional restrictions upon the rights of suffrage of foreign-born citizens of that State, do

RESOLVE, That, as one of the charges preferred by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence against the King of Great Britain was that he was endeavoring to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose of obstructing the law for the naturalization of foreigners and refusing to encourage their emigration hither, so we, viewing the recent unjust, oppressive and intolerant action of the people of Massachusetts, believe it to be incumbent on us to denounce the same in unmeasured terms, as directly promoting the very evils our forefathers complained of, and as contrary to the spirit of our free institutions.

RESOLVED, That believing, as we do, that the people of Illinois are greatly indebted to the foreign-born citizens for the absence of human slavery in our midst, and its numerous attendant evils, and also believing that the spirit of our institutions and the constitution of our country both guarantee liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we deem it to be the policy and the duty of the Republican party to invite and encourage the affiliation and cooperation of all men, foreign as well as native, to the end that the cause of freedom may be promoted and the material growth and prosperity of our country may be augmented.

The two letters which follow were taken from the same journal from which the resolution just given is reprinted. The first one appeared in the issue of the 24th and the second in

the issue of the 26th. The reasons for the delay in their publication in the American press was probably due to the circuitous transmission they underwent. Translation for the pages of the *Staats-Zeitung,* to whose editor they were both addressed, and then their subsequent publication in *The Press and Tribune.*

Princeton, May 18, 1859.

Editor of Illinois Staats-Zeitung:

Dear Sir:—I have received yours of the 16th inst., requesting my views on the following questions:

"1. Are you in favor of the naturalization laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation [time]?

"2. Do you regard it a duty of the Republican party, as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the native-born and adopted citizens, as to the right of suffrage?

"3. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts Legislature, [for] attempting to exclude the adopted citizens of two years from the ballot-box, as unwise, unjust and uncalled for?"

In reply I would say, that I am in favor of the naturalization laws as they are, and should oppose any law calculated to prejudice the rights of the adopted citizen. This is in substance a reply to your second question. It is, without question in my mind, the mission and duty of the Republican party to oppose all and every discrimination between the adopted and native citizen. In this respect there should be one rule for the stranger and the home born.

In answer to the third inquiry I do not see what moral right the Massachusetts Legislature or the majority of her people have to suspend [or] temporarily to abrogate, for it amounts to this, the right of suffrage of a certain class of her citizens. The amendment, therefore, to which you allude, is, in my opinion, "unwise, unjust and uncalled for." I deprecate this the more as it tends to distract and alienate those from co-operation with the Republicans who are really with us in regard to the great objects we would achieve. My notions of human rights are such as to incline me to the largest liberality in bestowing the right of suffrage. Whoever is arrayed on the side of Freedom in its conflict with Slavery, of whatever clime and of whatever creed, the same *politically* is "my mother and sister and brother."

Yours truly,

OWEN LOVEJOY.

Chicago, May 20, 1859.

Editor Staats-Zeitung:

Dear Sir:—On my return from Supreme Court last evening, I found your note of the 18th, asking my opinion as "Chairman of the Republican Central Committee of Chicago" of the recent Amendment of the Massachusetts Constitution.

I understand that Amendment to impose upon naturalized citizens a restriction of the right of suffrage not required of citizens born in this country. I regard this as unwise, unjust, anti-Republican, and against the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States. When the Constitution gave to Congress the power "to establish an uniform system of naturalization," and provided "that the citizens of each State should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," it certainly could not have been expected that any State would impose restrictions upon the exercise of the rights of suffrage not required by the naturalization laws of the Federal Government.

But whatever may be the Constitutional right of Massachusetts to adopt this amendent, I regard it as most unwise, unjust, and antagonistic to the great principles upon which the Republican party is based. It is unwise and unjust to create a distinction between a native and a naturalized citizen. When a man becomes naturalized, he voluntarily adopts our country as his own. He makes our country his country by choice, by preference. He becomes one of us. His home is with us. His fortunes, his interests, his family, his all, become identified with ours. Is it not as wise as it is just, that when he has thus clothed himself with the rights of American citizenship, he should be made to feel that he was a welcome addition to the great brotherhood of freemen which compose the Republic?

While all must respect the feeling of attachment with which all good men remember their Fatherland, yet it is clearly the policy of our country so to treat her adopted citizens as to make them regard all nationalities as secondary to the grand idea of American citizenship.

This amendment, creating, as it does, an invidious distinction, has a tendency to keep alive and active that class feeling which all should seek to suppress. This discrimination which it creates is as unjust to the memory of the dead as it is to the worth and merit of the living. The history of our country is brilliant with the names of those born in a foreign land, whose love of our free institutions induced them to connect their fortunes with ours. The names of La Fayette, of Gallatin, Kosciusko, Pulaski, De Kalb, Steuben, Emmett, and many others in our earlier and later history, show that however a narrow and illiberal feeling may have at times manifested itself in particular localities, our country as a whole, in its policy towards the foreign-born, has been liberal and generous. Indeed, it is so obviously the interest of our country to encourage emigration and thereby develop our vast territories still unimpaired, that no other policy can prevail. The advantages of immigration here at the West, and especially to our own State and City, are so apparent, there has never been any difference of opinion among us on the subject. Our naturalized citizens have brought

industry, enterprise, wealth, good morals, and all the elements of prosperity to the Northwest, and here they have engaged in a generous and not unsuccessful rivalry with us, in building up and advancing the prosperity of our common country. I am sure there are none among us who would lessen their privileges. The policy of encouraging immigration and felicitating the settlement and naturalization of foreigners among us, in the early history of the Republic, found its most earnest advocate in Thomas Jefferson, that great statesman whose disciples are today found in the Republican party alone. In this policy, as upon the question of slavery, the so-called Democratic party has abandoned the principles of Jefferson. He embodied in the Declaration of Independence, as one of the grounds of separation from the mother country, that "He (the King of Great Britain) has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, etc."

The Republican party, recognizing as the basis for their organization the great principles of liberty so earnestly advocated by Jefferson, are seeking to bring back the Government to the policy of its founders. Since the so-called Democratic party has passed into the exclusive control of the Slave Power, it has very naturally manifested a jealousy of the free labor of the Old World, and its policy towards it has been narrow and unjust. The rapid addition of Free States in the Northwest, the result, in a large degree, of the emigration from abroad, has very naturally alarmed the Slave Power. Hence the illiberal provision of the Kansas-Nebraska acts; hence the voting down by Democratic slaveholding Senators of the amendments proposed by Republican Senators, to encourage the settlement of the public lands. Hence the defeat, by the same influence, of the Homestead Bill; hence the efforts of the pro-slavery Democratic party to extend slavery over free territory; hence the infamous Kansas outrages and Lecompton swindle.

The policy of the Republican party is to secure the unoccupied portion of this continent to the free labor of the world. The Democratic party controlled by the Slave Power is struggling to Africanize it, to appropriate it to slave labor. Hence that party is the natural enemy of the free labor which comes to us from abroad. The issue for 1860 is made up. The triumph of the Republican party will secure the public lands to free labor, without regard to birth-place.

The triumph of the Democratic party will secure, so far as the influence of the Federal Government can control it, the territories to slave labor. To furnish means of accomplishing this the slave trade is already openly, and under a Democratic Administration, carried on with impunity.

With this great issue before us, I doubt not the American and German Republicans will be found fighting side by side for freedom and free labor.

Our only strife will be to see who will do most to secure the success of those great principles of universal liberty which animate alike the American and the German Republican.

Very truly yours,

ISAAC N. ARNOLD,

Chairman Republican Central Committee.

Sufficient has been given, perhaps, to indicate the intensity of public interest during May in the "Two Year" Amendment among the electors of Illinois. The assertion, however, becomes incontrovertible if one will examine the amount and character of the attention given the subject in the foremost papers of Illinois, if we merely note the number of editorials; if we canvass the character of their expression and their length if we list the number of reprints of articles from other papers dealing with the subject, of communications thereon, of resolutions and speeches dealing with the Amendment. Somewhat of the attention and space devoted to it may be inferred from foregoing exhibits but the intensity of public interest can best be realized by a mere catalog of the titles. As a summary and premise for the analysis which follows two lists are here given. They are taken from two of the leading dailies of Chicago: The first from a Republican organ; the second from a Democratic organ.

The Press and Tribune contained the following articles, editorial and other:

April 29—"Republican State Central Committee of Iowa and the Naturalization Question"—Reprint of resolutions.

May 5—"Massachusetts"—Editorial.

May 6—"The Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts"—Editorial.

May 6—"The Massachusetts Two Year Amendment"—Letter from Senator Grimes of Iowa—Reprint.

May 11—"Two Year Amendment in Massachusetts"—Editorial.

May 11—"Gov. Chase on Naturalization"—Editorial.

May 14—"The Massachusetts Amendment"—Editorial.

May 16—"The Massachusetts Amendment"—Letter from Hon. E. B. Washburne—Reprint.

May 17—"The Massachusetts Amendment"—Editorial.

May 18—"The Democracy and the Massachusetts Amendment"—Editorial.

May 18—"The Massachusetts Amendment—Resolutions of the Young Men's Republican Association of Springfield"—Reprint.

May 21—"The Massachusetts Amendment:" (1) "Lincoln's Letter to Dr. Canisius." (2) "Resolutions of the Republicans of Peoria." (3) "Speech of W. H. Herndon."

May 23—Senator Trumbull to Dr. Canisius.

May 23—I. N. Arnold to Editor of *Illinois Staats-Zeitung.*

May 24—"The Massachusetts Amendment." Reprints Lovejoy's Letter to Editor of *Illinois Staats-Zeitung.*

May 26—"The Massachusetts Amendment." Reprints Judd's Letter to Germans of Peoria.

May 28—Letter of F. B. Blair on the Massachusetts Amendment.

The Chicago Times, the particular organ of Senator Douglas, during the same period, had the following articles upon the same subject:

June 6—Reprint of Ohio State Republican Platform.
May 5—"The Proscription of Foreigners"—Editorial.
May 7—"A Silly Effort to Shirk Responsibility"—Editorial.
May 11—"Interesting to Adopted Citizens"—Editorial.
May 13—"Republicans and the Two Year Amendment"—Editorial.
May 17—"Governor Banks and the Two Year Amendment"—Editorial.
May 19—"Republicans and Foreigners"—Editorial.
May 22—"The Panic in the Republican Party"—Editorial.
May 24—"Mr. I. N. Arnold's Letter"—Editorial.
May 26—"Where is Mr. Judd?"—Editorial.
May 27—"'Gov' Judd's Letter"—Editorial.
June 2—"The Republicans and Their Negro Allies in Massachusetts"—Editorial.
June 10—"The Disabilities of Non-Citizens"—Editorial.
June 15—"Naturalization and Voting"—Editorial.

Editors of our daily press are keen watchers of the currents and tides of popular interest. They are concerned with little else and give scant consideration to dead eddies, mere drift wood and back wash. They are seldom aroused by abstractions, "mere theories" or remote eventualities. The clash and clutch of human interests in the madding crowd hold them always in thrall.

VIII.

The exhibits just given indicate beyond all cavil that the Republicans of Illinois felt that they confronted a crisis and they appreciated that instant and decisive action was imperative if the plans of the party in the impending national campaign were not to be upset and their chances of success in 1860 obliterated. Sundry facts are worthy of note.

The Germans of Illinois took their cue manifestly from the Germans of Iowa. This is obvious in the letters addressed by Mr. Schneider to Congressmen Farnsworth, Lovejoy and Washburne: for the questions the latter specifically answer are precisely those drafted by Dr. Hillgaertner, et al., and presented to Senator Grimes and Harlan of Iowa. Mr. Schneider probably acted on his own initiative in presenting the interrogatories; but it would not be strange if Dr. Hillgaertner had

first suggested the manoeuvre to him, as he was familiar with German leaders in Chicago and intimately acquainted with the editorial force of the *Staats-Zeitung*.

There was not, however, the concerted action in Illinois that there was in Iowa. Mr. Schneider appears to have acted singly and for himself in the letters he addressed to Messrs. Farnsworth, Lovejoy, Washburne and Arnold. Two of his letters were dated on the 10th; one on the 18th and the other on the 20th. Committees seem to have been organized as in Iowa but without concert of action, one with another. Thus the committee at Peoria does not appear to have included the members of the one at Springfield. Dr. Theodore Canisius, Charles Hermann and others at Springfield addressed the same letter to Messrs. Lincoln and Trumbull.

The influence of proceedings in Iowa on the course of events in Illinois is indicated not only in the similarity of the methods pursued, in the questions submitted, and in more or less concert of action, as in Iowa, but in the particular mention of Senator Grimes—naming him with Senator Wilson of Massachusetts and Mr. Carl Schurz of Milwaukee—in the resolution adopted at Springfield on the night of May 14. The specific commendation of Iowa's junior Senator is rather substantial evidence indicating the direct and positive influence of the antecedent developments in Iowa upon the course of events in Illinois.

The stress of things produced by the demand of the Germans for explicit declarations from the Republican leaders in and about Chicago is illustrated by a minor incident not uninstructive here. Mr. N. B. Judd, next to Messrs. Lincoln and Trumbull was perhaps the most influential party chief among the Republicans of Illinois, at least of northern Illinois. For some reason his letter of May 17, of even date with Lincoln and Trumbull's responses to Dr. Canisius was not published in the American papers until May 26. Apparently the fact that he had been addressed by Messrs. Peiffer, Violand and Deider of Peoria was either known or suspected; for on May 26, *The Times* of Chicago came out with a half column leader headed: "Where is Mr. Judd?" The public was told that "Washburne,

Lovejoy, Trumbull, Arnold, Lincoln and a number of Republicans in Illinois have published letters repudiating the actions of the Republicans of Massachusetts * * but never a word from Mr. Judd." The Democrats had a fine opportunity for first class bear-baiting and did not refrain. Mr. Judd's letter appeared in *The Press and Tribune* on the same morning that *The Times* contained the editorial just cited.

If any additional proof were needed to clinch the assertion of *The Express and Herald* of Dubuque, that the Republicans of Illinois were in a real panic it is abundantly afforded in the contents of the resolutions adopted at Peoria and Springfield. Their language not only imports that the Germans had been grossly mistreated, insulted and outraged by the "Two Year" Amendment in Massachusetts but it declares that the liberties and the best memories of the American people were thereby assailed and put in danger. One of our major grievances against King George III was his harsh treatment of the forbears of the Germans and for them our fathers spilt their blood and treasure in the glorious revolution. More than this the Peorians proclaim that the freemen of the North and of Illinois in particular were "greatly indebted to the foreign born citizens for the absence of slavery in our midst and its numerous attendant evils." Such allegation, while interesting and instructive and supremely flattering to the *amour propre* of the sensitive Germans, must have been astonishing information to lusty Americans and Know-Nothings, information that must have produced either complete stupefaction or intense exasperation and revulsion. But whether true or fallacious, the fact that the Republicans of Peoria would thus proclaim their appreciation of the momentous influence of the Germans in our common life and polity from the outset of our national life demonstrates the alarm, not to say the desperation, of the Republican managers in Illinois in May, 1859.

The same conclusion follows from the character of the contents of the resolutions adopted at Springfield. Their language is not so pronounced and sweeping as was the case with those adopted at Peoria—the difference in the number of Germans in the immediate neighborhood may account for the dif-

ference in the ardor and anxiety displayed—nevertheless the same alarm is exhibited. Moreover, it was displayed in a practical fashion that indicated that the party managers deemed energetic action urgent. The managers and the mass meeting directed the officers of the meeting to send copies of the resolutions to all parts of the state and to secure their widest publication. Such a proceeding by practical politicians in the state capital, at the instigation, or at the least with the approval of the party chiefs, was a fact of the deepest significance. Little bands or groups of missionaries and philanthropists frequently proceed thus, without political significance; but such a meeting as that on the 14th of May in the Republican Hall and such a series of resolutions and such a program of propagandism were facts of maximum political significance.

Contemporary accounts do not show whether or not Mr. Lincoln attended the meeting at Springfield on May 14; but it is unlikely that he did do so, as the fact would have been widely heralded. We may assume that the meeting, however, was not without his knowledge and approval for it is inconceivable that local leaders, many of whom were ardent promoters of his political interests, would go ahead reckless of his adverse opinion. This conclusion is almost compelled by the presence and participation in the proceedings of his law partner, Mr. Wm. H. Herndon. Partners in practical business are not necessarily co-workers in politics. But in this instance there was complete reciprocity of interest—although not perfect accord always in practical application of views or concurrence as to time and place for expression or action—and a mutual consideration that makes certain the conclusion that Mr. Herndon did nothing and said nothing that night without feeling that his distinguished associate in business was not only not averse but approved. We may presume confidently that there had been more or less conference between them and other local leaders as to the nature of the danger threatening from the Germans.

IX.

The various letters from the Republican leaders present sundry interesting and some very instructive phases. They vary widely in the art of their expression, in the tactics of the writers, in the degrees of prudence and in the vehemence displayed in discussing the various phases of the matter in issue. The art of Mr. Lincoln's letter to Dr. Canisius, its political significance and its superior efficiency can only be appreciated by close comparison.

The kindest, the mildest letter, in some respects the most considerate of the sensibilities of opponents is that of Congressman Lovejoy's. He is concise and unequivocal. He confines himself entirely to dissent from the principle of the act but refrains from harsh criticism of those responsible for the "Two Year" Amendment. There is a grace and charity that seems remote from the hurly-burly and clash of politics. It suggests the idealist and philanthropist, the philosopher and the preacher, rather than the keen, poised politician, alert to conserve his forces and counterbalance against reaction.

Congressmen Farnsworth and Washburne indulge in strong language. Mr. Farnsworth brands the act of Massachusetts as "odious," pronounces it "insulting and unjust" and "protests" against any one charging the Republicans with responsibility therefor. Congressman Washburne is much more vehement and sweeping in his observations. He asserts his "abhorrence of the action of those Republicans of Massachusetts." He refers to it as "this last and meanest act;" as a recurrence of "Intolerant Know-Nothingism;" and he proclaims that the Republicans of Massachusetts who supported the Amendment had "placed themselves beyond the pale of sympathy" of Republicans elsewhere who "universally condemn their action."

Such characterization no doubt effectively expressed the feelings and the sentiments of the Congressmen quoted and no doubt thoroughly satisfied the utmost demands of the Germans immediately in mind. But such vigor, such slashing epithet and vehemence of denunciation "cut both ways", as experienced politicians know full well. The physical law of ac-

tion and reaction operates in politics. Such language would produce resentment and recrimination among "Americans" and sometime Know Nothings and among all those in Massachusetts who had given countenance and support to the Amendment in question. If the majorities in their respective districts made Congressmen Farnsworth and Washburne safe and indifferent to the feelings of those criticized, or of their friends and sympathizers, they might be reckless as to consequences. Otherwise they were imprudent and impolitic. If either Congressman had or might have some far-reaching plans, the realization of which ultimately depended upon the good will and concurrence of fellow Republicans in Massachusetts, New Jersey and other states where sentiments similar to those prevalent in Massachuetts were not uncommon, then such harsh and sweeping criticism and denunciation were not merely imprudent but utter folly.

The letters of the two party field marshals, Messrs. I. N. Arnold and N. B. Judd, were much more effective in these respects. They were very adroit in their comment and prudent in their criticism. There is little or nothing in their letters that would arouse virulent retort or produce violent resentment. Each one dwells upon the positive and substantial efforts of the Republican Party to encourage liberal legislation in state and national government beneficial to the foreign born. Mr. Arnold enlarges effectively upon the studied discrimination enforced or urged by the pro-slavery leaders in Congress against foreigners in recent or in pending legislation—especially in the Homestead bills. Mr. Judd was particularly strong in the presentation of his views. He emphasized the well known efforts of the Republican party and its leaders not only to insure the foreign born equality before the law but also to promote Germans in respect of public honors. Of the letters of both it may be said that while both easily commended themselves to Germans and both were lacking in harsh comment which would provoke counteraction, both would dull and deaden the energies of Americans and nativistic propagandists. Their contents would enhance the chances of Republican success in and about the cities of Chicago, Peoria or Quincy, but not in the

counties of Logan, Madison, Mason, Morgan and Sangamon, counties, wherein Southerners swarmed and old-line Whigs and supporters of Fillmore predominated.

Senator Trumbull's letter is especially interesting in contrast with those just named and with that of his great contemporary. It is a strong letter, as we should anticipate from a statesman of the large calibre and staunch character of Senator Trumbull. But while he delivers some vigorous thrusts and satisfies the most captious of Germans, his letter does not stand comparison with the other letter addressed to Dr. Canisius on the same date, neither in style nor in substance.

Senator Trumbull needlessly asserts his courage. His character had been thoroughly tested and was well known to be stout and staunch. He does not berate his fellow Republicans in Massachusetts with harsh epithets that burn or scar, but he does present his criticism of Massachusetts in such a way as to make his fellow Republicans in that Commonwealth sting with the implications of his characterization. In what possible way could he in that year of grace have been more severe upon the electors of Massachusetts than by the deadly parallel he bluntly suggests between the iniquities in Kansas under the ruthless slavocrats and the injustice done the foreign born and naturalized citizens by the discrimination enforced against them in the Commonwealth whose citizens serenely assumed primacy in culture and christianity; and on occasion were not averse to asserting their superiority? Even ardent Abolitionists of the Garrisonian persuasion might conceivably resent such a damnatory implication.

He concedes the right of a State under our Federal scheme to conduct its domestic policy as its electors may deem appropriate, yet he contradicts his concession by the nature of the criticisms he applies. A right in law implies a duty on the part of others to respect its exercise and to submit in silence or with grace if we disapprove.

Senator Trumbull's condemnation of the Democrats because they sought to make "political capital" out of the act of the Republicans *et al.* in Massachusetts must have produced a sardonic smile when Democrats read it or heard of it. He

counters with but little force when he shows that the Democrats really were as bad as the Republicans in this matter, and even worse because they were doing violence to their pet dogma of popular sovereignty when they criticized the electors of Massachusets for enacting the "Two Year" Amendment. The inference from this counter was again the deadly parallel between Kansas and Massachusetts.

He seems to make a more vigorous and effective thrust when he refers to the effort of the Democrats to deny the right of suffrage to aliens resident in Minnesota at the time the act for the admission of that state into the Union was on its passage through Congress. Conceding the point his counter assertion was negative: it meant that the Republicans were as bad as the Democrats and Germans could not count upon superior treatment from the Republicans. To say that the other fellow is just as bad as we are or given to like reprehensible tactics is public confession that our course is not creditable. Senator Trumbull, however, shot wide of the real mark, and for him, strangely missed the real point in issue in his reference to the constitution of Minnesota. The two cases were not coincident or parallel at all. In the case of Minnesota the Democrats sought merely to deny the right of suffrage under the new constitution submitted to Congress to *aliens,* to-wit, foreign born not yet naturalized. Their design did not affect naturalized citizens adversely in any manner. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, naturalized American citizens, the peers under our great Federal charter and laws of any and all of the lineal descendants of the Pilgrim fathers were specifically barred from equal rights and privileges in the electoral franchise, until they could certify an additional residence of two years. This was a bald and open discrimination between American citizens. A Carl Follen, a Francis Lieber, a Carl Schurz did not have the same right in respect of the ballot and public office in the Great Commonwealth of the Puritans that an ignorant, stupid, vicious runaway Negro from the Dismal Swamp enjoyed after a single year's residence. This was a blazing contrast that loomed huge and disagreeable on the horizon and

explanation or palliation but aggravated the offense. Frank disapproval alone sufficed.

Senator Trumbull wrote Dr. Canisius, as he spoke in the arena. He had his eye fixed solely upon the great enemy of the public welfare as he viewed the prospect, namely the Pro-Slavery party, and he directed his fire chiefly with that opponent immediately and ultimately in view. The allurement of Germans, the prevention of their defection, the allayment of their discontent and suspicion in order that their numbers and tremendous energy as one of the major corps of the Anti-Slavery forces might be conserved and enhanced—such was the primary consideration of Senator Trumbull. The intense feelings of "Americans" and Nativists; the keen sensibilities of puritanical folk who disliked the liberal notions and jovial customs of the foreign born; the rancorous hate of religious fanatics and the persistent malevolence of nativistic zealots and factionists —these matters that count always and must always be included carefully in the reckoning were not foremost in Senator Trumbull's mind and they do not appear to have received any incidental consideration. The possibility, let alone the probability that the potency of the Germans had an equivalent correlative that could prove no less potent for good or ill to the great cause he sought to promote by his letter to Dr. Canisius does not appear to have been in contemplation.

X.

The speech of Mr. Herndon, Mr. Lincoln's law partner, at the Republican Hall, Springfield, Saturday night, May 14, is in many respects one of the most interesting exhibits of all those given. His speech, like the resolutions, was given extensive publication. It appeared not only in the *State Journal* at the capital and in *The Press and Tribune* at Chicago, but it was printed at length in Garrison's *Liberator* at Boston, April 8.

The prominence of Mr. Herndon in the meeting in the nature of the case suggests concert of action between himself and his distinguished partner. In the first place it may be doubted if any serious political movement was undertaken by

the Republican leaders of Springfield between 1856 and 1860 without the immediate knowledge and advice, or general approval of Mr. Lincoln. The fact that Mr. Herndon's speech was printed at all and so widely published, suggests prearrangement in the well known law office on the Courthouse square. The intimacy of the partners, their general harmony of views and Mr. Herndon's hearty desire to further the ambitions and advancement of his associate are well known, and any other conclusion is inconceivable.

Mr. Herndon's speech, however, was not in his best vein. Its style is rather highflown and the reasoning sentimental; not nearly so strong as his published correspondence and his *Life of Lincoln* demonstrate him to have been capable of when at his best. It may not be fair to hold him accountable for what may have been a hastily written newspaper report of his speech, but its character and contents indicate strongly that the printers set it up from prepared copy.

There is not a little in the speech that smacks of Garrisonian idealism and New England transcendentalism. His philanthropy embraces the world and includes high and low alike. The idealist, however, keeps his feet on the ground. He displays the practicality of the wily politician and plays directly upon the sensibilities of the Germans with the zeal of the average stump speaker.

He apparently made a wide survey of the struggles of European peoples for freedom and constitutional government and insinuated, if he did not directly assert, that the French, the Germans, the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Italians, were all of the Lord's elect, all parts of one stupendous whole that comprehends the European refugee and the hapless slave. Much of his reasoning, however, will not stand sharp scrutiny. This fact arouses no little curiosity as to the actual knowledge his law partner had of the speech before it was delivered and before its publication. For his associate in business would not have made the errors in tactics and the slips in prudence that stand out so clearly in Mr. Herndon's speech.

Mr. Herndon declares that whenever the act of a state "projectingly acts upon us, reaching outside and by its swing

and sweep, injuriously and destructively affects us", then we —the citizens of sister states, nearby or remote, as the case may be—have a right to protest and, of course—if he means anything by the term *protest*—to take adequate measures to nullify such action. Such reasoning, when advanced by the Southern statesmen in rejoinder to hostile legislation in Northern states, was invariably treated with vaulting scorn by anti-slavery spokesmen.

He follows the lead of *The Press and Tribune* in alleging that the Democrats really conceived and pushed forward the unjust amendment in Massachusetts against which the Germans protest. He informed his audience and the state and nation at large that the Democrats "could have killed it if they had wished to do so." The letter from a correspondent in Boston, to which he refers, was doubtless from his long time intimate friend, Theodore Parker.

The total vote for the Amendment in the official returns reached only 21,119. That number was less than a third of the vote cast for Gov. Banks in 1856, who received 69,049 votes; and it was less than a fifth of the total vote cast for John C. Fremont for President in 1856, whose vote was 108,020. In other words, of the Republican electors in Massachusetts alone, there were four times as many who stayed at home on May 9 and either refused or neglected to vote against the Amendment. The entire Democratic vote in Massachusetts, either in 1856 or in 1858, did not aggregate 40,000. Mr. Herndon was not one to permit himself to deal in gross perversions of figures or facts, but like many another "progressive" in these advanced days, he was more or less heedless, not to say reckless, in assertion in the press and rush of controversy.

In some respects the most astonishing statement in Mr. Herndon's speech is his declaration: "Once an American citizen, always an American citizen." Such an assertion without qualification must have aroused violent memories in the minds of veterans of the War of 1812, who either heard or read his speech. It was in large part as a protest against this very doctrine that our nation waged a two years' war with Great Britain. Within a month four out of every five Republican

papers, and virtually all anti-slavery journals in the north were to break forth in one terrific chorus of furious denunciation of the concession by President Buchanan's venerable Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, of this self-same doctrine here proclaimed by Mr. Herndon, and Germans were to prove the most vigorous and the most vehement protestants against the doctrine which was then asserted by Austria, France, Germany and Russia against their emigrant sons. For years southern slaveowners and southern leaders had maintained that once a slave, always a slave, and they insisted on applying precisely the same principle to their fugitive chattels, no matter how long they might reside in friendly northern states and no matter what status might be conferred upon them by friendly legislation in their northern habitats. Yet their contention was universally treated with withering scorn by Abolitionists and anti-slavery Republicans.

Excluding the considerations here adverted to, which usually are matters of little concern to any but the hypercritical who count for little in the clash and clinch of party strife, Mr. Herndon's speech had no little strength. His humanitarian sentiments were generous and glowing with ardent feeling. His Democracy comprehended all classes alien and native, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, high and low. One law for all, one test of character and conduct under the law, equality of opportunity and uniformity of treatment under the constitution and the laws; these were ideals that commend themselves and compel acceptance. Germans must needs applaud.

In the light of the antecedent and collateral facts just exhibited, let us examine the character and contents of Abraham Lincoln's letter to Dr. Theodore Canisius.

XI.

The most noteworthy fact about Mr. Lincoln's letter to Dr. Canisius, it is not extravagant to say, was the mere fact that the letter itself was written and given out to the public. The writer was not only not much given to letter writing, but on

principle studiously avoided committing his views on moot matters to paper. He was an exceedingly able and alert practical politician and he knew the fatalities attendant upon effusive epistolary declarations. He was afraid of the notable inopportuneness or unwisdom of publication amidst the kaleidoscopic changes of politics and the constant shifting of public interest.[14] There must have been a serious exigency that compelled him to put himself thus on paper as he did in his letter of May 17 to the committee of Germans of the state capital.

The letter of Mr. Lincoln, like the one of Senator Grimes, was a model of conciseness and lucidity, pith and point. He expresses dissent and disapproval of the act of Massachusetts, but he hits the nail and nothing else. He does not enmesh himself as did so many of his confreres in a network of ugly implications. His language neither burns nor scars, yet it is luminous and flashes far and wide a principle of human equality that critics could not deny and those for whom it was intended would greet with hearty applause. He did not lay about with cat--o-nine tails or "go after" the foolish patriots and philosophers of the Old Puritan Commonwealth. At the same time he struck straight out at the act complained of by the Germans.

The letter to Dr. Canisius exhibits the surefooted lawyer, who is scrupulously observant of principle and realizes the depth and sweep thereof and the ground fact that a right, when it exists, must compel respect for those exercising it, as the correlative duty that insures the realization of the right. Thus his frank assertion that he had no right to "scold" the people of Massachusetts for their determination as to a matter of internal administration. But his explicit declaration to this effect is not inconsistent with his immediate assertion that he was opposed to the principle and policy of the Amendment in Massachusetts and that he would oppose its adoption in Illinois and in the federal jurisdiction wherever he had a legal right of expression and action.

[14] See *Works of Abraham Lincoln,* edited by M. M. Miller, Vol. IX. Letters to Schuyler Colfax and to Geo. D. Prentice. The latter Lincoln held for some time in his possession, uncertain as to the advisability of forwarding.

While there is no "protest" against the act of Massachusetts, no denunciation and no ugly implications in Mr. Lincoln's communication which could give just offense to his fellow Republicans in that state, nevertheless, his letter does plainly pronounce the "Two Year" Amendment unjust and to be deplored. We cannot, in the nature of the case, exercise our just right of public discussion whereby we may condemn and deplore an act or policy without thereby passing an adverse judgment upon the persons or party responsible therefor. If, as he alleged, the spirit of our institutions "aim at the *elevation* of men", his assertion that he was consequently "opposed to whatever tends to degrade them," was a severe reflection upon proposers of the act in question. But the sturdy sons of Massachusetts could not complain of this inference, for Democracy and free speech are not possible otherwise.

The most severe reflection upon the recent act of Massachusetts is strikingly suggested in Mr. Lincoln's reference to his reputation—"notoriety", as he phrases it—"for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro," which might be expected to cause him to oppose "any project for curtailing the existing right of *white men,* even though born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself." This bare suggestion—or more correctly, this slight hint, so concise is his language—comprehends and meets the bitterest complaints of the protesting Germans and the most contemptuous and damaging denunciation of the Democrats. It exalted the central principle of all the anti-slavery forces and none of the leaders of the Opposition in Massachusetts could take just exception to the inference to be drawn therefrom.

The curious and the cynical may be asking the question whether or not the sentiments given expression in the response to Dr. Canisius reflected deep seated convictions or merely the opinion of the moment compounded of dread of party defeat and desire to placate the belligerent Germans. Mr. Lincoln was a politician *par excellence,* whose weather-eye was both keen and farseeing. His contemporaries and his biographers all tell us, and his writings all confirm their opinion, that he was always guided in matters of grave concern by basic principles

and not by the vagrant winds of popular prejudice and passion or the fitful gusts of popular fancy or fury. Conclusive proof of this assertion is afforded us in his striking letter addressed to his boyhood friend, Joshua F. Speed of Louisville, on August 24, 1855, towards the close of which occurs precisely the same sentiment expressed four years later to Dr. Canisius: "I am not a know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people?"[15]

The distinguished Republican leader of Illinois was not in deed or in thought "playing" to the German vote in 1859. His expression on May 17 was the considerate outgiving of conviction arrived at years before when malevolent fanaticism was sweeping over the nation in ruthless tides, wrecking party crafts and blasting hopes and dreams of place and power and only those who had the stuff of true patriots and staunch statesmen in their makeup could resist the fury of the onslaught.

Mr. Lincoln's courage and farsightedness were displayed no less conspicuously in his answer to the inquiry of Dr. Canisius' committee, anent his attitude towards "fusion" of the Republicans "with the other opposition elements for the canvass of 1860." Here again we have downright expression, concise and unequivocal, hitting the mark only. If we lacked evidence of his courage, clear-headedness, large-mindedness and far-sightedness, we have it in this portion of his reply. And again, his frankness under the circumstances not only elicited the applause of friends, but compelled the admiration of party opponents and factional critics. In order to appreciate the significance of his expression we must realize somewhat of the drifts of political discussion among the Republicans of the other Op-

[15] The balance of the paragraph is not uninteresting:

"Our progress in degeneracy appears to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'All men are created free and equal.' We now practically read it 'All men are created equal, except negroes.' When the Knownothings get control, 'All men are created equal, except negroes, foreigners and catholics.' When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty,—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy."

position elements in the country at large in the four months preceding.

In December 1858 Greeley's *Tribune* had suggested that it would be wise for the opponents of slavery to consider the feasibility of a working alliance and suggested that the Republicans nominate the candidate for Vice President and the other Opposition elements pick the candidate for President. The realization of this proposal seemed to give the whip hand to the old-time Whigs and the followers of ex-President Fillmore, chiefly know-nothings and "Americans." Discussion was drifting in this direction when on April 26 Greeley published a powerful leader on "The Presidency in 1860." After showing in some detail the distribution of the Fremont and Fillmore votes in 1856 and demonstrating that the opponents of the Pro-slavery Administration, if they would but consolidate their forces, had a decided preponderance in the forthcoming contest, *The Tribune* said:

"Of course it is plain that a substantial, practical union of the electors who supported Fremont and Fillmore respectively, insures a triumph in 1860, even though there should be a scaling off on either side, as there possibly would be. We can afford to lose one hundred thousand of the Opposition vote in 1856 and still carry the next President by a handsome majority." The editorial then proceeds to point out that there is no material difference between the Whigs and the Americans on the subject of slavery and then observes as to candidates: "Most certainly we should prefer an original Republican—Governor Seward or Governor Chase—but we shall heartily and zealously support one like John Bell, Edward Bates or John M. Botts, provided that we are assured that his influence, his patronage, his power, if chosen President, will be used, not to extend slavery, but to confine it to the states that see fit to uphold it."

These sentiments of Greeley's paper—all of which must strike all to-day as preeminently sane and the very essence of common sense in practical politics—aroused the country over a veritable storm of protest and contemptuous comment from the radical and irrepressible anti-slavery editors and spokesmen. They immediately suspected the suggestion to be a

Machiavellian proposal; at best naught else than a concession that meant capitulation involving the abnegation of the party of freedom, another miserable compromise with the forces of darkness whereby principles gave way to policy and plunder. And the stiffbacked radicals would have none of it.

Greeley's editorial produced a violent reaction among the Germans. The German press, after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was by a considerable majority, radical and outspoken in its opposition to slavery, opposed to its extension and opposed to its very existence and not averse to summary measures for its extinction. The iniquities of the institution—particularly the frightful phases of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law—and some of the assertions of the Supreme court in the case of Dred Scott reminded "Forty-eighters" of the processes of tyranny under the oppressive rule of their Fatherland which they fled in 1848 and later years. An alliance, or any formal affiliation with the conservative whigs who resisted any interference with the rights of slaveholders aroused them to protest. Another fact provoked their wrath and fury.

Greeley's willingness to join with the "Americans" of the South and the remnants of the Know-nothings in the North was to Germans an unspeakable abomination, for their memories were full of bitter recollections of the harsh and mean and often brutal persecutions they endured during the heyday of Know-nothingism. As Germans regarded them, Messrs. Bates, Bell and Botts stood foremost in the country as sanctioning narrow, proscriptive legislation and by their silence, if not by speech, giving their countenance to the brutalities of Know-nothingism. Greeley's suggestion meant an unholy alliance with the powers of evil and hence the point blank question in Dr Canisius' letter to Mr. Lincoln—did he favor the "fusion" of the Republicans with the "other Opposition elements for the canvass of 1860?" Needless to say, the inquiry was grand strategy and masterly tactics—a tremendous drive at the very centre of the war zone.

Dr. Canisius and his confreres knew that there was intense and widespread opposition to "fusion" among staunch

anti-slavery folk, and they knew too, that Mr. Lincoln was aware of the intense feelings of the Germans in respect of anything that smacked of Know-nothingism. With Germans universally aroused in alarm and protest against the "Two Year" amendment, their plump question at that juncture was in truth a crucial test of the character and capacity of the man addressed. And with royal certitude he promptly replied.

Mr. Lincoln did not hedge himself about with saving clauses that would enable him to face both ways and deny or assert as circumstances and variable attacks might make convenient. He declared in the most direct, straightforward manner that he was in favor of fusion with any and all elements of the Opposition if the terms of the alliance could be arranged satisfactorily. There was one central fact—an irreducible minimum—on which all could stand, to-wit, antagonism to the extension of slavery. Idealists and realists, liberals and conservatives, could come together on this common ground. All can unite easily and effectively upon a universal issue. The great objective is the defeat of the party in power that favors or protects the evil complained of, and ballots, like bullets, are impersonal. It matters little or nothing whence they come if thereby opponents are routed and driven from place and power. Those who desired the overthrow of the Pro-slavery party should not stickle at minor and subsidiary considerations. If such matters were to be contemplated it would not be long before such petty considerations as diet, clothes and family would determine party action, and chaos would ensue.

Any dodging or juggling on the subject of slavery was given no countenance whatever. Any color of compromise on principle would be "as foolish as unprincipled;" and he would not lower the Republican standard by "a hair's breadth." But with this *sine qua non* assured Mr. Lincoln was frank to the point of bluntness. He would join forces with any party or faction, or group and he would follow the lead of any tried and true standard bearer whose character and guidon would inspire confidence and afford the greatest hope of success. And he states bluntly that he would "cheerfully support" a number of "good and patriotic men

of the South" if they would "place themselves on Republican ground." In the light of then recent discussion such an assertion could have meant but one thing. Mr. Lincoln would support Messrs. Bates, Banks, Bell, Botts or Cameron, should any one of them be nominated. To give out such a statement and right into the teeth of the militant Germans, was either a most daring and reckless assertion of independence or it was an act of supreme sagacity and perfect politics.

The premises of perfect politics, in the old Greek sense of the term, are what Montesqieu would declare to be the "necessary relations of things," or as Carlyle later was wont to put it, "the eternal verities." The premises Abraham Lincoln rarely failed to discern and to comprehend, and when realized he stood squarely thereon, regardless of the dissent or doubts or dread of shifty and timid souls about him. In the art of politics, in the adjustment of procedure to principles and prudence, the distinguished Republican leader of Springfield was a past master and his ability and achievement were never more effectively demonstrated than in his response to the interrogatories of Dr. Canisius and confreres.

Dr. Canisius, in his letter to the editor of the *Daily State Journal,* communicating Mr. Lincoln's reply of May 17, declared that the response "of the gallant champion of our state is in accordance with the views of the whole German population, supporting the Republican party, and also with the views of the entire German Republican press." This statement, of itself, is a superb tribute to Mr. Lincoln's sagacity and staunch character as a practical politician, who is the real statesman in fact. It signified instant approval of his position and views when he normally might have anticipated for a portion of his letter, disfavor, if not violent dissent.

Dr. Canisius indulged in excessive statement when he informed the *State Journal* that "the whole German population" and the "entire German Republican press" concurred in Mr. Lincoln's views. The editor of *Der Illinois Staats-Anzeiger* apparently allowed his intense satisfaction over Mr. Lincoln's unqualified expression of disapproval of the principle of the "Two Year" Amendment to induce the generous

conclusion that Germans were no less accordant with his views anent "fusion", but he was seriously in error as the developments of the next twelve months demonstrated. At no time before the national Republican convention met at Chicago, May 16, 1860, was any considerable proportion of the German Republican press agreeable to the nomination of Bell or Bates or Botts. The candidacy of Judge Bates had been announced some time before and his friends were promoting it vigorously, but the German press, generally speaking, treated it with either contemptuous silence or with downright denunciation. This hostile attitude steadily increased among the radical Germans until March it lead to an organized movement that gave a quietus to the hopes and plans of the friends of Judge Bates at the Chicago convention. But this is another story.

The matter of importance and of chief significance, however, is not the exact truth of Dr. Canisius' statement in his letter to the *State Journal* that Mr. Lincoln expressed the views of German republican editors, but the mere fact that he, Dr. Canisius, should so assert his belief and thereby express his great satisfaction with the reply of his fellow-townsman to the interrogatories of his Committee.

XII.

During his public career Abraham Lincoln wrote some notable letters, justly celebrated for their felicity and force of expression, their acumen and profundity, and marvelous effectiveness, but it may be doubted if he ever wrote any letter with greater skill and effect than his letter to Dr. Theodore Canisius. The literary art of the letter was perfect; directness and simplicity of language; neither fine writing nor magniloquence and no ponderous platitudes; merely lucid, luminous assertion strictly confined to the naked issue. As the editor of the *State Journal* appropriately put it: there was not a word too much and every word was needed.

In his response Mr. Lincoln not only satisfied the militant Germans, but he fastened them to him with hoops of steel by his subtle reference to his well known views and course re-

specting slavery, as a solid reason for his opposing any proposal that so much as squinted towards the political degradation of any class or body of white men. But he did so without giving just offense to those who might differ with him in opinion and conduct. There was a nice appreciation and observance of legal limits and rights of action and discussion and a perfect grace of reference and courtesy in consideration of the sensibilities of all directly and indirectly implicated.

But, while Mr. Lincoln satisfied the Germans completely on the major and immediate issue with which they were concerned, and his character and conduct as a public man gave them perfect confidence as to his sincerity and reliability, he did not go precipitately into denunciation of all dissentients. He frankly asserted his willingness to co-operate with those who held views contrary to his own on collateral and minor issues and he declared himself in language no man could misunderstand. He thereby cleared himself of adverse charges and dissipated all suspicions as to himself and at the same time extended and strengthened his own or his party's lines and made easy the way for alliances and affiliations with important contingents necessary if victory in the impending national campaign was to be achieved.

In the concluding sentence of his letter Mr. Lincoln says: "I have written this hastily." The statement is subject to various interpretations. It may mean precisely what it says, that he replied instantly to the interrogatories of the Committee of Germans who addressed without taking days for deliberations. Senator Grimes replied on the same day he received the letter from his fellow-townsmen of Burlington. But if it was intended to convey that he had written on the spur of the moment, without having given the subject much serious consideration, we may take it with several grains of salt. He was too familiar with the strange turns and twists of practical politics to be unmindful of the dangers of hasty, ill-considered expressions of opinion on moot matters, particularly when committed to paper. Letters may prove to be as troublesome as Banquo's ghost, appearing at every turn of the road in the most unexpected fashion.

For two months Mr. Lincoln had been reading or noticing accounts in his own state papers and in the press in the east of the intense and widespread agitation among the Germans produced by the proposal and adoption of the "Two Year" Amendment in Massachusetts, and he was too alert and able a politician not to have been pondering upon the import and probable consequences of the agitation. When the Republican state central committees of Wisconsin and Iowa put forth their protests against the Amendment, when Senator Grimes' letter was published in his own home paper and generally throughout the Republican press of the state, both German and American, he became keenly alive to the seriousness of the menace the agitation was to the future success of the Republican party in the great contest rapidly approaching. The letter to Dr. Canisius represented the reflections of weeks, however quickly written. When a master craftsman pens a line, "hastily written", it does not mean heedlessly written.

Mr. Lincoln's letter was written, we must conclude, primarily and chiefly with the approaching national Republican convention in contemplation. At the time he wrote the national committee of the party had not decided on the place of meeting, and he could not of course have presumed very strongly upon the selection of Chicago as the place of meeting. Ardent Westerners were then concerting plans to bring the convention west of the mountains. The party leaders of Pittsburg, Wheeling, Cincinnati and Indianapolis were severally hopeful that they might secure the prize for their own city. Chicagoans were then no doubt conscious of local ambition and looking with covetous eyes. Was Mr. Lincoln conscious of any stirrings of personal ambition and hopes that the deliberations of the convention might mean much for him as he penned the letter to Dr. Canisius? There is not a little to make one so conclude.

The Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 had made Mr. Lincoln a national figure. Immediately anti-slavery and Republican papers began to suggest him for consideration for the forthcoming national convention as a suitable candidate for

the second and first places. Two or three illustrations may suffice to warrant the assertion just made. On November 24 *The Marshall County Times*, published in east central Iowa, told the Republicans of Illinois "to hang out their banners. . . . They may see their gallant Old Abe in the United States Senate and mayhap as its presiding officer." Three days later (Nov. 27) *The Eagle* published at Sioux City, Iowa, then the extreme northwest frontier town of the state, in dealing with "speculations", considers the suggestion of *The Chicago Democrat* that he be considered for the first place on the ticket. On December 2 *The Sioux City Register*, a Democratic paper, in discussing Greeley's scheme for doing away with national conventions, named Mr. Lincoln as one of the candidates for which Illinois would ask the electors to vote for President. This mention of the Republican leader of Springfield became more frequent during 1859. Of this fact we may certainly presume that Mr. Lincoln was aware, for his many friends and admirers would see to it that he was duly informed. In the national convention of his party in 1856 at Philadelphia he had received 110 votes for Vice President. He would not have been an ordinary mortal if he had not been stirred deeply by such expressions and suggestions and such events. His most intimate friends and associates, his closest observers, e. g., Messrs. Herndon, Trumbull and White, tell us that he was ambitious for political preferment and indulged in no pretentious modesty about the matter, although he was extraordinarily adroit in furthering his ambition and in securing the co-operation of friends without obvious effort so to do. We know that various admirers were pressing upon his attention, in the forepart of 1859, the advisability of actively seeking the presidential nomination. His various letters, in reply to such, modestly discounting or denying his fitness or chances, signify no substantial contradiction. It was not inconsistent with a keen ambition and lively hope that Fortune might smile with favor and his heart's desire might be realized.

In view of the tremendous public interest among Republicans and Democrats as to the probable consequences of the

violent agitation among the Germans over the conduct of Massachusetts and the great national distinction of Abraham Lincoln at the time we must conclude that in writing to Dr. Canisius he had not only the fate of the Republican party in the canvass in 1860 in mind, but especially his own probable consideration as a candidate of high potential for the greatest honors his party could confer. Any other conclusion would do violence to ordinary human nature as we know it. And this conclusion coincides precisely with the subsequent course of events, and makes clear transactions that otherwise would be inexplicable.

XIII.

Biographers of President Lincoln, and historians of the period immediately preceding the Civil War have, with one exception, exhibited little or no appreciation of the strategic significance of his letter to Dr. Canisius. Several do not notice it at all. Several refer to it or quote portions or all of the letter, some without comment and some with observations upon the liberality of the writer's views, but with no indication of a realization of the importance of the letter in relation to contemporary and subsequent events. Dr. J. G. Holland, alone, so far as the present writer can discover, discerned its vital significance and in his Life of President Lincoln, clearly pointed out the fact—but only so far as it related to the Germans.[16] Its importance with regard to the Nativistic elements was not appreciated. It is not uninteresting to note here that Dr. Holland was one of the associate editors of the *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican* in 1859, whose editor-in-chief, Samuel Bowles, vigorously opposed the adoption of the "Two Year" Amendment, and hence his appreciation of the part the letter to Dr. Canisius played in the campaign that ensued.

Messrs. Nicolay and Hay, in their *Abraham Lincoln,* also quote at length from the letter to Dr. Canisius, but unlike Dr. Holland, saw in it apparently merely a statement of his "opposition to the waning fallacy of know-nothingism," the views

[16] Holland, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 197.

therein being interesting on philosophical grounds but of minor importance and in the grand aggregate of passing significance in the course of events; such at least seems to be the clear inference from their allusion to it.[17]

In the published Recollections of two distinguished Germans, Messrs. Gustav Koerner and Carl Schurz, the "Two Year" Amendment is of course referred to because both men were prominent actors in the drama of the period, and they dwell upon its importance, but the deep significance of the letter to Dr. Canisius is not indicated. Gov. Koerner merely mentions it in his *Memoirs,*[18] and Carl Schurz does not so much as refer to it either in his *Reminiscences* or in his *Abraham Lincoln.*

Such non-interest in the letter to Dr. Canisius by two such German notables, and contemporary actors in the drama dealt with, may seem to warrant suspicion of the validity of the conclusion herein insisted upon as to the strategic importance of Mr. Lincoln's letter. The point contended for cannot be easily established because it is a relative matter and the fact in contemplation can not be measured or weighed or estimated in any wise save from different angles and baselines, which may afford us views that give us correct perspectives.

Dr. Holland's judgment was expressed in 1865-66 while his recollections of personal experiences and observations of the actual preliminaries of Mr. Lincoln't first nomination were still vivid. Messrs. Koerner and Schurz wrote after nearly half a century had elapsed. They naturally enlarged upon the matters in which they were personally immediately interested: their own part in the drama. A petty fact, but one that may indicate somewhat of the effect of the flight of the years, is Mr. Schurz's assertion as to his celebrated speech in Faneuil Hall on April 18 of that year; "Perhaps it did contribute," he says, "a little to the defeat of the 'Two Year' Amendment."[19] Within three weeks of the date of his speech the "odious Amendment" was carried at the polls!

[17] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln:* A History, Vol. II—181.

[18] Koerner Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 181.

[19] Schurz, *Reminiscences.* Vol. II, p. 126.

The facts herein set out at such length, it is submitted, fully justify the present writer's contention that the letter to Dr. Canisius was a fact of the highest strategic importance and was recognized as such at the time. The judgments of historians *ex post facto,* like the recollections of actors long distant from the days and scenes of events related, are as likely as not to deal with the spectacular facts that loom large in popular memory, rather than with the minutia that constitutes the mass of reality and in the large controls the course of things. Contemporary opinion, when it can be clearly discerned and assembled and displayed, is a more accurate and substantial judgment than the solemn pronouncements of learned "research" historians. The pithy letter of Dr. Canisius himself to the editor of *The Daily State Journal* communicating Mr. Lincoln's reply, indicates very clearly how highly he esteemed the letter. He was manifestly alive to the nation-wide interest in any opinion Mr. Lincoln would express and he was more than pleased, he was delighted, to secure the explicit declaration from his fellow townsman. The extensive circulation given the letter in the German and American press signalizes it, and the contemptuous reference of *The Daily Express and Herald* of Dubuque, quoted at length in the first page of this study, to "the whole brood of Republican leaders from Lincoln to Wentworth," and their "disclaimers" strongly suggest the conclusion here urged.

The most interesting parcel of evidence as to the significance of the letter to Dr. Canisius is afforded us in a letter written nearly two months later to Mr. Schuyler Colfax, then one of the foremost Republican leaders of Indiana and of Congress. It portrays vividly the troublesome perplexities and the ticklish questions that were then harassing the practical party leaders. It should further be realized that the writer was then one of the keenest, shrewdest, most active and farseeing practical politicians in the nation. His letter is given entire:

Springfield, Ill., July 6, 1859.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax:

My Dear Sir:—I much regret not seeing you while you were here among us. Before learning that you were to be at

Jacksonville on the 4th, I had given my word to be at another place. Besides a strong desire to make your personal acquaintance, I was anxious to speak with you on politics a little more fully than I can well do in a letter. My main object in such conversation would be to hedge against divisions in the Republican ranks generally, and particularly for the contest of 1860. The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to "platform" for something which will be popular just there, but which, nevertheless, will be a firebrand elsewhere, and especially in a national convention. As instances, the movement against foreigners in Massachusetts; in New Hampshire, to make obedience to the fugitive slave law punishable as a crime; in Ohio, to repeal the fugitive slave law; and squatter sovereignty, in Kansas. In these things there is explosive matter enough to blow up a dozen national conventions, if it gets into them, and what gets very rife outside of conventions is very likely to find its way into them. What is desirable, if possible, is that in every local convocation of Republicans a point should be made to avoid everything which will disturb Republicans elsewhere. Massachusetts Republicans should have looked beyond their noses, and then they could not have failed to see that tilting against foreigners would ruin us in the whole Northwest. New Hampshire and Ohio should forbear tilting against the fugitive slave law in such a way as to utterly overwhelm us in Illinois with the charge of enmity to the Constitution itself. Kansas, in her confidence that she can be saved to freedom on "Squatter Sovereignty," ought not to forget that to prevent the spread and nationalization of slavery is a national problem, and must be attended to by the nation. In a word, in every locality we should look beyond our noses; and at least say nothing on points where it is probable we shall disagree. I write this for your eye only; hoping, however, if you see danger as I think I do, you will do what you can to avert it. Could not suggestions be made to leading men in the State and Congressional conventions, and so avoid, to some extent at least, these apples of discord?

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Manifestly with such clear foresight and such strong convictions and sense of caution it must have been an urgent belief that a serious danger threatened the Republican party in 1860 that could have compelled Mr. Colfax's correspondent to pen the letter to Dr. Canisius' committee on May 17. Indeed, it must have been a state of mind approximating the "panic" contemptuously asserted by Mr. J. B. Dorr of Dubuque.

Furthermore, Mr. Colfax's correspondent at Springfield was obviously gravely concerned lest the forthcoming national convention "blow up" with the heat engendered by local

issues and there are many reasons to suspect that he was not immediately concerned with local interests or nearby constituencies. Senator Trumbull was not seriously urged for nomination for either the Vice-presidency or the Presidency. Mr. Lincoln was being urged then in various parts of the country and he was aware of the fact. His injunction to maintain strict secrecy as to his writing is highly suggestive that his own possible personal fortunes were not remote considerations in his mind. But whether he was specifically conscious of such a possible personal interest in the ingathering of the forces, his letter to Mr. Colfax was pre-eminently prophetic and accurately described the actual developments in the preliminaries and proceedings of the Chicago convention.

XIII.

In the way of a summary, the following general assertions seem to be warranted:

The submission of a proposed amendment to the constitution of Massachusetts by the General Court of that Commonwealth denying the electoral franchise to foreign-born citizens until they could certify a residence of two years after naturalization aroused Germans to violent indignation and protest throughout the nation and particularly in the states of the Northwest in the forepart of 1859.

Republican editors and spokesmen instantly very generally perceived that the discontent of the Germans and their threatened revolt from the Republican party because of the proposed Amendment in Massachusetts constituted a serious menace to their party in the approaching national presidential canvass of 1860.

The Germans of eastern Iowa under the leadership of Dr. George Hillgaertner and John Bittmann of Dubuque, Hans Reimer Clausen, Theodore Guelich and Theodore Olshausen of Davenport, seem to have been the first to have conceived the plan and to have decided upon concerted aggressive action to compel the Republican leaders to declare themselves openly with respect to their attitude towards the "Two Year" Amendment.

The Germans of Illinois did not awaken to the seriousness of the act submitted in Massachusetts as soon as did the Germans of Iowa. Upon its adoption on May 9, they became aroused and determined upon aggressive measures similar to those pursued in Iowa. Under the leadership of George Schneider of Chicago, Theodore Pfeiffer of Peoria and Dr. Canisius of Springfield they addressed interrogatories to all of the responsible Republican leaders of Illinois identical, or similar in content, with those addressed to the Congressional delegation of Iowa. The responses given in Illinois followed in the large the lines of the reply sent the Germans of Iowa by the junior national Senator of Iowa, James W. Grimes.

All of the replies addressed to the Germans of Illinois were written upon the assumption, either frankly asserted, or by clear implication conceded, that the votes of the German Republicans were essential to the success of the national party in the approaching presidential canvass in 1860 and that German Republicans were among the staunchest anti-slavery forces within the party.

Abraham Lincoln's reply to Dr. Theodore Canisius and confreres of Springfield was the only one of all those published which exhibited an appreciation of the correlative importance of the Nativistic elements, especially the fanatical and factional Americans and decadent Know-Nothings who counted for more in the Republican party and in the Anti-slavery forces than they did in the Democratic party.

The two facts just named—the importance of the German vote and the equal importance of the Nativistic votes—constituted the grand strategic facts that determined the course of events. Mr. Lincoln clearly discerned them and future developments demonstrated his superior foresight and preeminent prudence. These two major facts compelled the compromise in the national convention which resulted in a denunciation of the "Two Year" Amendment in the national platform adopted at Chicago and in the nomination of the man who sent one of the replies to Dr. Canisius. The array of facts which justifies this assertion the present writer hopes sometime to display.

THE GERMAN THEATER IN NEW YORK CITY.

With Special Consideration of the Years 1878-1914.

By Edwin Hermann Zeydel, A. M., Cornell University.

Introduction.

The Period Before 1878.

The subject of the present study, the German theater in New York City, has hitherto been almost completely neglected. The few articles that do treat the matter,[1] written, as they are, in a semi-popular style, must be termed essentially unscientific.[2] It therefore seemed that a careful examination of the sources themselves, and a sympathetic study and interpretation of facts thus acquired would bear valuable results. With only limited time at his disposal, however, the writer deemed it advisable to concentrate his more serious efforts on the period between 1878 and the present time. The reason for choosing the year 1878 as a particular point of departure will appear presently.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give a mere annalistic account of German theatrical activity in New York. Such a work, valuable as it might be for purposes of reference, would constitute a wearisome and withal a thankless task.

[1] Among these may be mentioned:—

1) An anonymous article, "Das deutsche Theater in Amerika" in "Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika", herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Nationalbundes, Phila., 1909, which devotes several pages to New York.

2) "Das deutsche Theater in New York", by Albert Pulvermacher in New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, Apr. 24, 1910.

3) An article by Wilhelm Müller in a volume entitled, "Amerika", and edited by A. Tenner, N. Y. 1884.

[2] In English histories of the New York stage the subject is either entirely ignored, or most unfairly treated. A notable exception is "The Stage in America, 1897—1900", by Norman Hapgood.

The present aim will rather be to examine the influence of the German Theater on the American stage, to reveal the contrast between German and American theatrical conditions, and to describe the function of the German theater as an educational force. Nevertheless annals, not too detailed to be sure, will be given of the work of the theater. It has been thought best to present a short survey of each separate season, and in that way to offer an intelligent enumeration of the more important performances.

The first attempts to perform in New York German dramas in the original language may be traced back to 1840.[3] But the performances in these early years were sporadic, and not until Eduard Hamann, in 1853, founded the St. Charles Theater on the Bowery did New York have a permanent German theater with a resident professional stock company.[4]

A larger and more comfortable home could soon be furnished for this company in the "Stadt-Theater," where for ten years Otto Hoym, manager and actor, and his wife (nee Elise Hehl), were the leading spirits.

By 1864 it was found necessary to supply still more spacious quarters, namely in the "Neues Stadttheater" at 45-47 Bowery. This theater, which seated almost 3000, was probably the largest in the city at that time. That this still left opportunity for a second undertaking becomes evident from the fact that not long after an actor, Eduard Härting, converted Woods' Theater on Broadway into a German playhouse. When, accordingly, Bogumil Dawison, the greatest

[3] It is possible but not probable that any performances took place before that date. What may have been the first German performance in New York took place on Jan. 6, 1840, at 83 Anthony Street. The plays performed on this occasion by a "Deutscher dramatischer Verein", were, Theodor Körner's, "Hedwig die Banditenbraut", and Kotzebue's, "Der grade Weg der beste". On Apr. 29th of the same year there was performed in the original by the same "Verein", Schiller's "Räuber". This performance took place in the Franklin Theater at Chatham Sq.

[4] A few years later several German theatres, e. g. the "Eustachis Volkstheater" were opened, but achieved nothing.

German actor of his day, was forced from home in 1866 by war troubles and came to New York, he received offers from two managers. The story goes that he accepted an offer from Hoym of the "Neues Stadttheater" for $50,000, the lease extending over 50 evenings. His Othello,[5] his Shylock, his Hamlet, his Wallenstein and his Franz Moor are remembered as masterly portrayals of character—among the best ever seen in this country. The success of Dawison prompted other distinguished German actors, as well as actresses, to agree to a limited number of performances here.

Among these may be mentioned Friedrich Haase, whose first visit to America dates back to 1869. A born aristocrat, whose every gesture betrayed the brilliant courtier, he won marked success in such plays as Gutzkow's "Der Königsleutnant" and Kotzebue's "Die beiden Klingsberg." His work in more ambitious rôles, too, such as Shylock and Hamlet, was notable.

Notwithstanding the success of Friedrich Haase and of other "Gäste" such as Magda Irschick and Hermann Hendrichs the German theater in New York experienced a rapid decline after Hoym's retirement in 1867. The man whose mission it was to better these conditions, to establish a German theater on a sounder basis than had hitherto been the case, was *Adolf Neuendorff*. His name occupies a high and honorable position in the list of German American theatrical men. Born in Hamburg in 1843, he came to this country as a boy. He devoted himself very diligently to the study of music, secured a position in Hoym's orchestra, and by dint of hard work was soon appointed musical director in the Neues Stadttheater.[6]

[5] This rôle he played later to Booth's Iago in the Winter Garden, Broadway & Bond Street.

[6] Under his leadership Wagner's "Lohengrin" was produced there in German for the first time in America, Apr. 3, 1871. In 1872, Neuendorff conducted "Der fliegende Holländer" and "Die Walküre" in the Academy of Music. In the sixties Karl Anschütz had met with some success with his German opera company in New York. Cf. F. L. Ritter, "Music in America."

In 1872 Neuendorff entered upon a new undertaking. By opening the old Tammany Hall on October 10th of that year as the Germania Theater, he revived the German theater of New York from its lethargic state. His fundamental principle of management was new and therefore deserves consideration. Whereas, previous managers had attempted to support a first-class star ("Gast") by an insufferably poor stock company, Neuendorff planned to concentrate his entire efforts upon well-rounded and capable ensemble work. This plan he carried out to the best of his ability. Among the most important actors that he imported were Franz Kierschner,[7] Leon Wachsner,[8] and, above all, Heinrich Conried. Among Neuendorff's actresses the names Schmitz, Bensberg and Cottrelly deserve mention.

CHAPTER I.

The Rise and Fall of Two German Theaters.

Our consideration has now reached the point at which a more detailed study is to begin. At the opening of the season 1878-1879, the seventh in the Germania Theater, Neuendorff introduced in this country *Heinrich Conried*, a new actor, who was to serve at the same time as first stage manager ("erster Regisseur"). Born in 1855, a son of Joseph Cohn, at Bielitz in Austrian Silesia, Conried had a meteoric career. From the Vienna "Burgtheater," where he had first appeared at the age of nineteen, he went to Berlin to accept a position in the "National Theater." In 1876 he was called to the "Leipziger Stadttheater" as leading player in character rôles ("erster Charakterspieler"), and next we find him in Bremen, where he was appointed manager in the local "Stadttheater." There Neuendorff saw him and arranged for his trip to America.

[7] Mr. Kierschner, now an octogenarian, still resides in New York.

[8] Mr. Wachsner later became director of the German theater in Milwaukee. Vid. J. C. Andressohn, "Die literarische Geschichte des Milwaukeer deutschen Bühnenwesens" in German-American Annals, Vol. X, Nos. 1—4 of new series.

The importance and significance of Conried's connection with the German theater in New York can hardly be overemphasized. The deep, healthy influence of his work manifested itself not only in the narrower sphere in which he was engaged, but spread over the entire field of the American stage. As years went on his influence constantly grew wider and more profound. Its nature and extent will be examined in the following pages.

On September 19, 1878, two days after the opening of Neuendorff's theater, Conried appeared as leading man in Betty Paoli's one-act drama, "Gringoire." He immediately aroused favorable criticism. "Er hat für sein ferneres Leisten die besten Hoffnungen rege gemacht," we read in a press comment.[9] Not long after he appeared as Franz Moor,[10] probably his best rôle, and created a veritable sensation. A still more marked success was scored by Conried at the first performance of L'Arronge's then new comedy, "Dr. Klaus." The play was so popular that it enjoyed in this one season the then unprecedented number of thirty-four performances. Conried appeared quite frequently thereafter, always with success, notably as Mortimer in Schiller's "Maria Stuart," and as Just in Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm."

It may be interesting to give a statistical[11] account of the season which we are at present considering. The details are as follows:

Extent of Season:—Sept. 17, 1878, to April 30, 1879.

Number of Performances:—223—of these, 195, including three matinees, were given in the Germania Theater, five in other New York theaters, ten in Brooklyn, seventeen in Newark and six in Hoboken.

[9] The "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung," Sept. 20, 1878. Cf. also "Belletristisches Journal."

[10] He received twenty curtain calls at the first performance. The critics agreed in calling his the best Franz Moor seen in America since Dawison's day.

[11] Such accounts have been prepared for each season, but for lack of space only occasional use can be made of the material in the following pages.

Number of Different Plays:—Fifty-two, of which ten were of one act, forty-two of more than one act, and of which twenty were performed for the first time in America.

Class of Plays:—"Tragödie," 5; "Schauspiel," 5; "Lustspiel" and "Schwank," 26; "Volksstück" and "Posse," 13; "Lebensbild," 1; "Operette," 2.

Performances of Classics:—Lessing, 2 evenings in one play ("Minna von Barnhelm"); Schiller, 9 evenings in two plays ("Die Räuber" and "Maria Stuart"); Gutzkow, 1 evening in one play ("Zopf und Schwert); Shakespeare, 1 evening in one play ("Othello").

Already a month before the season came to an end the ambitious young Conried announced his plans for the following year. He wished to control a German theater of his own, and with this end in view he opened negotiations with the owners of the Fifth Avenue Theatre. His plan, as described by himself in a circular letter sent to the press was as follows:

"Meiner festen unerschütterlichen Überzeugung nach kann für jetzt ein erstes deutsches Theater, wie ich es im Auge habe, nur dann bestehen, wenn von vorne herein die Hauptkosten gedeckt sind und selbst der ungünstigste Geschäftsgang ein Deficit ausschliesst; dies ist zu erreichen durch die Eröffnung eines Abonnements, wie es alle grösseren Stadttheater Deutschlands, ja selbst die Hoftheater——höchst erfolgreich eingeführt haben." He promises further, "nur Schauspieler bester Qualität zu engagieren, neue Stücke nur nach den sorgfältigsten Proben herauszubringen, für eine Ausstattung Sorge zu tragen, die sich mit den besten englisch-amerikanischen Bühnen messen kann."

Had Conried's hopes been realized there would have been three German theaters in New York during the season of 1879-1880. But since his plans miscarried, much to the hilarity of the older critics who had scoffed at the idea, there were only two. The newcomers were *William Kramer, Mathilde Cottrelly* and *Gustav Amberg*. In the previous season the last mentioned had given several very successful performances in Terrace Garden. Kramer, the owner of a theater and the

adjoining Atlantic Garden on the Bowery, made arrangements with Conried for a full season in 1879-1880 in Kramer's theater, which was to be known as the Thalia Theater. Mathilde Cottrelly, an actress imported by Neuendorff in 1875, was the third partner.

This was the first time in the history of the New York Theater that two first-class German playhouses were operated regularly and systematically throughout the entire season. The experiment was a daring one on the part of the new directors, for it was generally regarded as an axiom that even in those years during which immigration from Germany was annually increasing,[12] New York could not support two German theaters. But the initiative of the new-comers, their succcess in securing the services of Conried as "Regisseur" and of a majority of the best Germania talent, and their efforts to make the new Thalia Theater essentially a "Volksbühne," made of the seemingly impossible an actuality.

The success of the Thalia Theater was immediate. Altho the theater was a very large one,[13] it was quite frequently crowded to the doors. The particular success which the first season brought out, Genée's comic opera, "Der Seekadet," altho of no dramatic significance, assured a good financial standing. The operetta in question was produced over one hundred times. More substantial successes from a literary and dramatic standpoint were the appearance of Conried in Anzengruber's "Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld," in Schiller's "Die Räuber," and "Kabale und Liebe," and in Kleist's "Kätchen von Heilbronn," and the second visit of the distin-

[12] German immigration was largest between the years 1880 and 1885. The year 1882, with 250,630, established the record in this respect. Until 1885 large immigrations continued. After this a period of fluctuation set in, which extended until 1893. From then on the number steadily declined. Vid. A. B. Faust, "The German Element in the United States," Vol. 1, page 586.

[13] Still standing on the Bowery near Canal St. It seats considerably over 2,000.

guished actress Magda Irschick.[14] In the meanwhile the rival theater, Neuendorff's Germania, notwithstanding its seniority, was suffering visibly under the keen competition.[15] Instead of striking out a new path and avoiding the well-defined course of the Thalia Theater, the "Volksbühne," Neuendorff made the mistake of accentuating the rivalry. When he heard that Amberg was rehearsing a new farce by Schönthan, "Sodom und Gomorrha," he immediately took up the same play and purposely produced it one day before Amberg did. When he realized the popularity and success of "Der Seekadet" in the Thalia Theater he quickly produced the same operetta under the title of "Der Marinekadett," and only discontinued it when legal proceedings forced him to do so. It was fortunate for him that the lack of a good "Heldendarsteller" in the Thalia prompted Magda Irschick to change her scene of activity to his Germania. Her continued success there[16] helped considerably to save Neuendorff from ruin at that time.

At the end of the season (1879-1880), late in April, we read in the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung." "Eine der wertvollsten Schauspielkräfte, welche das Thalia-Theater besass scheidet schon in dieser Woche aus, Herr Conried, der Charakterspieler und Schauspielregisseur. Er verlässt Amerika am 8. Mai und wird am 1. Mai sein Abschiedsbenefiz nehmen. ——Herr Conried verabschiedet sich mit derselben Rolle (Gringoire), mit welcher er in voriger Saison am Germaniatheater debutierte. Neben seinen immer tüchtigen, oft rühmenswerten Leistungen als Regisseur hat er eine Reihe persönlicher Erfolge als Darsteller aufzuweisen, die manches Bedauern ob seiner definitiven Rückkehr nach Europa erregen

[14] Among other plays she appeared in "Maria Stuart", "Die Jungfrau von Orleans", Mosenthal's "Deborah", and Grillparzer's "Medea".

[15] After a month of very poor attendance Neuendorff was forced to reduce the price of seats in his comparatively small house to conform with prices in the much larger Thalia Theater.

[16] Among other plays she appeared in Geibel's "Brunhild", Goethe's "Iphigenie auf Tauris", Shakespeare's "Viel Lärm um Nichts", and Laube's "Graf Essex".

werden." Conried actually did return to Europe, but only for the summer months. In September, 1880, he was back for tours of Cincinnati and Buffalo.[17]

In the new season (1880-1881) the rival theaters were able to continue, both in excellent financial condition. The events of this second year of rivalry, moreover, brought additional and more conclusive proof that there was room for two German theatres in New York. Not general excellence of ensemble work, however, was the cause of the success. Both theatres had invited notable stars, the Germania Karl Sontag, the Thalia Marie Geistinger. Sontag was especially successful in Freytag's "Journalisten," Gutzkow's "Königsleutnant," Shakespeare's "Die bezähmte Widerspenstige," Molière's "Tartuffe" and Wilbrandt's "Tochter des Herrn Fabricius." Marie Geistinger, on the other hand, showed her versatility, for she appeared not only in comic opera (in "Boccaccio" and "Fledermaus"), but also in farce comedy, "Volksstück" ("Pfarrer von Kirchfeld"), and serious drama (e. g. Dumas' "Cameliendame").

All previous records for attendancce were probably broken on April 16, 1881, when four performances of German plays were given in New York. In the Thalia Theater matinee and evening performances were offered, and in the Germania as well as in the Academy of Music there were evening performances. When we consider that the Thalia Theater and the Academy of Music were among the largest theaters in the country, and that every seat was sold out for the entire four performances, we acquire a just appreciation of the popularity of the German theatres at the time.

Neuendorff had reason to believe that his theater would be too small for his ambitious plans. Consequently he leased for next season (1881-2) one of the largest and most handsome playhouses in the city—Wallack's theater on Broadway, corner

[17] Upon his return from these tours he opened a very successful dramatic school in New York City. The school was supervised by himself personally. His business card read: "Deklamations- und dramatischen Unterricht erteilt — Heinrich Conried. Talentvollen Unbemittelten unentgeltlich."

of Thirteenth Street. To make the occasion more impressive the season was to be graced by the presence of Friedrich Haase, who was still remembered for his brilliant visit in 1869. When, accordingly, the Neues Germania Theater was opened on September 15, 1881, with a "Festspiel," by William Müller of Cincinnati, and at about the same time the Thalia Theater resumed activities with Heinrich Conried again as "artistischer Leiter," the critics and the general public were in a highly expectant mood.

As usual, the star system prevailed almost exclusively thruout the season 1881-1882. The earliest "Gast" in the Germania was Haase, as noted above. His second visit to the United States was a distinct disappointment and carried in its wake most disastrous results, which will be examined below. He offered nothing new, for the old-fashioned "Narciss," "Die beiden Klingsberg," "Lorbeerbaum und Bettelstab" and other plays of a like character (Hamlet was the only notable exception) were already very familiar in New York. He was followed by Franziska Ellmenreich, who appeared alternately in Dumas or Scribe comedies, and in classics.[18] She was soon joined by Karl Sontag, and there ensued a very successful "Doppelgastspiel." In the same season Marie Geistinger continued to display her versatility at the Thalia Theater. Her most popular operettas, 'Der Seekadet," "Die schöne Galathee," besides those mentioned above, her musical comedies, "Drei Paar Schuhe," "Die Näherin," and her favorite tragedies, "Die Cameliendame" and "Arria und Messalina," were produced ad infinitum. Indeed, her popularity among Germans in New York was probably eclipsed by no one in the entire history of the stage. Not content with her success, however, the management of the Thalia Theater introduced in the same season two other actresses of note, Jenny Stubel in Planquette's "Die Glocken von Corneville" and Kaethi Schratt in popular comedies. So great was the success of these actresses and of their entertaining, but insignificant rep-

[18] She appeared to advantage in "Die bezähmte Widerspenstige", "Emilia Galotti", "Maria Stuart", "Kätchen von Heilbronn" and Wilhelmine Hillern's "Geyer Wally".

ertory that very little time was left for more serious plays. It was only with great difficulty that Conried could persuade his superiors to permit several performances of "Die Räuber," "Minna von Barnhelm" and "Uriel Acosta."

The season which followed (1882-3) was one of the most significant. Karl Hermann had taken the place of Amberg in the Thalia Theater,[10] and the latter, entering upon a private undertaking, organized an operatic troupe, which appeared in the Germania Theater with Marie Geistinger as leading star. She was engaged in her third "Gastspiel," apparently gaining as much success as ever. Neuendorff, however, was determined not to neglect serious drama altogether, and he assembled a capable company of actors, who produced in rapid succession "Hamlet," "Uriel Acosta," "Die Räuber," the Wallenstein trilogy "Don Carlos," "Wilhelm Tell," "Götz von Berlichingen," "Egmont," "Faust," and "Emilia Galotti.' (Alexander Kauffmann, a rather obscure "Gast," took part in many of these performances. Franziska Ellmenreich, too, returned for a short stay.) Such a wealth of classical performances had not been seen in New York for many years. The plays were all greeted most cordially. But Neuendorff's efforts, laudable as they were, were doomed to failure. On the 24th of March, 1883, pressed on all sides by financial difficulties, he was compelled to close his theater forever. It was an impressive event when on the fateful evening after the performance, he himself, in a voice shaken by emotion, read a statement to the large audience. He admitted frankly that he had failed of his purpose to establish in New York a permanent German theater of high standards. Referring to this fact, he said: "Das ist hart, zumal wenn man, wie ich mit Stolz von mir behaupten kann, dem Dollar nie den Vorzug vor der Kunst gegeben hat. Vielleicht liegt eben darin, dass ich nicht erst an den Dollar und dann an die Kunst gedacht habe, der Grund zur heutigen Kalamität."

[10] Mathilde Cottrelly had resigned in 1881. Satisfied with the fortune that she had amassed and overshadowed by the popularity of Marie Geistinger, she retired. She later appeared on the English stage.

Let us consider for a moment the possible reasons for this failure. It is certain that the causes are not to be found exclusively in the last season. They date further back and lie deeper than would first appear. Neuendorff had undoubtedly made a serious mistake when he leased Wallack's theater, which was surely too large for his purposes. Already supplied with the spacious Thalia Theater, the German public could not support a second large playhouse. A second evident cause was the failure of Friedrich Haase's visit in 1881-2. His arrogance rendered him deaf to Neuendorff's good advice concerning his repertory, and he insisted on presenting old plays that had lost their popular appeal many years ago. Extravagant demands on the part of Haase[20] tended to make matters worse. Chagrined by his utter failure, he wrote a number of letters after his return to Germany, in which he attacked conditions in this country. He attributed to American audiences an utter lack of artistic sense and of appreciation for true art. He claimed, moreover, that only the lightest and most frivolous forms of entertainment could hope for success here, and that the name of Marie Geistinger echoed thru the country in tones that silenced the roar of Niagara.

But there is a third and more profound reason for Neuendorff's downfall. It is an evil which we shall meet again and which caused trouble whenever it appeared—the so-called star system. Almost completely outrooted in Germany by the excellent reform work of the Duke of Meiningen and his actors, especially in the seventies and eighties of the previous century, the system still maintains a powerful foothold thruout this country. The results, discouraging as they are, arouse the comment of almost every notable critic of the American stage.[21] It must be admitted that the German theater in New

[20] He received 40% of the net profits during his stay.

[21] Cf. Allen Davenport "Stage Affairs in America Today", Norman Hapgood, "Stage in America 1897—1900", Ludwig Fulda, "Amerikanische Eindrücke", pp. 141—143.

Cf. also on this subject A. B. Faust, "The German Element". Vol. 2, pp. 327—338.

York was affected by prevalent conditions and misled in the same way. This fact, altho not sufficiently recognized, is essential in determining results. As one critic said a few years later (in the "Staats-Zeitung" at the end of the season 1890-1) with great justice, the constant presence of stars inculcated in the people a "Gastspielerkultus" which brought about the unhappy circumstance that the star was considered more important than the play itself. The same critic continues: "Die Stars sind und bleiben der Verderb jedes Theaters, sie demoralisieren das Publikum, sie nehmen demselben den Glauben an das reguläre Personal." The remedy for the evil was, of course, a careful elimination of all stars, the substitution of an able resident company, and the preparation of a careful repertoire.

Since, however, this fundamental shortcoming never occurred to the managers of the eighties, they continued to import from time to time the most noted actors of Germany. By doing so they undoubtedly furnished many a treat to their fastidious audiences, but they unwittingly wrought their own destruction thereby. In the very season of the Neuendorff failure Karl Hermann had in the Thalia Theater the excellent comedienne Josephine Gallmeyer, the inimitable pair of comedians Wilhelm Knaak and Franz Tewele, and finally Ludwig Barnay, a tragedian who takes rank with the greatest actors in history.[22]

Hermann's experience was identical with that of Neuendorff. The end of the season brought with it failure, and for the next five years the Thalia Theater was in the hands of Gustav Amberg. Barnay's words of farewell, uttered early in May, 1883, "Ich stehe am Grabe von zwei deutschen Theatern," were only too true.

[22] Especially notable in this, Barnay's first visit to America, were his Graf Essex, Wallenstein, Coriolan, Kean and Marc Antonius, and finally his appearance together with Conried in "Clavigo" and "Die Räuber".

CHAPTER II.

1883-1888—Amberg in the Thalia Theater—Other Attempts.

During the next several seasons there was only one German theatre in New York—the Thalia Theater. There were occasional German performances, to be sure, or even longer sessions in other theatres thruout the city,[28] as for example, Conried's short season in the fall of 1884 in Niblo's Garden, where he presented the spectacle ("Ausstattungsstück") "Die sieben Raben."

The first season during which the Thalia Theater held the field alone (1883-4) was probably the poorest in the history of the theater, altho besides Marie Geistinger, two noted tragedians, Magda Irschick, who appeared in "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," "Kabale und Liebe" and Grillparzer's "Medea," and Antonie Janisch were present. It was a period of depression of interest on the part of the public and inefficiency on the part of the actors, altho the latter half of the season brought better results in both respects. The theater, conscious of the fact that the season did not promise success, did not open until October 1. (This date has in recent years become the usual one for the opening of the German theater in New York, but during the eighties it was the custom to begin the season as early as the middle of September.) The late opening proved to be a wise move. The "Staats-Zeitung" in its review in May, 1884, speaks of the season as "die trüben Monate die als Saison 1883-4 in der Geschichte des deutschen Theaters mit der allerschwärzesten Tinte verzeichnet werden sollten." Fortunately no future season vied with this one in that respect. It is very likely that the brilliant year that preceded had surfeited the receptive powers of the theatre-going public and had brought about a reaction.

[28] The performances given by New York companies at intervals in Brooklyn and the two complete seasons there, 1884-5, under L. Stefano and 1885-6 under Minnie Raaber and G. L. Böhm are not considered here.

But it was soon made evident that the state of affairs would be altered, for the the autumn of 1884 saw many improvements. The notable event of 1884-5 was the first appearance in this country in March, 1885, of Adolf Sonnenthal, whose success is only to be compared with that of Dawison's and Barnay's. He came under the management of Conried. "Vater und Sohn," "Der Marquis von Villemer" and "Fromont jun. und Risler sen." were his new offerings. The English critics, however could not appreciate Sonnenthal during his first visit. Ignorance of German theatrical conditions probably accounts for it. An amusing instance of this is furnished in the "New York Tribune" when it reported before Sonnenthal's arrival that "the well-known Austrian actress, Mme. Sonnenthal is coming." The remainder of the season, as far as the Thalia Theater is concerned, was an uneventful, uninteresting period. Operetta, musical comedy and farce constituted by far the greater part of the entertainment. Of interest quite apart from this, however, is the fact that on January 5, 1885, Neuendorff opened a new theater situated on Third avenue between Thirtieth and Thirty-first Streets and called Apollo Theater. That he had learned a valuable lesson by his earlier experiences was proved by his avowed purpose in founding his new theater. He intended, namely, to lay especial emphasis upon more serious drama, without neglecting the lighter genres, and to banish most mercilessly the star system. For his purpose he engaged an excellent company, headed by Magda Irschick. During the first few weeks he planned to present "Der Fechter von Ravenna," "Gustav Wasa," "Die Braut von Messina," "Die Karolinger," and other plays of a like caliber. But two weeks had not passed, and the undertaking had hardly gotten under way when Neuendorff once more saw his ideal shattered. With this second failure, fully as tragic as the first, there practically sank into oblivion one of the most deserving characters in the history of the German-American stage.

During the season which was just considered (1884-5), Manager Amberg made a notable attempt, especially during the first few weeks, to introduce more serious drama. He

was unsuccessful; the public, under the spell of Marie Geistinger, clamored for musical comedy and farce. Consequently Amberg, who was determined not to sacrifice good attendance, acceded to the general desire.[24] There could be no doubt that the Germans of New York had unconsciously allowed their artistic taste to be spoiled. If we are to single out any one person who is to bear the blame it must be Marie Geistinger. Her wonderfully versatile talents,[25] particularly her remarkable ability in operetta, had brought this about. Haase in his blind rage had hit upon the truth.

Guided by these principles, Amberg engaged for 1885-6 only mediocre talent, with which he could accomplish but little. Attendance, too, suffered, due partly to that fact, and partly to business depression. Consequently, Amberg committed a blunder when he invited Friedrich Mitterwurzer as star for the season. The early appearance of the latter in the Star Theater and his tour in the West were eminently successful. Compelled later, however, to act with Amberg's troupe, he failed. The actors of the theater were unable to "play up to him," and the result was a series of uneven, slovenly performances. Nonetheless he displayed his remarkable versatility, for he alternated the most serious part, such as Richard III, Franz Moor, Hamlet and Faust with comedy rôles, as Conrad Bolz, or even farce rôles in Moser's "Schwänke." Taking this season as a whole, the most successful plays were Schönthan's farce, "Der Raub der Sabinerinnen" (three full weeks), and the same author's "Frau Dir. Striese" (thirteen performances.) Dumas held the stage four evenings ("Kean"), Zola three ("Der Totschläger"), Brachvogel three ("Narciss"), Schiller two ("Räuber"), Shakespeare two (Richard III" and "Hamlet"), Goethe two ("Faust"), Gutzkow two ("Urbild des Tartuffe"

[24] Of circa 250 performances in this season 75 were "Schauspiele" and "Lustspiele", 21 "Schwänke" and "Possen", and all the rest musical plays.

[25] Her versatility, which permitted her to appear one evening in Dumas' "Cameliendame" or Wilbrandt's "Arria und Messalina" and the next in farce or operetta has been noted above p. ——.

and "Königsleutnant"), Kleist one ("Kätchen v. Heilbronn") and Freytag one ("Die Journalisten").

To relieve the monotony Amberg imported no tragedian in 1886-7. Instead he arranged for a visit of Emil Thomas, one of Germany's best comedians, and his wife, Betty Damhoffer-Thomas. There resulted many performances of farces, the effect of which was rather tiresome in a protracted visit. The rest of the season was taken up almost exclusively with operettas and comic operas. It remains to mention here a soubrette, Marguerite Fish, who first appeared in the Thalia Theater in December, 1886. She was born in New York of American parentage, learned German in Berlin and Vienna, and entered upon a stage career there. Her case is probably unique.

Amberg's last season at the Thalia Theater (1887-8) was also his best. His first big drawing card, after the operatic tenor Boetel and the comedian August Junkermann had left, was Ernest Possart, who appeared chiefly in classics.. His wide repertoire included, besides Shakespearean roles and most of the German classics, leading parts in Lindner's "Bluthochzeit," Wilbrandt's "Die Tochter des Herrn Fabricius," Björnson's "Fallissement," Byron's "Manfred" and Ibsen's "Stützen der Gesellschaft." During the same time Conried conducted another short but very successful season in the Star Theater with the actress Hedwig Niemann-Raabe. Encouraged thereby, he arranged with Barnay for a short "Gastspiel" to take place in March, 1888, in the Academy of Music. Unfortunately a terrible blizzard swept over the country at that time. Barnay naturally failed, and Conried was threatened with most serious financial losses. He was already resigning himself to the inevitable when Amberg came to the rescue. The latter agreed to engage Barnay and to assume all responsibility. Hereupon there ensued a "Gastspiel" which in brilliance was never equalled in this country, and has probably never been exceeded in Germany. To Barnay's Hamlet, Uriel Acosta, Karl Moor, Wallenstein, Tell and Bolz, Possart played Polonius, De Sylva, Franz Moor, Butler, Gessler and Schmock respectively. These notable events were indeed a fitting end to Amberg's five seasons in the Thalia Theater.

Chapter III.

1888-1893—The Earliest Period of the Amberg Theater (Irving Place Theater).

Late in the year 1886 Hugo Wesendonck, one of the most prominent patrons of the German theater, founded a "Deutsche Theater-Gesellschaft," the object of which was to raise subscriptions for the purpose of founding and supporting a German theater "in the upper part of New York City." This society rapidly gained membership, and set itself to the difficult atsk of raising the requisite funds. Not long after Heinrich Conried came to the fore with a similar plan, the details of which correspond with his project of 1879.[26] His object was "to establish a first-class German theater." He felt that in order to carry this out successfully, it was necessary to anticipate difficulties of every character. With this end in view he set out to raise $45,000 by subscription. While the process of collection was making but slow progress in each case, Gustav Amberg suddenly announced on January 23, 1887, that he had made all arrangements to establish a new German theater. As a site he had chosen the old Irving Hall on Irving Place and 15th Street. Consequently there was nothing left for the "Gesellschaft" and for Conried to do but to suspend activities and await developments.

The preparations, however, for the opening of the new theater took more time than was at first expected. Amberg had hoped that the house would be ready by October, 1888, at the latest, and with this firm conviction he did not renew his lease on the Thalia Theater after the summer. When his hopes seemed about to be shattered, when delay followed delay, it almost looked as if New York would be deprived of a German theater for the first time in a generation. Finally on December 1, 1888, the new theater could be opened, bearing the name of its patron saint, Gustav Amberg.[27] But his actors

[26] See above.

[27] Late in October Amberg had already given seven performances in the Star Theatre as a "Vorsaison."

and their repertoire aroused disappointment. The delay in building the theater and the uncertainty of the future had caused Amberg to postpone until August his efforts to raise a company. By that time the great majority of good actors had signed contracts elsewhere. But as usual it happened that there was in Germany a surplus of good comedians. Chiefly to these Amberg restricted his choice,[28] and there resulted a season that consisted almost exclusively of "Possen" and "Schwänke." Under such circumstances there was every reason to believe that the new theater had already fallen into the ways of its predecessor. The first play produced in the Amberg Theater, Paul Lindau's comedy, "Ein Erfolg," proved to be a failure. The most successful play of the season, a farce by Bisson and Mars, went through twenty-five performances, while Lindau's "Die beiden Leonoren" was given fourteen evenings.

Fortunately Amberg realized fully what was at stake for him. Therefore he made a serious attempt in the second season to raise the level of his theater above the ordinary. It must be acknowledged to his credit that he succeeded in doing so. To be sure, there were some hastily prepared performances. Furthermore, there was no good "jugendlicher Liebhaber" no imposing "Heldenmutter" no "Heldenvater." The staging of more serious dramas, too, suffered in comparison with the artistic presentation of operettas. But the repertoire was manysided and well chosen. Besides eighteen works of a lyrical character, there appeared forty-four dramas of all kinds, ranging from tragedy to farce, of which fourteen were new to America. The ensemble work, too, was the best seen in New York in many years.

As a fitting climax to this successful season came the second visit of Ernst Possart. Probably the most notable incident of his stay was his appearance in Sudermann's then new drama, "Die Ehre," which was presented twenty-three times during the last three weeks of the season. Other plays in which he appeared here for the first time were Calderon's

[28] Junkermann, Ottbert, Rank & Lube were the most prominent members of Amberg's troupe.

"Richter von Zalamea," Molière's "Harpagon," Ibsen's "Nora," and Freytag's "Benjamin." It must be admitted that he contributed not a little to the general success of the second year of the Amberg Theater.

Hardly as much may be said of the following season (1890-91), which still saw Amberg at the head of the theater. He introduced a novelty in the form of two "Gesammtgastspiele." One of these, given by a company of Low German actors from Hamburg, proved to be the flattest failure that ever occurred on a German stage in New York. Partly because their repertoire was too provincial, partly because they appealed only to a small minority of German-Americans, they felt compelled to quit and sail home after half a dozen performances. A second troupe of a similar character, the "Münchener Bauernensemble," met with much more success. Their fresh, natural acting, their good "team work" and their appealing repertory assured them a "run" of seventy-two performances. "Der Herrgottschnitzer von Ammergau," with twenty-nine repetitions, succeeded best. There followed "Almenrausch und Edelweiss," "Der Pfarrer von Kirchfeld," "Der Meineidbauer" and many others.

Late in the spring of 1891 there were produced in rapid, bewildering succession a long list of new plays representing the latest tendencies in German literature. A study of the reception which was accorded them in New York is extremely interesting from a literary point of view. At present, however, the question can only be briefly considered. The chief dramas of the kind mentioned were: Jaffe's "Bild des Signorelli," Fulda's "Wilde Jagd,"[20] Richard Voss' "Eva," Sudermann's "Sodoms Ende," Wildenbruch's "Haubenlerche," Lindau's "Die Sonne," and Philippi's "Das alte Lied." Such an array of "first nights" had not been seen in many a year. But notwithstanding the widespread attention that the majority of these plays had aroused in Germany, they were very coldly received here. What can be the reason for this surprising fact? The New York public was, it seems, not as yet accustomed to

[20] Several months before, the same author's 'Das verlorene Paradies" was also produced.

modern literary tendencies. Still clinging to the old "Philisterkomödie," people were shocked by questions of morality and repulsed by the sordid reality which many of these plays disclosed.[30]

This may help to explain their failure. But it seems that an additional reason can be found. These productions were in the hands of the stock company of the theater, without support from a visiting star. Had there been a Possart or a Barnay present there surely would have been different results. In other words, the arch-evil and bane of the theater, the star system, was again proving its pernicious influence.

Unfavorable financial conditions made it extremely doubtful whether the Amberg Theater would be opened again in the fall of 1891. So much was certain, that Amberg would be unable to carry it through another season. Accordingly, when the theater actually opened on October 1, we find him only in the inferior capacity of assistant manager, while Leo von Raven and Max Mansfeld were the managers. Their important achievement was to win the patronage of the more influential German-American citizens. Whereas previously the theater was forced to look to the smaller tradesmen and mechanics for support,[31] the interest of men of affairs in the financial and industrial world was now enlisted. When it was successfully demonstrated to this class that comedy and farce was just as well acted in the Amberg Theater as in the English speaking theaters, they became more regular in their attendance. Another notable phenomenon in connection with the first year under the new regime is the surprisingly large number of different plays performed. The grand total of 108 plays produced in a season of seven and one-half months gives unmistakable testimony of the talent and industry of the troupe. The achievement is nothing short of marvelous, and

[30] As early as Sept. 26, 1889 Ibsen's "Nora" was performed in the Amberg Theater for the first time in America. This play was followed three months later by "Die Stützen der Gesellschaft." Having prepared his audiences in that way, Amberg now ventured to produce the above mentioned dramas.

[31] See Müller's article in Tenner's "Amerika."

has probably no parallel anywhere. The most important new plays brought out were Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" and "Volksfeind," Grillparzer's "Die Jüdin von Toledo," and Wildenbruch's "Der Menonit." Of plays that had already appeared in this country, but were now revised, were Grillparzer's "Ahnfrau," Goethe's "Geschwister" and Sudermann's "Die Ehre" and "Sodoms Ende." Four plays of Shakespeare ("Die Zähmung," "Romeo," "Othello" and "Hamlet"), three of Goethe ("Clavigo," "Faust," and "Geschwister") and five of Schiller ("Räuber," "Kabale und Liebe," "Die Jungfrau," "Don Carlos" and "Marie Stuart") appeared.

The season did not pass without its usual quota of stars. Josef Kainz, who later in the season also appeared in the Thalia Theater, Adalbert Matkowsky, Emil Thomas and others were in New York at some time during the year. Fortunately, however, they did not push themselves unduly into prominence. The "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung" in its review in May, 1892, calls attention to this fact. It strongly advises an abolition of the entire star system, and its words in that connection, oracular as they are, deserve to be quoted: "Kann und will das New Yorker deutsche Theater in Zukunft nicht auf die Gäste verzichten und seine Haupteinnahmequelle in der berechtigten, von Woche zu Woche fester wurzelnden Beliebtheit seines Ensembles suchen und finden, so wird es immer mehr order weniger die prekäre Existenz des Spielers führen, welcher von der Hand in den Mund lebt."

Once again in 1891-2 New York had two German theaters for the greater part of the year. The old Thalia Theater, which had already sunk into a state of semi-oblivion, was newly opened. Carl and Theodore Rosenfeld, two ambitious theatrical promoters, secured a lease on the property. They opened the theater as early as September 4 with a Liliputian spectacle. But hardly three weeks later, on September 27, they surprised theatrical circles by bold advertisements inserted in leading New York newspapers, English and German, that under their management the players of the Duke of Meiningen, the so-called "Meininger," would give a series of performances in New York City beginning November 16. This news,

producing a pleasant thrill, seemed hardly credible to the average reader. It had been the ambition of almost every director of a German theater in New York to introduce the original "Meininger," but the plan had never been carried out. In the spring of 1886 arrangements for that purpose had been nearly perfected, and only an eleventh hour disagreement on the part of the "Meininger" prevented their appearance. It remained for the young and comparatively inexperienced Rosenfeld brothers to do what for older and more experienced managers had been impossible.

Amberg, as rival of the Rosenfelds, naturally questioned the veracity of their claims. He published in the "New York Herald" an article in which he formally challenged them to prove their statements. But he could elicit from them only a boastful and withal a sarcastic answer. Thereupon he decided to use more drastic methods of arriving at the truth, and in a telegraphic message addressed to the "Herzogliche Hoftheater-Intendanz" in Meiningen, he bluntly demanded a confirmation. The following answer was the result: "Mehrere Mitglieder des Hoftheaters von Rosenfeld engagiert. Meininger Ausstattungen von demselben angekauft. Weitere Verhandlungen im Gange." Unfortunately for Amberg the entire correspondence fell into the hands of the Rosenfelds, whence it was spread broadcast. From this source we have surely definite proof that at least a part of the famous company, together with their stage effects, visited New York. The stigma, "die falschen Meininger," which clung to the troupe was probably more the result of Amberg's press agents than anything else. The "Meininger" produced notably "Julius Caesar," "Die Hermannschlacht," "Kätchen von Heilbronn" and "Maria Stuart." Besides this they played for the first time in America Hauptmann's "Vor Sonnenaufgang," a drama over which New York audiences fairly shuddered.

The Meininger troupe, as it appeared in New York, was especially praiseworthy in ensemble play and in popular scenes. The unfortunate fact that the entire troupe could not make the trip explains the reason for the rough, uneven acting that was at times evident. But notwithstanding all defects, it re-

mains true that even during their short stay the "Meininger" exerted a salutary influence. The English stage, hopelessly decadent and commercialized, they could not reach, but they helped to drive home a valuable lesson to the German stage in this country. The fruits were bound to ripen not many years later under the genius of Heinrich Conried.

But before we pass on to those years, it is our duty to consider the one remaining season under Raven & Mansfeld in the Amberg Theater (1892-3). It was not marked by any brilliant events, but represents rather the final attempt of two incompetent managers to save themselves from destruction. Believing that a stock company of their own, good as it might be, could contribute but little to real success, and feeling convinced that the public would support only comedies and farces, they engaged for the major part of the season the entire Berlin Company of Emil Thomas, in which Max Walden, Emil Berla and Betty Damhofer-Thomas were prominent. As a result Germans who made a practice of attending the German theater were at first, to be sure, interested and amused by this very clever troupe of comedians, but soon they were wearied beyond endurance by a form of entertainment that tended to prove shallow and worthless upon closer acquaintance. The results of 1886-7, added to those of 1892-3, weigh heavily against the statement so often heard, that the Germans of New York care only for frivolous entertainment. Perhaps the present paper will have done an important service if it will show that seasons of an essentially "classical" nature, in which stars play no particular part, were crowned with more success than those of an opposite character.[32]

Such proof will act as a restoration of the reputation of Germans in New York for good dramatic taste. It has also been charged that German audiences here are not "educated to the theater" and are unappreciative. They visit the theater, according to their critics, merely to be amused, and in their unreasonable desire for hilarity, interrupt the most serious scenes with peals of laughter. These accusations are, however, refuted by Mr. Hermann Korn, who for over thirty years has

[32] Neuendorff's ultimate failure was due to other reasons.

been a member of the Irving Place troupe, and who, in addition, has acquired wide experience as an actor in Germany. He assures the writer that German-American audiences compare quite favorably in all respects with average audiences in Germany.

In the spring of 1893 the administration of Mansfeld and Raven ended. Called in two years before to replace Amberg, they did only a passive service to the theater. When actual results are considered, it must be admitted that they accomplished little. Their administrative mistakes and their insufficient knowledge of theatrical affairs caused their financial ruin. William Steinway, financial supporter of the theater, was once more forced to cast about for a new manager. Fortunately, his attention was drawn to Heinrich Conried, who was at that time managing the newly organized "Ferency Operetten Gesellschaft" and winning unparalleled success. For over three months the company attracted crowded houses in the Amberg Theater, the particular drawing card being the new operetta, "Der Vogelhändler." So popular, indeed did this musical play become that in a letter to Conried, the Raven-Mansfeld management could write: "Wir freuen uns aufrichtig — nach genauer Durchsicht unserer Bücher, einsichtlich alter Jahrgänge — Ihnen mitteilen zu können, dass die Zahl der Personen, welch bis jetzt den Aufführungen von 'Der Vogelhändler' in unserem Theater beigewohnt haben, entschieden die grösste ist, welche bis jetzt in den Annalen der deutschen Theatergeschichte New Yorks erreicht wurde."

Chapter IV.

1893-1903—Conried's First Period as Manager—Culmination of Ideals.

On April 29, 1893, the day on which the season ended, Steinway closed a contract with Conried. He was led by Conried's success with the Ferency Operetta Company to believe that he was enlisting in his services a man who could at least make the theater self-supporting. He expected to find in Conried merely a clever business man, who combined with

his shrewdness a tolerably accurate understanding of theatrical conditions. Accordingly he was most agreeably surprised on discovering that he had lighted upon a person whose executive ability and artistic taste were remarkable. By a happy chance he had chosen the one man who understood how to develop the German theater in New York to its full possibilities.

Conried's previous training had well fitted him for the arduous duties that he was to undertake. As far back as 1879, while still a young actor, he had cherished the idea of establishing a first-class German theater in New York. His failure had left him undaunted, and the following years, which he spent as "Regisseur" in the Thalia Theater, were most valuable for him in the additional experience they furnished not only in the theater, but also in the broader school of life. His subsequent checkered career, during which we find him now as dramatic teacher, now as manager for individual stars or complete organizations, helped him in the same direction. Consequently William Steinway addressed in 1893 a mature man who cherished definite aims and fixed ideals.

The first and most characteristic desire of the new manager was to assemble a stock company which would bring credit to the theater. To this end he left for Europe on May 4, 1893, and remained abroad during the entire summer. But before his departure he changed the name of the theater, which was still known as the Amberg Theater, although Amberg had for some time severed all connections with it, to the Irving Place Theater, a name which has remained until the present day.

Not many months had elapsed after the opening of the theater on September 30, 1893, before it was recognized that a new era had begun with Conried. To be sure, those who had expected a sudden and complete reversal of conditions within a short time were disappointed. A change of that kind was manifestly impossible under the circumstances. It was Conried's duty to build up for the future slowly and gradually in order to develop a well rounded ensemble. He frankly confessed that such a task was not to be accomplished in one year, but must of necessity be a series of long experiments. Whereas previous managers had always planned for the particular

season which they were facing, Conried planned for the whole future of the theater. Therein lies in part the secret of his ultimate success.

Naturally his first year brought with it no particular surprises. But certain facts deserve notice. Although the assembled company showed an inclination toward the "Konversationsstück," to the detriment of more serious drama, there was a notable lack of stars throughout the season. Operetta, as presented by the Ferency Company, still occupied a considerable part of the season,[33] and of the dramas presented the majority were "Lustspiele' and "Schwänke." One hundred and fifty evenings were devoted to comedy and farce, Schönthan's and Moser's works proving the most popular. From the list of more serious plays only the following need be mentioned: Sudermann's "Die Heimat," Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe," Nordmann's "Gefallene Engel" and Fulda's "Der Talisman.[34] In spite of these seemingly insignificant results the critic of the "Staats-Zeitung" felt justified to write as follows (May 6, 1894): "Heinrich Conried hat sich im Laufe der ersten Saison seiner Direktionstätigkeit nach so vielen Richtungen als der rechte Mann am rechten Platz erwiesen, dass jeder Freund des deutschen Theaters mit vollem Vertrauen der weiteren Gestaltung der künstlerischen Verhältnisse des in den letzten Jahren schwergeprüften Instituts entgegensehen darf." Continuing, he takes notice of how Conried had made out of a "Gastspieltheater" an "Ensembletheater in welchem nicht die Mätzchen und Kniffe des Dollars-Beifall- und grünes Ruhmesgemüse heischenden 'Stars' das grosse Wort führen, sondern ein abwechslungsreicher Spielplan in feinschattierten, sorgfältig abgetönten Aufführungen geboten wird." "Dass dies," he continues, "das einzige Mittel ist, um das deutsche Theater vor der prekären Existenz des Spielers zu schützen, der fortwährend auf eine Karte sein Alles setzt, sind in den letzten Saisons immer und immer wieder auszusprechen wir nicht müde geworden. Im letzten Winter hat

[33] Only 39 non-musical plays were produced.

[34] At the very outset Conried had promised a considerable widening of the repertory.

das Irving Place Theater keine Vorstellung gebracht, welche nicht sorgfältig Einstudierung und eine verständnisvolle Regie verrathen und eine befriedigende künstlerische Gesammtwirkung erzielt hätte."

Conried's second season showed improvements over the first. But the fact that even then a good "jugendlicher Liebhaber," an interesting "Liebhaberin," and a "junge Naive" were lacking, shows against what difficulties Conried had to work. The season is, however, important from another point of view. Conried had put the theater on a sound business basis, and had dispelled in that way the uncertain fate which always threatened its existence. At the end of the season, therefore, the usual feeling of nervous anxiety for the future was lacking.

Again the stars were conspicuously absent. Referring to this the "Staats-Zeitung" says (May 5, 1895): "Mit dieser verderblichen 'Alle für Einen'-Politik hat der einsichtsvolle Theatermann, der jetzt das Irving Place Theater leitet, glücklicherweise ein für alle Mal gebrochen." The inevitable result was that the public gradually regained its taste for better drama and learned to center its interest in the whole company and the ensemble playing. This achievement alone, which did much to restore dramatic literature to its rightful position, was sufficient to make Conried famous.

The dramatic year of 1894-5 is notable for still another season. It marks an innovation which is in every way most significant. The great German classics were produced with frequent regularity at popular prices. "Emilia Galotti," "Minna von Barnhelm" and "Nathan der Weise;" "Die Räuber," "Kabale und Liebe," "Maria Stuart" and "Wilhelm Tell," as well as "Faust" and "Othello" were included in the repertoire. The good attendance at these performances proved that even the German who has left his fatherland has not lost his love and understanding for his native literature. By continuing and developing this policy during the next few seasons, Conried was doubtless acting in the best interests of the public.

Beside the dissemination of classical drama there lies another duty in the path of the manager. He must keep the

public in touch with the most recent and most significant movements in literature. Throughout the eighties that was comparatively easy for German managers because of literary conditions in Germany.[35] But when literature regained its prominence, this obligation again assumed its natural importance. It became customary to reserve certain evenings for new plays that had met with success in the larger theatrical centers of Germany. The more important new dramas that were played in the season under consideration were Paul Lindau's "Der Andere," Philippi's "Wohltäter der Menschheit," Halbe's "Jugend," and Zobeltitz's "Ohne Geläut."

During the summer of 1895 Conried made another trip to Europe in order to continue his inexorable search for the missing links which were to strengthen his company.[36] The season of 1895-6 bore out the fact that he had been successful. The ensemble attained prominence, and there were extremely few performances that could not be characterized as well rounded. In its usual review of the season the "Staats-Zeitung" says (May 10, 1896): "Neben manchen anderen, schwer ins Gewicht fallenden Vorzügen der Conried'schen Direktion ist dieses Ensemble, das innerhalb der weitgesteckten Grenzen der modernen Bühnenproduktion, von der Farce bis zum Gesellschaftsdrama, ganz und voll seinen Mann steht, eine der erfreulichsten Errungenschaften des zielbewussten ernsten Strebens, das vor nur drei Jahren mit Heinrich Conried seinen Einzug in's Irving Place Theater gehalten hat."

It will be noticed that besides the lavish praise which the above quotation contains there is a silent criticism implied. Judging by this article, Conried's troupe was not quite as excellent in classical plays as it doubtless was in modern dramas. Altho the policy of giving popular performances of the classics was continued, the criticism is justified. Not that the plan of devoting particular attention to more recent literature is to be condemned. No just critic could make such an implication.

[35] Cf. Litzmann's excellent series of lectures "Das deutsche Drama in den literarischen Bewegungen der Gegenwart."

[36] While he was abroad, the "Berliner Börsencourier" celebrated him as the regenerator of the German theater in New York.

It is, quite to the contrary, a very desirable state of affairs, especially when the dramas produced are as significant as were those brought out by Conried.

To this period may be assigned the beginning of a real appreciation of the modern drama in New York, a circumstance which was made possible by one play, Hauptmann's "Die Weber," produced on April 1 1896.[37] Altho the season was nearing its end, Conried left no stone unturned to make the performances a success. It represents one of the most important events in the history of the German theater in New York. The original plan of presenting the drama only five times was modified, for several additional performances were demanded and given. The play adequately proved its universality of appeal. It held the audiences in a heated frenzy thruout. To be sure, many felt naturally repulsed, but even they were aroused to unconscious admiration. The production was not only a token of the artistic ability of Conried, but also an excellent proof of the irresistible power of naturalism. But a short time previous to this the play had swept over Berlin with identical results. Beside this notable event, mention may be made of the first appearance in America of Sudermann's "Schmetterlingsschlacht" and "Das Glück im Winkel," Hauptmann's "College Crampton" and Philipp's "Dornenweg."

One other fact in regard to this important season must be introduced here. For the first time since he had assumed control of the theater, Conried introduced a visiting star late in the spring of 1896. The distinction fell upon Georg Engels, a well-known "Charakterkomiker" from Berlin. But Conried's motives in extending an invitation to him were far different from the motives of previous managers in similar cases. Whereas Neuendorff, Amberg and Hermann had always been compelled by financial reasons to call for stars, Conried, supported by his competent artists alone, was making the theater pay better than had ever before been the case. What, then, could have been his motive in summoning Engels? The answer is simple. Far from being narrow-minded, Conried realized

[37] There had been an obscure amateur performance of the same play in New York City somewhat earlier.

that the "Gastspiel" has its legitimate function in every good theater. This function had, however, been abused by previous managers, who had looked upon the "Gastspiel" merely as the financial redemption of the season. Therefore it was the first duty of an intelligent manager to correct these conditions. The stars, who had crowded out their lesser colleagues, and had centered attention upon themselves, had to be dispensed with until the public might regain its sense of proportion. Such motives guided Conried.

It remains to examine whether in the three years that he had allowed to elapse without a star, Conried had gained his purpose. Engels, of course, appeared exclusively in comedy rôles. His repertoire consisted of "College Crampton," "Der Herr Senator," and other plays of the same class. It is evident that he appeared in that very type of play which is claimed to be most popular in New York. But the remarkable fact remains that, altho in previous years actors of no higher talent had enjoyed great success, Engels did not succeed. Patrons of the German theater had learned their lesson well. They now looked up to a well rounded stock company and not to an individual. It is therefore hardly a paradox to say that Engel's failure was in reality the assertion of Conried's triumph.

Under circumstances such as are described above it was in every way justifiable for Conried to make continued and legitimate use of the "Gastspiel" system. Hereafter it was his general practice to import a star late in every season. In 1896-7 it was the noted actress, Frau Agnes Sorma. She continued Conried's policy of laying particular emphasis on modern dramatic literature. Doubtless her most notable achievement was her interpretation of Rautendelein in Hauptmann's "Versunkene Glocke." The performances of this play must rank with that of "Die Weber" of the previous year among the most important events in the history of the German stage in New York. Sorma also appeared in Ibsen's "Nora," Schnitzler's "Liebelei," Sardou's "Dora," Birch-Pfeiffer's "Dorf und Stadt" and Robert's "Chic."

The financial troubles which the times brought with them did not fail to leave an impression upon the theatrical world.

This explains why the season as a whole was not very successful, in fact the least successful since Conried's advent. But it proved to be only a temporary reversal of fortune, and with the next season conditions gradually returned to their normal state.

For the sake of completeness it may be well to mention other German theatrical projects in New York that were contemporary with Conried's activity in the Irving Place Theater. At the time that the latter assumed control of the theater on Irving Place, Adolph Philipp, a comedian, whose wide talents included also a knowledge of libretto composition, opened a Germania Theater on Eighth street, near Fourth avenue. This theater remained in his possession until the end of the season 1901-2, when it was torn down. Philipp restricted his efforts almost entirely to his own productions, which were "volkstumlich" in the extreme and appealed to the grosser tastes. Such representative titles as "Der Corner-Grocer," "Der Pawnbroker von der Eastside," "Der Butcher aus der 1. Ave." and "Die Landlady" give a fair conception of the quality of these offerings. In 1896-7 and again in 1898-9 Philipp had as "Gast" the now decrepit Marie Geistinger, who, altho she appeared in her old rôles, was hardly a shadow of her former self. The "Tegernsee Bauerngesellschaft" also appeared in this theater. In 1899-1900 Amberg became manager. With a troupe headed by a certain Direktor Leon Resemann, he offered Wildenbruch's "König Heinrich" and classical plays. This short stay of the Resemann Company was probably the most fruitful period for Philipp's Germania. Several years later Philipp appeared on the scene again, in a hall on Eighty-sixth street, between Lexington and Third avenues. He produced there nothing of value. Lesser attempts to maintain German theaters in New York, as for example the production in May, 1894, of Hauptmann's "Hannele" by the Rosenfelds in the Fifth Avenue Theater, can only be mentioned in passing.

We return to Conried at the Irving Place Theater. During the first months of the year 1897-98 attendance was still slack, but improved rapidly. A series of "Schüler-Vorstellungen" at half prices was particularly successful. These "Vorstellungen,"

which took place on Saturdays either at 10 a. m. or at the regular matinee hour, were, as their name indicates, intended for school children. They did much to awaken in that class a taste for good literature and to furnish a better understanding for the German classics. The "Schüler-Vorstellungen" soon became a regular event in the Irving Place Theater and continue to the present day.

On the other hand, there was not lacking during the year a wide repertory of new and interesting plays. A significant event occurred on February 23, 1898, when Conried celebrated his twenty-fifth anniversary as an actor. He appeared once more in "Gringoire," the play which had introduced him to America over twenty years ago. He also recited Coppée's "Der Strike der Schmieder," with which he had once as a youth of seventeen secured a trial in the Burgtheater at Vienna.

Maintaining his theory that the "Gastspiel" has its place in a well regulated season, Conried arranged for a second visit of Sorma. She opened her stay on March 14 with Ibsen's "Nora," and for almost two months played to overcrowded houses. This time, however, she was not alone, for she brought along a very promising "jugendlicher Liebhaber," Rudolf Christians, who was destined later to assume an important part in the history of the theater. But beside a Sunday performance of Fulda's "Unter vier Augen" he appeared in only one rôle, in Rosmer's charming "Märchendrama," "Die Königskinder." Agnes Sorma aroused particular attention in Björnson's "Die Neuvermählten," which has been revived in the present season (1914-15), and in Shakespeare's "Zähmung der Widerspenstigen." Her failure to appear in "Romeo and Juliet" was a general source of regret.

The season 1898-99 will always be remembered in the minds of Germans in New York by one word—Sonnenthal. Fourteen years had elapsed since his first journey to these shores. During his first visit, it will be remembered, he had made no particularly favorable impression. But he had changed with the years, and in the "old Sonnenthal,," as he appeared now, one could hardly recognize the younger man of fourteen years ago. Altho he remained less than a month (April 6-May 1,

1899), Sonnenthal made a deep impression. He appeared chiefly in "Nathan," "Wallenstein," Sardou's comedy, "Alte Junggesellen" and Hauptmann's "Fuhrmann Henschel." In the last mentioned play, which had never before appeared in this country, he was well-nigh perfect.

But it would be an error to believe that Sonnenthal alone made the season 1898-99 worth while. It is true that Conried had been disappointed at the very outset by the failure of some of his best actors to appear. However, their belated arrival made it possible for him to execute his more ambitious plans. The most successful play of the season, Blumenthal and Kadeburg's comedy, "Im weissen Röss'l" was repeated sixty times, while Felix Philippi's "Das Erbe" survived over thirty performances. Considering the season from an artistic standpoint, and leaving Sonnenthal out of consideration, the most noteworthy event was the performance of Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac" in Fulda's translation. It was in all respects excellent, altho it did not draw as much as Mansfield's English production of the same play. Other new plays, among them Schnitzler's "Freiwild" and Fulda's "Jugenfreunde" did not meet with any great favor.

In order to prove to his critics and to his own satisfaction that it was still possible to dispense with a Sonnenthal or a Sorma, Conried invited no great star in 1899-1900. Felix Schweighofer, a comedian, and Carl Wagner, a tragedian, hardly stood out above the other members of the troupe. The former, who doubtless possessed unusual talent, spoiled the effect of his work by the antiquated nature of his repertoire; the latter lent good services to a laudable attempt to revive the classical drama. This movement, set on foot by Conried, succeeded as far as is possible for any movement of that kind. The ever present drawback is the fact that the classical drama appeals at best only to a small circle. This difficulty must be taken into account even on the English stage, and when we consider that the German theater in New York draws its audiences from a limited number of actual residents, whereas the English theater relies not only on the whole city, but on an enormous transient population besides, we can appreciate the

perplexity of the problem. It may also be mentioned that the important difference between English and German audiences in New York, which has been pointed out, explains the large annual repertoire of fifty to sixty plays in the Irving Place Theater.

The most valuable additions to the repertory in the season under consideration were Goethe's "Iphigenie" and Grillparzer's "Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen." The majority of plays that appeared must be reckoned in the category of farce and light comedy. It is evident that Conried was making a concession to the desire of the majority, which frequently demands entertainment of that character. The company was up to Conried's usual high standard, well balanced and excellent in every respect.

In the year 1901 there appeared a very interesting book entitled "The Stage in America. 1897-1901." It deals with the entire broad subject for three years, and is written by Norman Hapgood, one of the sanest and most competent American students of the stage. In this book, which is in every way to be recommended, Hapgood devotes an entire chapter (pp. 134-149) to the Irving Place Theater. He describes it in no unmistakable terms as 'our only high-class theater." He praises Conried as a notable exception to the mercenary manager, who is so prominent in this country, and takes note of the fact that the former "gives up to cheap farces only as many weeks of each year as will enable him to produce, during the remainder of the season, worthy modern plays and good classics." (Vide, p. 7.) In another place (p. 34), comparing American methods with German methods, he says, "When he (i. e., Charles Frohmann of the Syndicate) bent all his resources for months to the success of "Romeo and Juliet" in the spring of 1899, the result, compared to what Mr. Conried could do with a German classic, with his own company, in three weeks—was amateurish." The author consequently decides (p. 135) that "the best average acting in any American playhouse is seen at the one which gives, in German, more classics than any of our English speaking companies."

Hapgood's words are forceful, but since he is known as an unbiased critic, we need not hesitate to accept his conclusions. In fact, he himself supports his decisions by the words of an English critic who is just as outspoken (pp. 143-144). Hapgood proceeds to point out that the German actors are broader and better equipped than their American colleagues. He compares the "Sunken Bell" of Sothern and Marlow (1899-1900) with the simultaneous performance of the same play in the Irving Place Theater, much to the disadvantage of the former. He praises the wonderful ensemble work of the German actors in "Wallensteins Lager," saying in that connection (pp. 238-9): "Observers who know how hard English managers have to work to make a good crowd for fifteen minutes, in a play which is to run a year, would, if they could see the immense superiority of this crowd, prepared for so short a time, understand some of the advantages of such training as actors get in the best German theaters, and of such a director as Mr. Conried."

Three reasons are pointed out by Hapgood for this marked superiority. The first is that German taste is more serious than American. The other two reasons have already been mentioned. They are: Changes of bill are constantly necessary in the German theater because of a lack of floating population; valuable plays are interspersed even in the farce season. An additional factor is the personal efficiency of the manager. In this respect Conried was supreme. He had the firm conviction that managing a theater was an art. He always insisted that he was not in the theatrical business for financial gains. "If I were simply looking for a business I could find a better one," he once exclaimed.[38] This unselfish devotion to a cause
important source of income for him.
is nowhere better exemplified than in his lectures and theatrical performances given at his own expense in various colleges and universities.[39]

It remains to consider in the present chapter the achievements of three seasons, extending as far as the summer of

[38] A steamer chair industry which he controlled was an

[39] Cf. A. B. Faust, "German Element," vol. 2, pp. 333-4.

1903. The first of these furnished nothing new. Out of a number of promised premières, among them Sudermann's "Johannisfeuer," Wilbrandt's "Meister von Palmyra" and Björnson's "Über unsere Kraft" not a single one became a reality. The only new plays of interest that were introduced to New York audiences before the arrival of the season's star were Otto Erich Hartleben's tragedy, "Rosenmontag," and his one-act comedy, "Die sittliche Forderung." Schnitzler's "Das Vermächtnis" and Dreyer's "Probekandidat" were coldly received.

On the other hand, much time was devoted to farces and to dramas of an older type, notably those from the pen of Birch-Pfeiffer and Halm. From an artistic standpoint the season was redeemed by the coming of Frau Helene Odilon from Vienna. The exceedingly clumsy campaign of publicity with which she was heralded, and which tended to convey the impression that her talents were concentrated upon her gowns, was soon forgotten when she appeared in person. Her appearance in Hermann Bahr's "Der Star" and Fulda's "Die Zwillingsschwestern" showed her to be a typical Viennese artist. Incidentally, these plays helped to swell the rather meager list of the season's new offerings.

It is interesting to discover the reason for the inferiority of this season. It is not difficult to find. Conried had committed the error of engaging an insufficient number of actors. In the few preceding seasons just the opposite fault prevailed, an oversupply of professional talent. The latter condition, undesirable as it may prove to a manager from a financial point of view, is always welcome to the general public. It assures healthy competition and an abundance of new plays. Conried, however, had considered the question from another angle. He had argued that it would be a useless outlay to maintain an extended payroll. But in cutting it down he had gone a trifle too far. The result was that his small company was constantly overworked, and found no time to rehearse new plays.

These faults were, however, amply corrected in the season that followed (1901-2). Conried began the year with a very complete and well rounded company. Nevertheless it was

fortunate that he brought out his most important acquisitions, Heyse's "Verschleiertes Bild zu Sais," Sudermann's "Johannisfeuer," Otto Ernst's "Flachsmann als Erzieher" and Georg Engel's "Der Ausflug in's Sittliche" at comparatively early dates. The same may be said of the performances of "Maria Stuart," "Wilhelm Tell," "Iphigenie" and "Uriel Acosta.', For in the very midst of the season three of the best actors, among them two leading lights, Kathi Brandt and Adolf Zimmermann, died. These unfortunate losses crippled the theater, and since it was too late to call for reserves from abroad, Conried was compelled to make the best of his available material.

An additional circumstance contributed no less to the misfortunes of the season. The widely heralded visit of Prince Henry took up a considerable part of Conrieds time, so that he was forced to leave the management of the theater to subordinates. The unhappy results during that time throw an interesting sidelight on Conried's ability. By comparing the barren weeks which comprised the regime of the subordinates to any given period under Conried, we note at once the vast difference. The only valuable play produced during Conried's inactivity was Tolstoi's "Die Macht der Finsterniss," which was, however, found unsuitable for the stage.

A more fruitful chapter in the history of the season is contributed by the visiting stars, Ferdinand Bonn, Helene Odilon, and Adolf Sonnenthal. Bonn was critically received, but gradually won popularity. Frau Helene Odilon, who was already known from the previous season, did not offer much that was new. The most noteworthy event, which must always remain memorable, was the last appearance in America of Sonnenthal. Altho seventy-two years of age, he won new admirers by his brilliant portrayal of Nathan and King Lear. After this visit he never crossed the ocean again, but lived to celebrate in Vienna his fiftieth anniversary as an actor. He died in the same city in 1909.

There follows a brief survey of the last year, which falls under the present chapter. The season, from a strictly dramatic point of view, was an unusually short one. The

theater opened on October 2, 1902, with a new comedy by Otto Ernst, "Jugend von heute." Presentation of dramas was discontinued on April 19 of the next year, when the Ferency Operetta Company opened an engagement. But within these few months enough occurred to sustain a lively interest. Excellent performances of "Don Carlos," "Wilhelm Tell" and "Emilia Galotti" met the demands of those who were more seriously inclined; Björnson's "Über unsere Kraft," Sudermann's "Fritzchen" and "Sodoms Ende" served those whose literary tastes inclined toward modern literature; and the second visit of Ferdinand Bonn finally aroused the interest of all. His most important contribution to the season was a very interesting and novel performance of "Faust." The first part of the tragedy was performed almost in its entirety, two evenings being devoted to the complete presentation. The performance of the first night extended thru the scene "Hexenküche," and was called rather incorrectly "Die Faust-Tragödie," while the second evening brought the rest of the work under the title of "Die Gretchen-Tragödie." To the same season may be traced the successful introduction in America of Meyer Förster's charming student play, "Alt-Heidelberg," which had fifty performances during its first season in the Irving Place Theater and later met with success also on the English stage.

Chiefly in the spring of 1903 there were given on various English stages in New York some performances which are interesting for the student of German. The more important of these are the appearance of Mrs. Patrick Campbell in an English version of Sudermann's "Es lebe das Leben," and the appearance of students of Sargent's theatrical school in Hauptmann's "Einsame Menschen" and Max Nordau's "Das Recht zu lieben." Performances of this kind have a salutary influence. They help to introduce the American public to the best foreign literature and act as a stimulating force. Moreover, they present evidence of a growing appreciation for modern dramatic literature in America.

Chapter V.

1903-1907—Conried's Last Years.

In the foregoing chapter we examined the achievements of Heinrich Conried during the years which we have termed his first period in the Irving Place Theater. The year 1903 does not mark the end of his incumbency. It therefore remains to justify a division at this particular point.

From 1893, when he assumed the position of manager, up to 1903 Conried devoted his entire attention to the theater. The excellent quality of his work had won for him a reputation which extended even to Germany. This very fact proved a misfortune for the theater. Conried was called upon to assume a larger duty and to enter a wider sphere of activity. It is a well-known fact that in the spring of 1903 he was appointed director of the Metropolitan Opera House, to succeed Maurice Grau.

At first there were serious doubts expressed as to whether Conried would be able and willing to continue the management of the theater. It was admitted that his duties at the opera house would be arduous. Conried himself gave the matter due consideration, and finally decided to divide his attention as far as possible. He did not wish to abandon suddenly a work to which he had devoted the ten best years of his life. We shall consider below the question whether his course of action can be justified.

The very first season (1903-4) under the new conditions showed that the master mind of the manager was no longer at active work. Without Conried's helpful suggestions and criticism the company, which was only of fair ability, soon fell in a narrow repertory. The only representative works of a better class were Sudermann's "Es lebe das Leben," Maeterlinck's "Monna Vanna" and Halbe's "Strom." Conried soon came to realize the physical impossibility of managing the theater in person, and he appointed as his representative the actor, v. Seyffertitz, who in spite of earnest endeavor could achieve but unsatisfactory results. At the end of the season Conried dismissed almost his entire personnel.

The season was only saved by the arrival of the "Gäste" Ferdinand Bonn and Rudolf Christians. The former was making his third visit to this country; the latter, who six years earlier had supported Sorma, his second. They appeared together and made a tremendous "hit" with Beyerlein's military play, "Zapfenstreich," which was accorded a reception that few German plays in this country can boast of. Bonn and Christians also appeared in classics. They performed "Nathan," "Don Carlos," Freytag's Journalisten" and Grillparzer's "Jüdin von Toledo."

The season 1904-5 again presented a chaotic state of affairs. Conried was still the nominal manager, but the problem of the opera house precluded his active interest in the theater. Even the most esoteric questions were left in the hands of Seyffertitz and other subordinates. This group entirely lacked the prerequisite quality of inspiring good discipline among the actors and maintaining a spirit of harmony. They showed poor judgment, too, in selecting new plays, for out of a long list of interesting possibilities they produced only Arno Holz's "Traumulus" and Maxim Gorky's "Nachtasyl." The theater was at least fortunate in securing the services of Heinrich Marlow and Margarethe Russ. The former is still one of the most popular members of the Irving Place company.

Matters improved when Agathe Barsescu, an excellent "Heldin-Darstellerin," appeared as "Gast" in the Grillparzer rôles of Hero, Medea and Sappho, as Hebbel's Rhodope, as Sudermann's Magda, and as Schiller's Prinzessin Eboli. She was followed by others, notably by the "jugendlicher Moderner" Harry Walden, and by the stars of the previous year, Bonn and Christians. All four took part in a Schiller celebration, which extended from April 10 to April 14 and during which "Don Carlos," "Wallensteins Tod" and "Maria Stuart" were put on the boards.

Under such conditions the interest of the public naturally became intermittent. During the early part of the season, when new plays were but rare, attendance fell off considerably. This state of affairs continued well into the winter, and not until the stars had taken full control did box office re-

ceipts begin to approach a normal condition. No season, however, is to be judged exclusively by the success of the stars, but rather by the average work of the regular company.

The last two seasons that fall into the plan of the present chapter were no better on the whole than the preceding ones. In 1905-6 two complete companies were promised, one for operetta, and one for drama. The former, however, was a failure, and in order to meet the expenses of maintenance, it was set to acting farces of no merit. The "Schauspieltruppe" was handicapped by a meager repertory. With the exception of Fulda's "Maskerade," which was produced because of the author's visit to America, and Ibsen's "Frau vom Meere," very few new dramas appeared. No great star was engaged for the season. The best work of the year was probably contributed by the soubrette, Lina Abarbanell, who later was seen in English operetta. An additional event of importance was the visit of Ludwig Fulda. The fact that the theater was passing thru a crisis escaped his notice, for he was on the whole pleased with the work of the company, which, of course, did its best during his short stay. In speaking of the Irving Place Theater in his very appreciative work, "Amerikanische Eindrücke" (pp. 84-5), he says: "Von den künstlerischen Leistungen war ich auf's angenehmste überrascht; ich habe auf manchem ersten Theater des lieben Vaterlandes schon schwächere Vorstellungen gesehen."

On the whole, the repertoire of the season was carelessly chosen. The long sessions during which the one company appeared necessitated inactivity for the other. This protracted idleness proved a bane to the actors. They became careless, and their work suffered accordingly. Even Walden, admittedly a good actor, was forced by the desires of his colleagues to take part in trivial farces. Madame Barsescu, who had taken up her residence in New York, appeared only once throughout the season.

The critics, in the spring of 1906, were unanimous in the opinion that a change in management was imperative. The whole future of the theater seemed to be at stake, for it was

evident that several more seasons of the same kind would bring disastrous consequences. Accordingly, they put the question to Conried himself. But he refused to abandon the theater, and promised to find more time for it in the next season.

Notwithstanding sincere attempts on Conried's part to keep his promises and to convince his friends of his still active interest in the theater, his last season in the German playhouse was no success. The theater was very poorly attended, the repertoire was quite barren, and the season could only be carried to the end by benefits, special performances and other attractions of an unusual character. In this way several interesting "first nights," practically the only ones of the season, were arranged for, among them those of Sudermann's "Das Blumenboot," and Fulda's "Heimlicher König." The repertory embraced about forty plays, of which the above mentioned, as well as Oscar Wilde's "Salome," Blumenthal and Kadelburg's "Der blinde Passagier," which ran for six weeks, and a good performance of "Faust" were the most significant.

The season closed on May 15, 1907, and was succeeded by a short period of opera by pupils of the Metropolitan Opera School, under the direction of Conried. This event marks the end of Conried's connection with the theater, for he resigned his managership in the spring of 1907. It terminates not only his fourteen years of service in the Irving Place Theater, but also his active interest in German-American theatrical affairs, which extended over thirty years.

Enough has been said of Conried's far-reaching influence on dramatic history of this country. Let it be sufficient to add only one more excellent proof of the wide, salutary effect of his work. Winthrop Ames, the director of the short-lived New Theater of New York, in his account of its history, speaks of Conried in no uncertain terms.[40] He frankly states that Conried's Irving Place Theater served as a model for the founders

[40] See A. B. Faust. Das Deutschtum in den Ver. Staaten in seiner Bedeutung für die amerikanische Kultur, pp. 301-2.

of the New Theater.[41] This furnishes additional evidence that Conried's genius absolutely dominated the American stage.

Besides, the statement bespeaks the triumph of German dramatic theories even in America.

Ames continues his report in the same tone. He does not hesitate to call Conried the best manager of his time, and in this fact finds the reason for the appointment of a man who knew little about operatic music to the directorship of the Metropolitan Opera House. If Conried had lived, says Ames, he doubtless would have been appointed manager of the New Theater. It is an open question, however, whether he would have met with more success than that which fell to the lot of the actual managers. It was always Conried's dream to found an English theater on the plan of the Irving Place Theater. Possibly he was prompted to undertake the work at the Metropolitan Opera House with the hope of furthering his favorite project.

It is now in order to discuss Conried's apparent infidelity to the theater during the last few years. It was noticeable from the time that he accepted the offer of the directors of the opera house that the theater was suffering from neglect. Conried was admittedly at fault. By undertaking his new position Conried was slighting the theater, but he was following the call of a higher duty. He was taking a step toward the fulfillment of his ultimate aim, the founding of a national American theater. However, he overestimated his own great capacity for work, and if he had for a moment recognized that his course of action necessitated a neglect of the theater, he would doubtless have abandoned the latter. As it was, he let matters grow worse thru four seasons, always hoping that the future would bring improvement. When it finally dawned upon him that he was attempting to do the impossible,

[41] See a booklet entitled "The New Theater—New York," especially pp. 18-19. We read there: "For a decade and more a number of New York dramatic critics used the German theater to club a sense of the situation into the heads of the public." To Mr. Conried belongs "the credit of setting the enterprise (i. e. New Theater) on foot."

he worked all the harder in his despair. Consequently he ruined his physical constitution, was forced to abandon the theater in 1907 and the opera in 1908, and to depart for Europe under the care of a physician. He died at Meran on April 27, 1909.

Chapter VI.

1907-1914—Recent Developments.

The period which began with Conried's resignation in 1907 is still fresh in the minds of those who are interested in the fortunes of the German theater. The story of its most recent vicissitudes belongs rather to the history of contemporary events than to a chronicle of past events. It will be the aim of the present chapter to describe these later developments.

Conried's resignation had no great effect upon the theater. The fact that for four seasons it had been getting along without any important help from its manager made it more or less independent of him, not without detriment to itself, to be sure. The long expected news of his retirement, therefore, caused no surprise and comment. There were those, nevertheless, who predicted that it meant the end of the German theater. They argued that it had outlived its usefulness, and that without a competent leader it would soon be forced to close its doors. The fallacy of this reasoning was soon exposed.

The task of choosing a successor to Conried was difficult. Finally the position was offered to Dr. Maurice Baumfeld. He was a man of literary and dramatic tastes, with only little actual experience in theatrical management. An intimate friend and admirer of Gerhart Hauptmann, he was respected in New York as a distinguished litterateur. He was already known in this country chiefly thru his excellent articles in the "Staats-Zeitung,[42] and thru a performance of one of his dramas, "Die Nacht der Liebe," in the spring of 1906 in the Irving Place Theater. In Baumfeld there was introduced to New York a new type of manager.

[42] Cf. e. g. his article on "Die Carikatur in der Weltgeschichte" in the isue of Febr. 19, 1905.

It is interesting to compare his methods with those of his predecessors. He managed the theater on the basis of the larger municipal theaters in Germany. His particular model was the "Burgtheater" in his native city of Vienna. His first step in 1907-8 was to exclude all stars. The stock company which he engaged included such excellent artists as Hedwig Reicher, Georgine Neuendorff, Marie Reichardt, Heinrich Marlow, and Karl Sauermann. Of the thirty-seven different plays produced, twenty were new to New York. This fact is in itself a token of the high quality of Baumfeld's work. A farce from the French of Feydeau entitled "Herzogin Crevette," with twenty-six performances, was most frequently played. There followed "Götz" and Fulda's "Dummkopf" with eighteen each. These were succeeded by three "Einakter" of Schnitzler, "Die letzten Masken," "Der grüne Kakadu," and "Literatur" with twelve performances each. Other notable plays were Calderons "Richter von Zalamea" and Hebbel's "Maria Magdalene."

Throughout the season under consideration Baumfeld was very fair to the classics. The excellent performances of "Götz von Berlichingen," the best yet seen in this country, deserves especial mention. He succeeded, too, in producing the requisite "hits," the "Kassenstücke" as they are known in Germany. But he slighted somewhat the modern drama, since he produced only one play of Sudermann and one of Halbe. His plan of reserving thirty evenings for purely literary works was actually carried out. It created a desirable atmosphere, but was financially unsuccessful.

At least one serious mistake was made, however, by Baumfeld during his first year in the Irving Place Theater, to wit, he ended the season very weakly. Disregarding the psychological fact that the latter part of the season remains longest in the memory of the public, he presented nothing new or noteworthy at that time. The result was that the season left on the minds of the theatergoers a very feeble impression. This was especially to be regretted at that time when the public should have been prepared for the great events that were to follow in the fall of 1908.

The season 1908-9 will be remembered as of particular importance. For the first time in almost twenty years New York again could boast of two regular first-class German theaters. This was due primarily to Baumfeld. Feeling that the old theater on Irving Place was not large or sumptuous enough for his idealistic purpose, he appealed to the wealthy German-Americans of New York to assist him in establishing a more suitable playhouse. His model was again the "Wiener Burgtheater." He wished to give New York a German theater that could vie with the best of Germany, both in architectural beauty and in artistic ideals.

His appeal was heard, and enough money was quickly subscribed to permit the erection on the site of the old Lenox Lyceum at Madison avenue, near Fifty-ninth street, of a beautiful "Neues Deutsches Theater."[43] Eugen Burg, a noted actor, was chosen co-manager to Baumfeld. They spared no expense in their elaborate preparations for a season which was intended to be an epoch-making one. Among other things they engaged a stock company the equal of which had probably never been seen in New York. Over thirty actors comprised the ensemble, while the star of the season was Conrad Dreher, a popular comedian who had become conspicuous by Bismarck's predilection in his favor.

The opening of the new theater was an impressive event. The play which Baumfeld chose for the occasion was Wildenbruch's "Die Rabensteinerin." The performance was perfect in every respect, and aroused the unbounded admiration of the large, distinguished audience. It was precceded by a prologue written especially for the occasion by Ernst von Wildenbruch. Those who shook their heads after the first night and predicted that such a high standard could not be maintained thruout the season were soon undeceived. It is true that light comedy and farce were not neglected, but it had been well demonstrated by the experience of previous seasons that even this genre has its place in a well regulated repertoire. On the other hand, the presence of Dreher assured a goodly number

[43] Cf. a description of it in "Architectural Record," Dec. 1908.

of comedies of a higher rank. He was particularly successful in two very clever works of that kind, "Matthias Gollinger" and "Jägerblut."

Indeed, Baumfeld's season in the "Neues Deutsches Theater" was from an artistic point of view almost ideal. The classics were well represented, especially by an admirable performance of "Wilhelm Tell,"[44] the popular "Zugstück," was not neglected, and modern drama was given a prominent place. Beside the opening play already mentioned, Molnar's "Der Teufel,"[45] Hauptmann's "Hanneles Himmelfahrt" and "Die Weber," Sudermann's "Johannisfeuer," "Das Glück im Winkel," and "Die Heimat," Halbe's "Die Jugend," and Fulda's "Jugendfreunde" appeared.[46]

There could be no doubt that as far as real artistic worth of dramas was concerned Baumfeld's presentations equaled those of his predecessor Conried in every respect. But a theater cannot exist on the mere strength of its artistic excellence and the idealism of its manager. As its basis there must be an efficient, intelligent business system. In this respect the "Neues Deutsches Theater" was woefully lacking. Of its two managers the senior partner was a man of letters, an idealistic dreamer, who knew nothing of the practical problems of life and would have nothing to do with them. The junior partner, far from making good the deficiency, was an actor who understood only that phase of theatrical activity which manifests itself behind the scenes. Of the business problems which confront the manager he had no conception. This unfortunate state of affairs brought inevitable calamity in its wake. Important details of administration, in fact all

[44] The sumptuous settings for the production, prepared especially for the occasion, were later donated by friends to the "Deutscher Verein" of Cornell University, which produced the play on Dec. 8, 1910, in Ithaca, in accordance with its promise.

[45] At the same time George Arliss was presenting the play in an English version at the Belasco Theater.

[46] A novel event took place on Nov. 16, 1908, when students from Cornell University gave a brilliant performance of "Alt Heidelberg" in the theatre.

matters of a practical nature were left in the hands of irresponsible subordinates, who were either dishonest or utterly incompetent. It was, indeed, pitiable to observe the helplessness and lack of concern which the managers displayed.

Under these circumstances, and because of certain misunderstandings between Baumfeld and Burg, the "Neues Deutsches Theater" came to a very sudden and disastrous end. After a final week of operetta, it closed its doors on April 17, 1909. Two days later it was reopened, but under the name "Plaza Music Hall." It had fallen from the proud position which Baumfeld had given it to the rank of an ordinary American music hall and vaudeville house. The actors were completely stranded—some of them were actually penniless—and to relieve the embarrassment, they gave a benefit performance for themselves in the great hall of the Waldorf Astoria.

As indicated above, the new theater of Baumfeld was not the only German playhouse in New York during the season 1908-9. The Irving Place Theater opened its doors on October 1 as usual, and was under the management of Otto Weil. The season, however, was a poor one. The company was of inferior merit, the star, Otto Gebühr of Dresden, hardly stood above the level represented by the rest of the actors, and the repertory consisted of an almost unbroken chain of poor farces. Weil is, however, not to be condemned on this account. He was merely performing his unpleasant task of creating active competition against Baumfeld. The lessees of the theater had not reckoned on any opposition from Baumfeld, but under the circumstances their lease on the Irving Place property forced them, for financial reasons, to engage in a destructive rivalry. Weil calculated that his purpose could best be served by an appeal to grosser tastes. But his measure of success was hardly greater than that of Baumfeld, for a week after the closing of the "Neues Deutsches Theater," the Irving Place Theater also ended its season.

The "Evening Post" commented editorially on April 22, 1909, upon the German theatrical situation. This publication admits that Germans have the right to claim the lead over

all nations in theatrical taste. But if, the "Post" argues, not even one German theater can be supported in New York, the second largest city of the world, there is ample proof at hand that even Germans, at least those living in New York, are degenerating in taste. The charge herein brought forth has been repeatedly made, and deserves some consideration. The present writer doubts its fairness, especially when it is based upon the results of the season 1908-9. Failure brought about by inefficient management on the one hand and unconscientious fawning upon depraved tastes on the other, does not reflect in any way upon the intelligence of the public.

The season of 1909-10, considered quite apart from the German theater, was made memorable by the opening of the New Theater. The small success of this laudable attempt to improve the condition of the American theater is well known, and its consideration does not fall within the scope of the present paper. It may be noted here, however, that at present a similar attempt is being made by Emanuel Reicher, a German actor, and a member of the Berlin "Freie Bühne." Reicher's plan is to found a "modern stage," the object of which would be to produce in English the most important literary works of contemporary authors, regardless of nationality. From the point of view of the present paper the move is significant because at its head there stands a German.

The fall of 1909 found New York with its one customary German playhouse, the Irving Place Theater. The new director, Theodor Burgarth, was an actor, with whom New York had already become acquainted in former years. The stock company, however, was very poor, even inferior to Weil's troupe of the previous season. As a result much emphasis was laid on musical comedy. Of plays that were new to New York only Hauptmann's "Der Biberpelz" met with success.

There was a tendency to lay all blame on Burgarth and his assistant Stein, but without reason. The lessees, chief among whom was August Lüchow, had elected Burgarth very late. Consequently, when he assumed control, the company had already been engaged by others. He was, therefore, compelled to make the best of what was put at his disposal. The

season was brought to a close in May, 1910, by a company of peasant actors from Berchtesgaden, who appeared to advantage in Swiss and Bavarian dialect plays.

There had from time to time appeared in native German newspapers and periodicals comments on the work of the German theater in this country. At times these discussions were very favorable, as for instance the article on Conried in the "Berliner Börsencourier" (see page 46). But during the season under consideration there appeared an article on the subject in the "Neues Wiener Journal," which is written in a very different tone.[47] The writer boldly claims that the

[47] Vid. "Staats-Zeitung," March 14, 1909.

German theater in New York is dead, that for years it has been no cultural factor, and that it represents a prostitution of the dramatic art. He comes to the conclusion that its disgraceful course ought to be checked as soon as possible. But comments of this kind are not to be taken too seriously. In most cases the authors were probably misled by temporary reverses which the theater has suffered, by false and exaggerated reports, or by inability to understand the peculiar conditions under which the American theater must labor.

Burgarth's second and last year in the Irving Place Theater (1910-11) came to a very sudden conclusion. He failed before the end of the season, and it was necessary to look for a new manager. This was, however, a comparatively easy task. In January, 1911, Amberg had returned to New York with Ernst Possart, and had opened the Garden Theater for a short season. On this final visit Possart celebrated his three hundred and fiftieth stage appearance in this country. When Possart had completed his stay, Amberg continued in the Garden Theater with an operatic troupe, and finally completed his short season with a second visit of Dreher. At that time Burgarth failed, and Amberg was requested to step into his place. He accepted and continued the season with his own operatic troupe and with Dreher, and also persuaded Possart to give three more farewell performances.

In the meanwhile Rudolf Schildkraut, an actor whom Burgarth had invited early in the season, but could now no

longer greet, arrived in this country. Amberg easily came to terms with him. Schildkraut proved to be a most versatile artist, rivaling in this respect the famous Marie Geistinger. He made a very favorable début as King Lear, but was soon seen in comedy, farce, and even operetta.

In that way Amberg won his way back to the directorship of the theater of which he was the original sponsor. Even before the failure of Burgarth had made this possible, he had planned with Dreher to secure his old theater for 1911-12. His project was very ambitious, but could never be realized. He wished to import with the help of Dreher whole companies. These complete organizations, one for operetta, another for serious drama and a third for lighter dramas, were to arrive at different periods in the season, to appear a certain number of weeks in New York, and then to journey to larger cities in other parts of the country. Amberg's sudden call to the Irving Place Theater, however, made the development of this interesting plan impossible. But he carried it out at least in part in 1911-12. He imported a complete operatic troupe, the best seen here in many years. From October to March it performed almost without interruption. Later in the season Amberg imported another complete company, a troupe of peasant actors from Oberammergau. Beside these very ambitious undertaking Amberg produced for the first time Schönthan's interesting play, "Glaube und Heimat."

In the fall of 1911 Direktor Stein, who had gained experience as Burgarth's colleague, attempted to establish in the Berkeley Theater (Forty-fourth street, between Fifth and Sixth avenues) a "Deutsches Komödienhaus." The seats were to be sold at "popular prices," and there were to be no performances on Wednesdays or Sundays. But after an activity of two weeks the theater closed.

The failure of Baumfeld three years previous had been a terrible shock to him. Immediately thereafter he retired into private life, hoping to forget, if possible, his downfall. But his restless nature prompted him to seek another trial. His opportunity came in the fall of 1912, and he was once more making excellent progress when early in March, 1913, he

suddenly died. Only the superb excellence of the stock company made possible a continuation of the good work. Fortunately there belonged to this company a trio of artists, Rudolf Christians, Otto Stöckel and Heinrich Marlow, who combined the highest dramatic art with shrewd executive ability. Together they carried the season to a brilliant conclusion and secured definite reappointment for the following year. The best offerings of the season were Hartleben's cycle, "Die Befreiten," Hauptmann's "Gabriel Schillings Flucht," Schmidtbonn's "Mutter Landstrasse," and Rudolf Herzog's "Condottieri."

The season that followed (1913-14), during which the same trio was in power, and the season that began in the fall of 1914, managed by Rudolf Christians, are still too fresh in the memory to require extended comment. The artistic and successful reproductions in 1913-14 of "Faust," of Molnar's "Leibgardist," and of Schnitzler's "Professor Bernhardi" are well remembered. Another event that marked the season as a particularly successful one was the first performance in the United States of Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion." The performances of this play were attended by all lovers of literature, regardless of their nationality. The same statement holds true for the wonderful presentation of Sophocles' "Oedipus" that was given in the spring of 1914 by members of the Irving Place company in the Metropolitan Opera House.

Since the last eight or ten years the quality of the work at the theater has admittedly been on the decline. There were temporary changes for the better, especially under Baumfeld, but on the whole more ground has been lost than gained. The time is now ripe, however, for a reaction, and indeed, this has already set in. Performances of such plays as were mentioned above, by a company that is excellent and well rounded in every respect, are only the links which must form a new chain.

It has been in part the aim of this paper to emphasize the influence of the German theater on the American stage,

to reveal the differences between German and American theatrical conditions and to describe the functions of the German theater as an educational force in this country. A word more might be said with reference to the last problem. The German theater, probably more than any other theater in New York, has fulfilled an educational function. It has helped to keep alive in German immigrants a love for their native literature. It has helped, also, to furnish the second and third generations of German-Americans with a better understanding of the land of their fathers. Finally, it has done much to acquaint non-Germans with German drama and with the German theater in general.

By virtue of its excellent work the German theater has become a fixed institution in the American metropolis. In spite of repeated prophecies as to its failure, it has held its place for over half a century. It is safe to say that as long as a German element continues to exist in New York, as long as this class feels an intellectual bond with the Fatherland, the theater wil maintain its high position.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF A FORTYEIGHTER

By MAJOR FREDERICK BEHLENDORFF

PREFATORY NOTE

The author of these recollections was born July 4, 1829 at Dresden, Saxony, where his father occupied a high position in the Protestant Church. Young Behlendorff received his early education in the famous Fürstenschule of Meissen and afterwards studied law at the University of Leipzig. After the failure of the revolutionary uprising in Saxony in 1849, in which he participated, he emigated to America where he followed various occupation until the outbreak of the civil war. He then enlisted as a regular in the United States army at St. Louis, was sent to Newport Barracks, Ky., and a battalion of unassigned General Service Recruits, took part in the first campaign in Missouri under General Nathaniel Lyon and fought in various engagements and battles, such as the battle of Wilson's Creek. After the return of Lyon's army to St. Louis in September 1861, the battalion of regular recruits, greatly reduced by losses and wholesale desertions, was disbanded as a body of regular troops and the few remaining men, among them Behlendorff, re-enlisted in Volunteer regiments. Behlendorff entered the 13th Illinois Cavalry in September 1861 as a private, was promoted Major in 1864 and finally received the appointment as Assistant Inspector General of the 1st Brig. Cavalry Division 7th Army Corps in the same year. After the war he was appointed Inspector of Customs and afterwards Deputy Collector of Customs at Chicago. He received this appointment as a reward for his courageous efforts in bringing about the exposure and conviction of a number of custom house officials, among them Charles L. Pullman, who had defrauded the government of large sums



Major Frederick Behlendorff

of money. He resigned his commission in 1872 and settled in Grand Rapids, Mich., where he died in 1889.

Aside from the general value which Major Behlendorff's Recollections possess as a human document they throw interesting light on contemporary historical events as well as upon the state of civilization existing both in Germany and in this country during this period. We obtain a vivid picture of the stifling atmosphere prevailing in Germany before the outbreak of the revolution of 1848 and of the attitude of mind which this atmosphere produced in active young men of unruly, headstrong and adventurous disposition such as the writer seems to have possessed. No less instructive is the description of the general conditions of American life which confronted the educated German immigrant on his arrival here at this time. It was under similar conditions and in equally crude surroundings of frontier life that thousands of cultivated fortyeighters were compelled to make their way or fall by the wayside, as untold numbers did. The writer's account of the state of affairs in the regular army at the time of the outbreak of the civil war, and of the unspeakable hardships, the difficulties and the butalities with which this war was waged, makes wholesome reading in these times of indignant outcries against the "atrocities" of European warfare. Among the historical events which Behlendorff relates as an eyewitness his story of the revolutionary fights at Dresden and of the battle at Wilson's creek deserve the attention of historians.

J. G.

Chapter I.

European Experiences.

I came to America in order to get rid of my ancestors, because I took it for granted, that this is the land where you can begin without any. This may sound peculiar, still it was a fact and I will explain it.

From my earliest boyhood up my education had been so directed as to prepare me for one of the professions;

my inclinations were not consulted. When I was 8 years old, I was thoroughly grounded in Latin grammar and began the study of Cornelius Nepos and Julius Caesar. Soon after I was fed on Greek and could repeat the songs of Anacreon. Later on I tried to comprehend the odes of Horace, which contain a lot of wordly wisdom, such as is acquired only in the actual life of an adult person of mature years. The immortal poems of Homer, the Odyssey and the Iliad delighted me and destroyed at the same time any lurking belief in Christianity, that might have still remained in my breast. The study of the classics kills all that. If any doubts were left about the absurdity of the Christian fables, they were thoroughly dissipated by Virgil's Aeneid, by Ovid's Metamorphoses and his book "Amores." The study of Tacitus und Livius I regarded as a punishment and the compulsory reading of the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides as an absolute torture. The world of Oedipus did not interest me. All this time—that is—during the six years of my imprisonment within the walls of the Royal College of St. Afra at Meissen, in the Kingdom of Saxony, my soul sighed for liberty and relief from books. The native activity of a young man shut up with books receives a shock or setting back, which nothing in after life can ever fully eradicate; you are forced to become a bookworm, instead of training for the difficulties of actual life. The energy of young life is directed in channels so foreign and diametrically opposed to modern institutions, that practical life presents many unsurmountable difficulties to the mere students. Such an education produces impractical men. I saw this at a very early date and tried to stem this tide by the practical study of the English language, which in the times of which I speak did not form part of our education. They crammed us with French and induced thereby only a morbid hankering after Eugene Sue's stories of the Wandering Jew, and Alexander Dumas' "Les trois Mousquetaires" and such trash. These stories we read on the sly in the hours which should have been devoted to a preparation for our recitals in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Geo-

metry and Algebra. I procured an English grammar and Dictionary and a copy of the "Vicar of Wakefield" by Goldsmith and hammered the English into my head by hard work during the hours of prayer and in church and during any free hours, of which there were not many. The study of English opened new visions to me and directed my attention more and more to that land of supposed liberty "the United States of America." My aims from that time were all set in the direction of a new life unfettered by antecedents and by the vigorous rules of an ironclad civilization, which allowed no breach of the conventionalities. University life disgusted me—the Codex Justinianus seemed to me the grave of all nobler aspirations, the often repeated and mechanically delivered lectures of the men whom I then considered sleepy old professors, contained nothing to inspire me. I finally quitted them entirely and perfected my study of modern languages.

In the old country no avenue of promotion in life was open to me *except* through and with the help of my family and our connections. Whereever I looked I perceived that I would be in leading strings for 15 or 20 years to come. No independence. The prospect before me was such that I would have to depend on my father for assistance for a long while, even after I had entered on professional life, no matter which profession I might choose. There was no better expectation, even if I had succeeded in getting into one of the Government offices. In the first 5 years officers of the lower grades in Government Bureaus had to work for nothing and later on for very small pay—not sufficient to cover the expenses of economical bachelor life. For this reason officials of this class in the old country are rarely enabled to marry before they are about 40 years old. Such a state of long continued dependence did not suit me at all. All my aims and desires were directed to a land where *individual* exertion would bring success and promotion in life. My acquaintance with several young Americans who were studying at that time in the academies and colleges of my native country, helped to inspire me with a hope for

a better existence in America, and a desire to be freed from the restraint of the conventional mummification of European civilization. Young men of the old country appeared to me like mummies and puppets, bound as they were in the folds of eternal supervision, and pulled by strings behind the scenes.

Then came the momentous period of European revolutions in the years 1848 and 1849 and I was drawn into the vortex of political life. In my native city this resulted in the violent outbreak of the revolutionary party in May 1849, in the seizure of the capital city of Dresden by the rebels and expulsion of the king.—At the first sound of the guns I left Leipzig und took my stand on the barricades with 150 other students, after we had stormed the arsenal and armed ourselves. This occurred on May 4th, 1849 and by May 5th 20 000 rebels had thrown up barricades in the older parts of the city and fortified all the salient points against the combined attack of the royal Saxon and Prussian troops. These soon invested the city, and then commenced a series of fights from houses and barricades, which lasted until May 12th, during which time each house and each barricade had to be taken singly with great slaughter. The royal troops would open with canister and round shot from their batteries, while their musketry fire was directed against our sharpshooters stationed at the barricaded windows of houses, churches, palaces and museums. The Prussians here employed their newly invented needle guns for the first time and their rapid firing drove us from all positions until they would finish by a bayonet charge directed against our barricades, which we evacuated one after another, until we were almost surrounded and compelled to leave the city by the only avenue not yet in the hands of the enemy. This siege and defense of the city of Dresden, one of the most beautiful capitals of Europe, does not figure very largely in the historical works of the day, because it was an awful humiliation to the crowned heads of Europe to know that the rebels held the capital of a monarch's state, had forced the king to fly

in disguise and braved the valor of the best troops in Germany. This revolution was headed by substantial citizens and supported by armed men from all ranks of life. It was not a mere rabble, but principally the young men from the agricultural districts, mechanics, and some students. A provisional government had been established consisting of a triumvirate, of which the burgomaster of the city of Adorf, in the district of Plauen, was the centre. His name was Tod. His next colleague was a lawyer from the city of Bautzen by the name of Tschirner, and the third was the military leader of the movement, a Russian exile. The older portion of the city of Dresden called the "Altstadt" (the old city) — the theater of this rebellion—is compactly built of stone houses and contains the main business portion of the capital, the best churches, the principal hotels, theaters, postoffice, public buildings of all kinds, the Royal Arsenal, the king's palace, a wonderful Catholic cathedral built of sandstone and numerous world-renowned museums and picture galleries. All these were in the possession of the rebels, who had opened continuous passageways through the walls of the houses built close to each other, by which means both sides of the streets were turned into one long line of fortifications. From these the rebels opened fire on the advancing troops. Thus it came about that the different stories of each house and each barricade (constructed in the middle and at both ends of the streets) had to be taken singly, the rebels stubbornly contesting every inch of ground and giving way only when overpowered by the superior fire arms of the Prussians and the artillery.—It was a repetition of the siege of Saragossa in Spain, where the French had to take each house singly. Women took part in the fighting in Dresden und poured boiling water and pitch on the heads of the advancing Royal troops. Altogether it was rather lively and the streets were filled with the dead and the dying. I was first stationed behind one of the principal barricades erected near the outlet of the "Wilsdruffer Road"—a business street opening out on the square in which the postoffice stands. Several men were

shot near me and among them a young man from Bautzen who had been followed by his sweetheart. We carried his dead body into the adjoining house which contained at that time a famous restaurant. Here the young woman divested the corpse of her betrothed of his uniform which she donned herself. She took up his rifle and ammunition and followed us behind the barricade. The fire of the troops opposed to us was terrific and in a short time the young woman was wounded in the side. Hardly had we carried her inside of the house, when the enemy came with a rush and carried the barricade by a bayonet charge. We had just time to escape to the next fortification in the middle of the street and could not take the young woman along. She fell wounded into the hands of the Prussians and was made a prisoner. Later on I learned that she (like the rest of the prisoners) was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in a fortress. Her name was "Pauline Wunderlich."

The cannonading had a peculiar effect on me. The solid shot fell harmless from the massive flagstones, which we had piled up in front of our barricades and as we dared not lift our heads above the crest, I fell asleep several times, until the enemy resorted to shells. The bursting of the shells would wake me up and I would take to firing again out of the fire loopholes left in the body of the barricade. Then a rush of the troops would follow and some of us not quick enough to escape, would be bayonetted. During the night we would sit around watch fires with a barrel of wine close by and eat and drink, a thing which we could not do in day time. Some of the troops, exasperated at the desperate resistance, would follow the rebels up to the fourth and fifth stories of the houses, on to the roofs and if any were caught, they were bayonetted and some even thrown from roofs of the houses. Finally nothing remained to us but the barricades around the principal square, or piazza, on which the court house fronted and one road open toward the south, by which we could get out of the city. Before day-break on the 12th day of May it became necessary to evacuate the city, but some of the rebels held points of

strength to the last, the great mass, however, had some difficulty in escaping and many were taken prisoners in the city and in the country where they were pursued by the military. All in all some 10 or 15 thousand rebels were taken prisoners and all confined—none for less than 10 years. I escaped by throwing away my arms and hurrying with all speed toward the Bohemian frontier. Even at this time Dresden shows some traces of the conflict. Fifteen years later an act of Royal amnesty was issued.

The city of Dresden is divided in two parts by the river Elbe, which is spanned by several magnificent bridges built of sandstone. On the left bank is the "Altstadt" and on the right bank is the "Neustadt," the new city. Here my parents resided. They had heard of my leaving Leipzig, but did not expect me to join the rebels. One of my brothers managed to cross the river in a boat in the night of the 5th of May in order to induce me to leave, while there was still time, but I refused. While he was talking to me, the Prussian bullets came crashing through the windows of the room in which we were standing and I had some trouble to get rid of my brother and make him go back across the river again. Later I learned how my sorrowing mother had searched in the 22 hospitals established in Dresden to receive the wounded, in the vain hope of finding me. My father was at first not inclined to forgive me, but he relented and provided me with means to go to America. My father was an officer of the crown and a man in high position and connections. The whole family were on the royal side, and I was the only rebel among them. Consider the effect of my assisting in the capture of the capital and of my participation in bringing about the flight of a tremulous old king. The cause of this rebellion was the refusal of the king to accept the constitution of the National German Parliament then sitting in Frankfort on the Main. The constitution guaranteed the freedom of the press and other liberties consistent with a grand National Union of all the German States; but the hour of this union had not yet come. What we, the Rebels of 1848 and 1849, attempted, came

about under a new baptism of blood, after the French Emperor had fallen a prisoner into the hands of the combined German armies at Sedan in September 1870, and after the French armies had been wiped out.

Chapter II.

The So-called New World.

To the Spaniards America might really have seemed a new world. The gentle savages of the West Indian islands —the original Carribeans—possessed all the freshness of a newly discovered race, and the luxurious tropical vegetation excelled in beauty the barren aspects of the Castilian and Andalusian highlands. Even the Puritans, who landed more than a century afterwards on the shores of New England, found the original forests intact and graced by the festoons of the native grape, while the copperskinned aborigines confronted them with tomahawk and arrows and disputed the possession of the land. But the European who now lands at Castle Garden in New York discovers no new world. Everything he sees and hears disgusts him. He sees nothing new—he meets the evidences of the same civilization which he left. His new countrymen stand ready to receive and swindle him, if he is not smart enough to make an immediate dive into the interior.

On coming to New York I at once burned all my letters of introduction, of which I had a number addressed to distinguished people in New York and Philadelphia. There was no use in delivering the letters when I determined to paddle my own canoe. I made my way westward, going by rail as far as Harrisburg, Pa., which at that time was the jumping off place, no railroads having been built farther west at that period (1849-1850). The great Far West commenced at that time immediately after one had left the last Railroad station in the East. I crossed the Alleghanies on foot and admired the scenery along the Susquehannah, the Juniata, the Monongkahela and the Alleghany rivers, until I struck the valley of the Ohio at Pittsburgh. In walking through

Pennsylvania nothing new struck my eyes; the immense barns of the farmers did not differ much from the Quaker meeting houses in appearance. Everything had a homelike air and when you listened to the conversation of the farmers and the townspeople you felt yourself transplanted back to the "Palatinate"—the Rheinpfalz—to Bavaria—to the Neckar and to Suabia—"Schwabenland". This was not Yankeeland.

The people called themselves "Pennsylvania Dutch," and a glorious stock it is. The gigantic size of the men, the immense development of breast and shoulders, the legs and the "Teutonic" language were of the old German fatherland, and I resented only the corrupted name of "Dutch"—a corruption of "Deutsch" or of "Deutschland" —the land of Tuisco. I at once realized the immense impetus, which a new soil and untrammelled freedom had imparted to the purity of my own race. The giants I met on the road, the women who greeted me, all spoke my mother tongue, but they were the children of a liberated race that had acquired additional stamina from an unlimited supply of excellent food and from the unsullied waters of the mountains. There is no better proof for the genuine purity of a race to be found, than that which comes with the cultivation of a new soil. Later I witnessed the same thing in Illinois where I often had the chance to compare the parents who had emigrated from the old country and who in most cases bore the traces of unremitting toil in bent forms and uninviting features, with their own children born and raised on American soil. Here they had grown up straight as pines, strong as mountain ashes and fair and comely to look at. To style this country the new world is a misnomer. In a geological sense America is now considered the oldest continent. Europe and Asia were under the waters, at a time when the Rocky Mountains reared their crests heavenwards. Men lived in America 30,000 years before the supposed advent of Adam. In descending the Ohio I came across the stupendous earthworks of the moundbuilders, that mysterious race, which once had

peopled the whole of the Mississippi valley. I saw the ruins of an extensive and apparently densely populated prehistoric city in New Madrid County, Missouri, just south of the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi. The streets and ruins of a city and of fortifications can be traced for several miles. There are indubitable evidences of remains of mounds, which had served the purposes of watch towers or of cemeteries or both, in which repose skeletons, drinking vessels and other relics. Pottery ornamented with accurate representations of fish, frogs, hedgehogs and birds is found in abundance. These relics are all the historic tracer of the people who once occupied the city. The present Indians know nothing about these people. That city was probably in ruins long before the period assigned to the creation by the Adamic theory. The mound builders were a much more civilized race of people than the present Indian tribes. They smelted copper and made it into tools and they wove cloth.

The river steamer on which I made my way into the interior of the continent, after passing Cairo, Illinois, went up the Mississippi River and accidently caught fire, while making a landing at Cape Girardeau, Missouri. In trying to save my effects by throwing them into a boat of the steamer, trailing at the stern, I came very nearly being mobbed by a party of Irish emigrants, who pretended that I was going to monopolize the means of leaving the vessel, while the gang planks were actually out. I was rescued from violence only by the interference of the mate. He cautioned me to leave the vessel, as the Irish meant to rob me eventually. I did so and went ashore. At this place, Cape Girardeau, I worked my first day in America, doing the work of a common laborer at 75 cents a day, making mortar, carrying bricks and finally helping to quarry stone. Nothing delighted me more than to be able, to earn my own living. But it took some time before I could persuade people to let me work, for they looked at my hands and finding them white and soft concluded, that I would not do. However they accepted me on trial and I persevered and earned my money honestly. I do believe that nothing has ever

given me greater pleasure than when I was able to buy a new pair of boots out of my own money. Heretofore my father had to provide all these things and as there was a large family he complained some times when our footwear gave out.

In my leisure hours I read Prescotts "Conquest of Mexico" and compared the ways and manners of the modern emigrant with the martial tramp of the ironclad Spaniards under Cortez, who came to subjugate the country, kill the Indians and take their gold. There is only one resemblance between Fernando Cortez and the modern emigrant of the 19th century. Like Cortez, who in August, 1519 destroyed 10 vessels of his fleet of 11 in the harbor of Vera Cruz, the modern emigrant cuts off all bridges and destroys all means of connection with his former home when he sets foot in the country of his adoption. Very few even correspond any more with friends at home, except at long intervals. Their future fate is connected now with the common weal and woe of the great Republic, and they profit by a close connection with the generous nation that receives them. As Cortez burned his ships, so I burned my letters of introduction. But my correspondence with the relations in the old country I have continued for nearly 40 years.

My next experience was farming, which in my case meant doing farm work for a farmer in South-East Missouri. I learned to plow and to cultivate corn, to plant and hoe sweet potatoes, to handle the axe, cut timber, make rails and set up an occasional blockhouse. I could have stood the work, but the food was not calculated to give one strength and sufficient nourishment. Greens and salt pork for dinner, saleratus biscuit in place of bread, cornbread and weak coffee with salt pork for breakfast and saltpork and biscuits for supper. My stomach was not as yet prepared for such a diet. Yet I worked on different farms for nearly two years and I must say that I was kindly treated.

Chapter III.

The South and New Orleans.

From Missouri I drifted gradually further South and finally into Louisiana. If I had not been so inexperienced and still so 'green', I might have enjoyed the blessings of the North. But the spirit of adventure drove me into a kind of hell of which I had no previous conception. If any one wants to find out what hell on earth is, let him go down the Mississippi to New Orleans, Louisiana in the hot summer season with small means and when the malaria of the swamps it at its height. For those who have never been in the southern part of the Mississippi valley nor in New Orleans, it is well to state here that this city, situated as it is on the left bank of the Great River amidst lakes, swamps and morasses, is actually some 10 feet lower than the level of the water in the Mississippi, when there is high-water. The great dykes, called levees in the South, protect the country, and whenever a break occurs in these levees, the water rushes with mad, resistless force down into the lowlands. Any one approaching New Orleans in the early summer months on a River steamer sees to his astonishment the city way below the level of the water, while the boat seems to hang in the air. Nowadays the traveller arrives at the city by the Jackson and N. O. R. R. and is hardly aware of these facts. Many travellers also stop only a few hours in the city and do not learn the particularly revolting details connected with the situation of the city on a strip of land, that is more or less half under water. There are no wells in the city. If you dig one foot into the ground, however, you obtain water, but it is brackish and unfit for use. All the water for cooking or drinking purposes is either taken out of the Mississippi, which at this point carries such an enormous amount of detritus, that one third of the water is solid matter held in solution, or out of cisterns constructed above ground. On examination worms 8 inches long are found in the rainwater and a multitude of smaller insects and infusoria. No amount of filtering

will make such water pure. The sides of those cisterns are covered inside with a green slime and a scum of greenish filth mixed with insect life is seen on the top of the water. No wonder that hardly any water is drunk.

At the time I speak of nobody in New Orleans ever drank any water. The French clarets were so cheaply imported that a passably good bottle of St. Julien or Medoc or Bordeaux wine could be had for 10 cents or a shilling (12½ cents) and a pint for six pence (6¾ cents), called a picayune. No import duty was levied before 1861 on any wines or liquor. The vessels which came to take the cotton away brought the French wine in big casks as ballast, charging frequently no freight. The profit of the voyage was made on the return cargo of cotton. Everybody drank wine then. With every meal served in a hotel or restaurant you received a pint of claret, included in the price of board or meal.

Everything else was cheap in proportion. The finest oysters, some as big as a hand, sold on the strand fresh from the oyster schooners, opened in your presence at a shilling a dozen. Try to go to sleep in the hot season in New Orleans at your accustomed hour—say 10 o'clock at night. You will find it impossible. There is no letting up of the heat, that prevailed during the day. The thermometer frequently ranges as high as 90 late into the night. The air is stifling and unfit to breathe; the miasma of the swamps, held down by the rays of the sun in daytime, rises at night and poisons you. Mosquitos of the most ferocious breed will get in the best secured houses and under the mosquito nets spread around the fourpost bedsteads. The windows must be shut on account of the dangerous night air. Sleep is impossible except between 3 and 5 o'clock a. m. when just before the rising of the sun, a breeze sets in from the Gulf, which brings some coolness and freshens up drooping spirits. The nights in New Orleans are spent by the greater portion of the population in cafés, saloons, gardens and verandas, under the roofs of the airy rooms opened on all sides and a vast amount of wine, beer and spirits is consumed. I hardly ever went to bed before 3 o'clock in the

morning. Just as it is impossible to dig any wells, just so it is impossible to dig any graves and anybody who dies in New Orleans is buried above ground. At the time, I speak of (before 1860) the cemeteries were located within the confines of the city and consisted of long rows of brick sepulchres, resembling bake ovens. They were from 4 to 6 stories high with opening in front to admit the coffins, which are shoved in the narrow aperture precisely as a baker shoves in his bread. The openings are then bricked up. In these badly constructed vaults the corpses literally undergo a process of baking, as the fierce sun beats down on them and liberates the most noisome gases. During eight months in the year the heat is such that these bake ovens crack open and emit the terrible stenches, which first greet the newcomer so unpleasantly and to which much of the sickness in the city must be attributed. A breeze coming from the direction of these mouldy cemeteries carries the deadly poison all over the city of the Mississippi delta.

Is there any wonder, that yellow fever epidemics prevailed to an alarming extent in former times, when a 100,000 corpses baked and stewed above ground in the heart of a great city?

The deposit of moisture is such that pocket knives rust in your pockets inside of 24 hours and that your boots and shoes, if left standing untouched for half that time, assume a greenish coating of mildew. Anyone can now estimate the consequences of such a climate on the human body. The most deadly fevers attack a stranger from the north, a greenhorn, within a few days after his arrival and if he has no friends to look after him, he may be carted away to one of those bakeovens within one week after landing. I was hardly one week in New Orleans when I was struck down by a vicious kind of malaria fever, which they call down there "breakbone fever." A better name could not be invented. It is a combination of fever and ague, inflammatory rheumatism, typhoid malaria, and congestion of the liver with continual racking pains in all parts of the body. The patient suffers the tortures of the damned. The best

description fails to give a picture of the utter misery attending a case of breakbone fever. I felt as if I were broken on the wheel. When the cold spell comes on, the fury of the malaria poison in the blood is such that the whole body becomes almost rigid with pain and is lifted up and thrown back on the bed in the paroxysms of the shaker.

In this way the summer of 1858 came around and with it a very serious outbreak of yellow fever. During the preceding winter and spring months I had somewhat recovered from that dreadful attack of breakbone fever and had begun to enjoy life a little in the southern metropolis. I was careful to regulate my diet. I committed no excesses and observed all the rules laid down by experience as necessary for the avoidance of the consequences of the climate. One day in August 1858 I went over the shell road to Lake Pontchartrain with a friend, where we hired a fishing schooner and her crew to take us on a cruise. It was fearfully hot—the thermometer outstripped the 100 mark and when about several miles from shore we stripped and jumped into the clear water from the deck of the schooner for a swim. The water of this lake is so clear that at a depth of 30 feet you can see the clear fine sand and the pebbles at the bottom. We had sported for half an hour like whales, enjoying our bath immensely, when our fisherman called us on board and asked us to be in hurry, for a storm was coming. We could see nothing but a small black speck way down near the line of the horizon. The rest of the heavens was a brazen vault of blue and not a breath of wind was stirring. The sails of the schooner hung down listlessly without any motion and the vessel was becalmed. But the master of the vessel was right, nevertheless, for hardly had we clambered on board, than a low rippling sound came over the waves and in less than five minutes the whole sky was overcast by a great black cloud driven before a furious squall. It struck the vessel before we could get our clothes on. Inside of ten minutes from the time we had left the water the thermometer fell from above 100 down to 55 degrees Fahrenheit. The rain fell in torrents and our fisher-

men had some quick work to do, to get the schooner back to port. This port on Lake Pontchartrain is famous for its fine restaurants and is connected by a six mile railroad with New Orleans beside the shellroad, which is the finest macadamized road in existence and called so because it is wholly constructed from broken oyster shells—making an exceedingly smooth and dustless drive bordered on both sides by the native forests of the swamp lands intervening between the city and the lake. My companion was bound to make this day a time of extravagant pleasure and insisted on the enjoyment of a regular fish dinner with wine of different kinds. While the storm raged outside, we filled up the inner man to an alarming degree. In a drenching rain we finally made our way to the railroad depot and discovered that we had stopped sweating. Now I had been told, that such symptoms meant something serious in a latitude and climate of the Mississippi delta. Soon we had experienced a most unpleasant chill and before we reached the city we both had a high fever. I advised my friend to go to his hotel at once, to send for a doctor and try to recover his perspiration by going to bed immediately and drinking hot tea and hot lemonade. But he only laughed and went to his favorite haunts, drinking and carousing. He thought he could induce the sweating to come back by such means, but he only inflamed his system more and more and in 36 hours he was dead. I went to my boarding house, called my landlady, a very motherly person and a long resident of this feverstricken country, and put myself in her hands. She hurried me to bed, gave me some timely medicine and filled me up with the hottest elder-flower tea, I could swallow. A small mountain of blankets were piled on me, until I thought I could not breathe, but it brought back the perspiration and broke the first furious attack of the fever that followed. For 10 weeks I lay partly conscious of my surroundings, and became so weak, that I could not walk when I first tried to get up again. I do not believe that I should have been able to pull through if it had not been for the unremitting attentions of my landlady, who cared

for me as if I had been her own son.—By this time all my money was gone and one day I remember sitting disconsolate in Lafayette square on one of the benches with just one six pence in my pocket and no work, or hardly any strength as yet to do any serious work.

Chapter IV.

Before the Outbreak of the War.

With my last money I bought a newspaper. Something in it inspired me with new hope and I determined to find work. For a stranger this is a most difficult thing in a large city, where he stands alone without any connections. I had come from the North and this alone was sufficient to bar me out in most places. However at last I secured a situation as bookkeeper for a manufacturer and importer of furniture. At this time most of the finer furniture was imported from France. The southern planters lived in a most luxurious style, and fabulous sums were spent on the interior decoration and furniture of the palaces erected by the cotton lords. My employer imported the frames for chairs, sofas, bedsteads and other articles of furniture, which he would finish and upholster with the most magnificent satins, silk and velvet fabrics, also imported. I soon found out that he received duplicate invoices for these goods.

During all this time the preparations on the part of the southern leaders and slaveholders for a grand rebellion had been going forward in the winter of 1859 and spring of 1860. A great number of military companies were formed, not only in New Orleans but all over the South, and incessant drilling was the order of the day. Any man not willing to support the cause of the south and to defend slavery was tabooed. I soon received a call to declare myself openly by being invited to join one of the newly formed militia companies. This I refused. From this time forward my employer found fault with nearly every thing I did. He accused me of siding with his rebellious sons, of being an abolitionist and a traitor to the South. He discharged me

without warning and without paying me my last month's wages. I sued him before a Justice of the Peace. Although my case was very clear and although it was shown that the money was due to me, I could obtain no justice, for the magistrate was a slaveholder like my employer and decided against me.

All my endeavors to obtain other work were fruitless, and I was publicly threatened with violence in consequence of my northern sentiments. One night I was attacked on Canal Street by three men and escaped with difficulty. I called for help, finally beating off my assailants with a stout stick and with the help of a policeman who came at the right moment. This man advised me to leave the city as I would otherwise surely be murdered. After this the violence exhibited towards men with northern sympathies increased from day to day. Men were driven from the city by force and innumerable outrages committed in the name of the law. Arbitrary arrests were made and some men even murdered in prison.

This was also the time of the filibustering expeditions organized by Wm. Walker for the conquest of Central America. Commencing with the year 1857 and up to 1859 fully 10,000 men left New Orleans and various other southern ports and joined the grey-eyed man of destiny, as he was called, in Nicaragua, where he had established himself, after much fighting. It was a time of extreme commercial depression and there was no lack of adventures, although the climate and everything else was against them. Walker was finally driven out of Nicaragua and the bones of fully 5000 Americans bleach on the sands of the lake of the same name. Walker's last attempt was in Honduras in 1860 and on the socalled Mosquito coast where he became involved with the English. He was finally shot in the spring of 1860 near Traxillo, Honduras. This ended the last attempt of the slaveholders to extend slavery, for it was the avowed object of these expeditions to secure new territory for the extension of slavery. Wm. Walker was to the South, what John Brown was to the North. Both were fanatical

leaders and possessed of one idea. The first wanted to extend and perpetuate slavery, the second wanted to abolish it by an insurrection. Both suffered death as a punishment for the breaking of international law. Walker was shot and Brown was hanged.

Chapter V.

With the Union Army.

I got away from New Orleans with much difficulty and went north on board a steamboat bound for St. Louis. There was no chance whatsoever to get any work; business was at a standstill and the signs of a coming revolution were multiplying. Everything pointed to civil war. In the early spring of 1860, I therefore enlisted in the regular army and was sent with a lot of other recruits to Newport Barracks, Kentucky. The first officer who took us in hand was a young lieutenant, Fitz Hugh Lee, son of Robert E. Lee. He was a gentleman and treated us well, but he resigned in the fall of 1860 and in his place came a big, black-browed tyrant, Lieutenant Lothrop of the 4th Artillery. The defection of such officers as Lee and others of southern birth ought to have warned the government that something unusual was going on. But Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War and the chief conspirator and traitor, who directed the gigantic incipient rebellion from Washington and placed arms, cannons, ammunitions of war and whole arsenals so that they would fall an easy prey to the Confederates, when the signal gun against Fort Sumter was fired.

In February, 1861, a battalion of general service recruits was transferred from Kentucky to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. I was a member of company A and under Lieutenant Lothrop's command. Jefferson Barracks is within a few miles of St. Louis and beautifully situated on the right bank of the Mississippi. The arsenal of St. Louis was threatened and in danger of falling into the hands of the rebels. It contained immense stores of arms of all kinds, principally Springfield rifles, which shortly afterward were turned over to the volun-

teer regiments of Illinois and Missouri. On the 16th day of February, 1861, the battalion of 3 companies U. S. recruits for general service were transferred to the U. S. Arsenal at St. Louis, Mo. Captain Nathaniel Lyon of the 2nd Infantry was placed in command of the arsenal and Captain Frederick Steele later assumed command of our battalion.

Governor Jackson of Missouri had established a camp of instruction in St. Louis, and a brigade of the State guards, under General Frost, commenced drilling and assumed an offensive attitude almost in sight of the arsenal. The secessionists made daily threats that they would soon seize not only all government property in the city, but also the arsenal and the custom house and postoffice. Captain Lyon was before them, however, and on May 10, 1860, he surrounded Camp Jackson so completely with the force of regulars and the German volunteers under his command, that he bagged the whole of General Frost's brigade. Lyon's force numbered at that time about 4,000 men. Camp Jackson was located in the western part of the city at what is known as Lindell's Grove. Lyon's batteries were planted on the heights overlooking the camp and were well supported by infantry which stretched in long lines on all sides of the camp. The demand of Lyon was for an "immediate surrender," to which General Frost was forced to comply. His whole brigade was disarmed and officers and soldiers marched as prisoners to the arsenal where the next day they were released, the officers on parole and the enlisted men on their oaths not to fight against the United States during the war. In the camp we found six field pieces and the equipments for a 6-gun battery, 1,200 muskets, 25 kegs of powder and about 40 horses. We also captured there three thirty-two pounder siege guns, one mortar, three mortar beds and a large supply of shot and shell, all of which had been recently taken from the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, arsenal by the rebels there and shipped to St. Louis. This was the first United States property recaptured during the war.

In trying to march the prisoners to the arsenal the United States troops under Lyon were attacked by a mob of Secessionists who fired into the rear ranks composed of the Third

Missouri volunteers, with shot guns, rifles and pistols. The volunteers returned the fire and twenty-five were killed or wounded; some of them being innocent people. The whole city had turned out to witness the capture of Camp Jackson. The prisoners marched in double file between two files of regular infantry. One half of the population of St. Louis were determined secessionists and the United States troops were everywhere treated with expressions of the greatest hatred. Finely dressed ladies would even loudly insult us by shouting the vilest names from the porches and windows of houses in the finest residence portion of the city. We had to pass through the aristocratic thoroughfares and their residents were all in accord with the rebel sentiments of our prisoners. But the regular soldiers preserved a perfectly cool behavior opposite this storm of malignity and hatred. All the hooting and yelling and throwing of stones did not disconcert us in the least.

The main fury of the Secessionists, however, concentrated itself on the German volunteers of the newly raised Ninety days regiments and on the home guards. St. Louis had been the sceneo of bloody outrages during the "know-nothing" excitement of 1854 and against the Germans; the same sentiment cropped out again in 1861. The next evening, after the capture of Camp Jackson, as 1,200 home guards, mostly Germans, who had been sworn into the United States service during the day and armed at the arsenal, were returning to their camp in the northern part of the city, great crowds of secessionists collected on the streets, hooted and hissed them and fired into their ranks, killing one soldier and wounding several others. When the head of the column reached Seventh street the soldiers suddenly turned and fired a volley down the street, killing two citizens and wounding six. Several soldiers were also killed in the melee.

All these occurrences somewhat dampened the exultation of the Unionists at the success of the 10th of May. This happened to fall on a Friday and even today it is called "Black Friday" in St. Louis. We regulars looked on stolidly and felt that we were more or less on a tremendous spree, not-

withstanding the fact that smallpox had broken out at the arsenal. I saw several of my comrades taken with the disease and die of the same. It was a gruesome spectacle. A wholesale vaccination followed. I had the honor to be arrested by old Captain Nath. Lyon himself at this time, when I attempted to get out of the arsenal into the city without a pass. He had been elected brigadier-general of the command which had been organized in a few days, but remained the same plain man which he always had been. He was a good disciplinarian without the fiendish cruelty practiced by Lieutenant Lothrop, the commander of the company to which I belonged, who, on a slight breach of discipline, would seize a teamster's whip and lash a refractory soldier. The prompt action of Captain Lyon had saved the city of St. Louis and the arsenal from falling into the hands of the secessionists and although Missouri continued to be overrun by rebels during the four years of the war that followed, the state remained in the Union. In no other state did such a bitter feeling between the two parties exist. Villages and towns were wiped out by the opposing factions and no less than 54 pitched battles were fought on Missouri's soil alone. The force of regulars at the arsenal in St. Louis on the tenth of May, 1861, amounted to 484 men and 9 officers.

On the thirtieth day of May Frank Blair demanded of the President the removal of General Harney, because he continued to be opposed to all decisive measures. The order for his removal came on the 31st of May, and the command of the Department of the West was turned over to Lyon. In the meantime the railroad bridges over the Osage and Gasconade rivers had been burned by Price, when he heard that Lyon was preparing to march on Jefferson City, the capital of the state. The secessionists then removed the state treasury to a place of safety and Price retired to Lexington, Mo., while at Booneville General Clark commanded the Missouri State Troops raised by Governor Jackson to defend the state against the Unionists under Lyon. The burning of the bridges did not prevent Lyon from embarking his troops on transports and taking them by way of the Missouri river to Jefferson City.

These troops were Totten Battery F, Second United States Artillery, Company B, Second United States Infantry, 2 companies of Recruits, Blair's Regiment of First Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and 9 companies of Boernstein's Regiment of the Second Missouri Infantry. The transports arrived at Jefferson City, Mo., on Saturday, June 15th, at two o'clock in the afternoon and took possession of the city, the state forces having left for Booneville farther up the river. Part of Boernstein's regiment was left to occupy and hold the city, while Lyon proceeded with 1,700 men further up the river, on Sunday, June 16th. Eight miles below Booneville he disembarked most of the troops and marched overland, leaving only a small guard on the boats with instructions to follow him to Booneville by river. On the morning of June 17th we encountered the skirmishers of the state troops under Marmaduke, after we had advanced two miles on the river road towards Booneville. Before long we arrived in the neighborhood of the camp, just outside of the city. The state troops here made a show of resistance, but most of them ran as soon as Totten's battery dropped shells among them. My company was in immediate support of the battery, but when we saw the rebels making hot haste to get out of the cornfields in which they had formed and, running through the camp, we charged right down in the camp, firing as we went. In the sack of the camp that followed I was one of the first in the tents of the Quartermaster General of the rebel outfit, and captured for my share one box of army shoes, several blankets and a case of bowie knives. I sold the whole plunder to a storekeeper in Booneville, reserving only one pair of army shoes and one bowie knife, which I carried in a sheath on a belt throughout the whole war. I carved the date June 17, 1861, on the handle. Several members of my company went to the city brewery where they bought a keg of beer and drank it on the spot. My companions got drunk and on returning ot camp were whipped by Lieutenant Lothrop with his teamster whip—called a black snake. I managed to present a decent front at roll call and particularly so on this occasion, but I remember how I had to carry up cord wood to our spe-

cial camp on the hill overlooking the rebel encampment, until my back ached. It was only later that we commenced burning fence rails for our camp fires. We remained a couple of weeks at Booneville while Lyon increased his force by such troops as joined him overland and while he gathered commissary wagons to transport them for the use of his army on the march into the interior. We were, however, badly provided for from the outset, as neither sufficient stores nor enough wagons could be procured. Lyon left Booneville on July 3rd with 2,350 men and marched eighty miles southwest towards Clinton. On July 7th we reached Grande river, a few miles south of Clinton, where Major Sturgis joined us with several hundred regulars from Fort Leavenworth and the first and second regiment Kansas Volunteers, altogether about 1,600 strong. In the meantime Col. Franz Sigel of the Third Missouri Volunteer Infantry, who, with some other volunteer troops, had marched on a different route into the interior of the state, had fought his somewhat overrated battle of Carthage with the Missouri rebel state troops in which he lost 13 killed and 31 wounded, the state troops reporting 10 killed and 64 wounded. This fight was more of an artillery duel on the run than anything else, Sigel being the retreating party. This occurred on July 5, 1861.

The crossing of Grande river was a difficult matter, as Lyon had no pontoons and the river was swollen with rains. We did get over with small loss. On the afternoon of July 9th we crossed the Osage river nine miles above Osceola, the infantry wading up to their waists. The current was so strong that we had to hold on to the guns in order not to be swept from our feet. We put our clothing and shoes on our heads and held the bundle down with our rifles. Some of the troops and wagons had to be ferried over and that took all of the two days, 9th and 10th of July. On the 11th we continued our march to Springfield. On the 12th of July we were within thirty miles of this city. We had marched twenty-seven miles on July 11th under a blazing sun across level prairie land where the grass was six feet high and had to be tramped down by the artillery before the infantry could fol-

low. Every few hundred yards the front guns would have to be changed; it was too severe even on the horses. There was no water. In the late afternoon we finally stopped, thoroughly worn out. We marched again at night, making twenty-three miles more by the morning of July 12th. This was a very severe test for the best of troops—in our case it was a wonder that we stood it at all, illy provisioned as we were. I had thrown off my blanket and overcoat long ago; in such heat all we could do was to carry our 11-pound Springfield rifles and 40 rounds of ammunition that hung heavy enough on us. On the night of July 12th we camped within twelve miles of Springfield and early the next day we marched into the city. Our army rations had long given out and we had nothing to eat but the fresh beef slaughtered at nightfall, hot as it was, after being driven in the rear of the army during the whole day. There was no salt to season it with and nothing else except green corn from the fields and green apples from the trees. No flour, no corn meal, no bread, no hard tack, no rice, no beans, no coffee, no sugar, nor any salt meat or bacon, for all of which we sighed in vain. Only our officers lived well. They had a team for themselves, that is for Lieutenant Lothrop and Major Schofield, and they had plenty of stores left. Whiskey had not been forgotten by them and of that they had one whole barrelful left by the time we reached Springfield. The officers commanding the regular troops under Lyon and more particularly those who commanded the General Service Recruits, did not make the least attempt to procure any better supplies or rations for us. They looked out only for themselves. There was no possibility of drawing any more rations after we had left Booneville and plunged into the interior of the state. We were a long distance from our base of operations, St. Louis, the nearest point from which commissary stores could be forwarded. The Pacific Road had been finished only to Rolla and everything in the nature of supplies would have had to be transported on wagons through a wild country swarming with rebels. Furthermore, there were no wagons on hand nor any more troops to guard them. The government had to create everything at

the commencement of the war. Thos. L. Snead, the author of the "Fight in Missouri," says that General Lyon's army was well provisioned, but this is an egregious error. The country we had traversed was a smiling expanse of fertile prairie soil diversified by magnificent forests near the water courses. We passed through a few towns but no effort was made by our officers to forage. Many farm houses had been deserted. There was no sight of any vegetables such as potatoes or onions or cabbage anywhere. There were mills, however, and even if no flour was obtainable, there was corn left in the country which could have been ground up into meal. Salt was our greatest need, but we did not get any to season our fresh beef with. We finally used the powder contained in our cartridges, but the officers soon heard of it and held a daily inspection of arms and ammunition and any missing cartridges were charged to us, except it could be proved that they had been expended in fight.

To steal some of our lieutenant's whiskey was the ambition of some of my comrades and one day a private named Patrick Hogan slipped into the lieutenant's tent and managed to draw some of the whiskey. But Lothrop, whom we called "Old Brophy," discovered him, and taking him out on the parade ground, whipped him most unmercifully with his black snake. Hogan swore in his face he would kill him the first chance he could get. The brutal treatment of the men by Lieutenant Lothrop secured him the lasting hatred of the volunteers as well, for they frequently witnessed these castigations.

Col. Sigel, before his attack on the state troops at Carthage, had committed the foolishness of leaving a part of his force at Neosho in order to protect several faithful citizens, and this detachment was captured July 6th by a brigade of McCullough's division of Confederate troops under Churchill and McIntosh. 137 men of Sigel's regiment, 150 stands of arms and 7 wagons and mules were surrendered at Neosho. Sigel himself had dispatched his train towards Springfield before he had attacked the state troops at Carthage under Rains, Clark and Parsons, numbering 2,600 armed infantry and artil-

lery. They had one three-gun and one four-gun battery. Sigel's force consisted of nine companies of his own regiment (the third Missouri) and seven companies of Salomons, the Fifth Missouri Infantry. Volunteers numbering only 950 men and seven pieces of artillery, under Major Backhoff and 125 men. He retreated from near the Kansas line to Sarcoxie, fifteen miles southeast of Carthage, and from there northward to Springfield. The junction of the Missouri state troops under the command of General Price with the Confederate Army composed of Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana troops under Ben McCullough had been accomplished, although it had been the aim of Lyon to prevent it. Lyon remained some three weeks near Springfield, while the combined Confederates and Missouri State troops perfected their organizations nearer the Arkansas line. Lyon waited for reinforcements, which did not come. On the first of August he left Springfield and on the second he engaged the enemy at Dugsprings. On our side Steele's battalion of regulars, Stanley's troop of regular cavalry and a section of Totten's battery were opposed to Rains' brigade of Missouri State troops. They lost forty killed and forty-four wounded, while the Union loss amounted to four killed and thirty-seven wounded. On this march we came to a wonderful spring, Mammuth Springs, Mo., which forms a pond immediately on issuing from an opening in the rocks and is at least seventy feet broad and six feet high. Here we stopped and bathed and most of us washed our clothes here also, hanging them on the bushes to dry while we went about naked.

On the third of August Lyon followed up the Missourians, whom he had defeated, and advanced to McCulla's store, twenty-four miles from Springfield and within six miles of the Confederate position of McCullough, who was on Crane Creek. On the fourth of August we turned about and marched back to Springfield, arriving there on Monday, August 5th. McCullough then followed up Lyon and on August 6th took position on Wilson's creek, ten miles from Springfield. So far each party had been simply reconnoitering and each hesitated to attack the other, not knowing the exact strength of

the combatants. According to Confederate accounts McCullough at first refused to help Price in fighting Lyon, because he had instructions from Jefferson Davis to protect only Arkansas and the Indian territory. But it is related that finally old General Price got up on his ear and taunted McCullough with all kinds of insinuations and accusations, making him consent to a combined action. They arranged to attack Lyon at Springfield. Lyon did not wait for that but went out from Springfield on the evening of August 9th and attacked the combined forces of Price and McCullough on the early morning of August 10th. Here it is proper to give the strength of the Union and Confederate forces, as they are mentioned by competent authorities on both sides:

The Union Forces Under General Lyon.

1. *Regular Troops.*
   (a) Captain Frederick Steele's battalion of regular infantry, consisting of two companies United States Second Infantry and two companies General Service Recruits, to which the writer belonged. The four companies under Steele mustered about 280
   (b) Captain Plummer's battalion of regular infantry, consisting of three companies First United States Infantry and one company General Service Recruits 300
   (c) Captain James Totten's battery F, Second United States Artillery, 6 guns and 84 men.......... 84

   664

   (d) Captain John V. Dubois, battery Reg. United States Artillery, four guns and 66 men....... 66
   (e) Company D, First United States Cavalry, Captain C. W. Canfield, probably 60 men........ 60
2. *Volunteers.*
   (a) Col. Geo. L. Andrews, First Missouri Infantry.. 775
   (b) Col. W. H. Merritt, First Iowa Infantry, about.. 790
   (c) Col. Geo. W. Deitzers, First Kansas Infantry, about 780

(d) Col. Robert B. Mitchells, Second Kansas Infantry, about 600
(e) Major Peter John Osterhaus, Second Company Second Missouri Infantry.................. 150
(f) 1 Battalion Kansas Mounted Rangers, about.... 200
(g) 1 Battalion mounted Homeguards, about....... 150

4,235

This was the strength of Lyon's main column with which he attacked the Confederate left wing. The mounted Kansas Rangers and mounted Missouri Homeguards and Canfield's troops of regular cavalry were held as a reserve and did not engage in the fighting at the battle of Wilson's Creek.

The troops under Col. Franz Sigel ordered to attack the Confederate right wing numbered as follows:

(1) Third Missouri Infantry, Sigel's own regiment, Fifth Missouri Infantry, Col. C. E. Solomon's Regiment Volunteers, one battery Lieutenants Schuetzenbach and Schaefer, six guns, altogether probably 1,050
Company I, First United States Regular Cavalry under Captain Eugene A. Carr.............. 65
Company C, Second United States Regular Dragoons under Lieutenant Chas. E. Farrand......... 65

1,180

Recapitulation: Under Lyon......................4,235
Under Sigel.....................1,180

Total United States forces...................5,415

The main column under Lyon moved southwest towards Little York and then marched south until we had turned the Confederate left and were in the rear of them. Sigel's column, after leaving Springfield, took another road more to the southeast and turned the Confederate right. All the accounts given by rebel authorities agree that both Lyon and Sigel were in the *rear* of the Confederate position before the rebels were

aware of it. This had been accomplished by five o'clock in the morning and the first attack of Lyon's advance was made before dawn, almost in the dark. The distance which separated the two points of attack amounted to about three miles, I proceed now to give the strength of the Confederate forces according to their own reports:

1. *Troops Under Immediate Command of Ben McCullough of Texas.*

Col. Louis Hebert, Third Louisiana Infantry, called the Louisiana Tigers	700
McRae's Arkansas Battalion	220
Churchill's mounted Arkansas Rifles	600
McIntosh mounted Arkansas Rifles	400
Green's South Kansas and Texas mounted Regiment	800
2. *Arkansas Troops Under Command of Pearce.*	
Gratiot's Infantry	500
Walker's Infantry	550
Dockeray's Infantry	650
Carroll's First Arkansas Cavalry	350
Carroll's Independent Cavalry	40
Woodruff's Battery, 4 guns	71
Reid's Battery, 4 guns	73
	4,954
2. *Arkansas Troops Under Command of Pierce.*	
Ram's command and Bledsoco's Battery, 3 guns	2,550
Parson's command and Guibor's Battery of 4 guns	530
Clark's command	550
Stack's command	940
McBride's command	650
Total	10,174

The battle of Wilson's creek was fought principally in a narrow, heavily wooded valley formed by the passage of Wilson's creek through a succession of low hills on both sides. The attack of the Union army came from the west and the line of battle under Lyon was formed on the west side of

the creek while the Confederate camp stretched mainly on the east side of the creek. Their line of battle was also here. Plummer's battalion of regular infantry was in the advance, followed by Osterhaus's two companies and Totten's battery. They commenced the fight and drove the rebels out of their tents. Lyon immediately seized the hills on the west side of the creek—about 100 feet high—since called "Bloody Hill." There were planted Totten's and Dubois' batteries with Steele's regulars in immediate support. Another somewhat lower range of hills ran along on the eastern side of the creek—the highest about seventy-five feet high. There the rebels had planted their batteries. The whole Confederate line had faced towards Springfield in a northeast direction and as Lyon attacked them in the rear they had to turn around. There were never more than three hundred yards between the Union and rebel lines during the battle and the rebels dashed several times within about fifty yards of our position on Bloody Hill.

The fighting was furious from the beginning, although the foliage prevented us from seeing the Confederate lines distinctly. The only cultivated ground was a big cornfield surrounded by a fence and situated on the east side of the creek just a little north of the spot where the road from Fayetteville, Arkansas, came up from the southwest and crossed over the creek towards the northeast and to Springfield. This cornfield was nearly opposite Bloody Hill and the rebels in their repeated charges would dash through the field, climb over the fence and try to reach our position on the west side of the creek. But right there they met their warmest reception, and I saw whole panels of the fence with bleeding and torn rebels knocked over by the shrapnel and shells from our batteries.

We of the regular infantry had at first lain down on the ground and fired in that position, but we soon got up and continued the fight half covered by brushwork and trees. Soon dead and wounded fell all about us. The wounded commenced to cry for water and some of us, I among them, crawled down on our knees through the ravines to the creek that flowed between the hostile lines, to fill our canteens. The storm of

bullets that whistled about our ears was tremendous. I received a spent ball that glanced off my forehead, making only a small indentation, but the wound bled and I washed my face in the water of the creek. There was not much water, only here and there in some hollows. Over our heads flew the iron hail shot of the opposing batteries. Sixty-one men of Steele's battalion fell here: fifteen killed, forty-four wounded and two missing.

The storm of battle raged on our left, in our front and on our right—we occupied nearly the center. Occasionally the firing would stop for a little while and then a strange silence would brood over the wooded valley from which the clouds of smoke slowly drifted. It was a weird spectacle. The sun shone hot over our heads and we had not a thing to eat or drink except a little warm water, and that was soon exhausted. We had marched out the night before without any rations and now the pains of actual hunger added to our discomfort. The fight had lasted along the whole line for nearly five hours when Lyon himself rode on horseback to the advance section of Totten's battery. His horse was killed under him and he was wounded in the leg and head. He then mounted another horse and ordered a charge by all the troops near him. They consisted of the First and Second Missouri, the First and Second Kansas and the First Iowa. Lyon placed himself on the head of the Second Kansas, swung his hat up high and the column went forward toward the rebel lines. Col. Mitchell was struck down, heavily wounded, and immediately after Lyon himself was shot through the breast and fell off his horse, dead. This occurred about half-past eleven in the morning, and there was a cessation of all firing for about twenty minutes, during which a consultation of the officers took place. The rebels had retired a short distance. Major Sturgis, the next in command, decided on a retreat and the troops began gradually to withdraw when the rebels again opened fire with shrapnel and canister. Totten's battery replied, well supported by Steele's regulars, who were the last to leave the field after twelve o'clock, the battery withdrawing their guns in sections. We reached Springfield about five in the afternoon. Some

wagons overtook us before we entered the city and loaves of bread were handed to us. This was the first thing we had had to eat that day. The bread had been baked by order of General Lyon from some flour found secreted in the city.

On reaching our old company grounds we first heard the news of the disaster that had befallen Sigel's column. This has been talked of so often that I will not say anything about it here, especially since I was not in a position to see anything of it myself, as I had been with Steele's regulars on Bloody Hill. There was one thing certain, however, namely that the volunteers under Sigel had gone only reluctantly into the fight, as their time of service had expired. They had enlisted for only ninety days. Those of Sigel's men who had escaped the slaughter had reached Springfield long before us, some already before twelve o'clock. Sigel lost five of his guns, and a great many of his men were killed and wounded. Our retreat from Springfield commenced in the night of August 10th. The Union loss in this battle was as follows:

killed	258
wounded	873
missing	292
	1423

The rebel loss has been estimated as high as 3,000, but this is probably too much. One Confederate account acknowledges: killed 279, and wounded 951, but they do not report any missing and as they could not fall much lower than 300, the total Confederate loss was probably fifteen hundred. This fight must be considered as a drawn battle.

I must now relate an incident which occurred the day before we left Springfield for the battlefield on Wilson's creek. By long marching in the hottest summer weather and through a serious want of all regular rations we had naturally become weakened and emaciated. Many among us were actually sick with dysentery. There were no surgeons for us. We all craved for something strong to support us. Now a squad of us, I among them, had discovered a cellar door leading into the underground vaults of a liquor store in Springfield. All

such places had been shut since our arrival. Here was luck for once. We waited until nightfall and then loaded with eight of our big iron camp kettles carried on sticks over our shoulders we returned to the city, opened the cellar door and filled our kettles with the liquor within reach. I secured two kettles full of the finest blackberry brandy that I ever tasted in my life. We got safely away with our plunder. We had filled up in the cellar with what we could drink and now the contents of these eight kettles was divided among our comrades in camp. There was great rejoicing, for such a streak of luck had not yet befallen us. The whole of Steele's regulars got its share. We held a great pow wow around our camp fire that night and an Indian dance was inaugurated. Next night by the time it was dark we went back to the same place to refill our kettles. But before we could get over the fence a sentinel with leveled musket halted us and informed us that the first man who came nearer would be shot. Such were the orders of old Daddy Lyon. The proprietor of the store had discovered the robbery and reported the same to Lyon. This last attempt occurred on the very night when we marched off to Wilson's creek. When we returned there was no time to fool away and we had to leave Springfield without being able to get another drop to drink. The retreat from the battlefield was deliberate and orderly; there was no confusion. One command after the other filed off slowly, the remaining regiments and companies still presenting a front to the enemy until the last company of Steele's regulars also took the road. The battle of Wilson's creek was one of the rare battles in which hardly any prisoners were taken. Neither party reported any. Some of our heavily wounded no doubt fell into the hands of the enemy, but the Confederate accounts do not speak of it. The body of General Lyon was delivered to a party under a flag of truce sent out by Major Sturgis and taken to Springfield where he is buried.

Chapter VI.

The Retreat from Springfield and the Arrival at Rolla, Mo.

If our march from Booneville to Springfield had taxed our powers of endurance, they were called to a much harder test on our return trip. There is nothing pleasant on a retreat. The awful heat, the lack of water and provisions oppressed all alike. Our ranks were fearfully thinned; more than twenty-five per cent of Lyon's force had fallen. It is very questionable what an army of continental Europe would do if not provided with rations. To expect a soldier to march and fight on an empty stomach is more than human nature can stand without breaking out in rebellion, mutiny or resulting in wholesale foraging and plundering whether in a friend's or enemy's country. In the absence of salt we could no longer touch the beef handed out to us at our nightly encampments. Some of the mounted men drove along the cattle destined for slaughter at night. Beef on the hoof and green corn was all we had. Dysentery resulting from such a diet caused many to drop out of the ranks. They failed to catch up with the column afterwards and either died on the road or were killed by the rebels. Any foraging on the few farms we passed was strictly forbidden. At the more pretentious houses sentinels were placed. Any infraction of discipline was rigidly punished. I think the volunteers were allowed more liberty in this respect. We regulars suffered dreadfully under the cruel and despotic rule of Lieutenant Lothrop.

On the night following our departure from Springfield it was discovered that two of our best men had deserted. They had openly declared that they expected to receive better treatment in the rebel ranks. I remember the name of one of them, Hines. It was whispered afterwards that he had joined the rebels and obtained an officer's commission from the start. On the morning of the second day of our march back we passed the encampment of a volunteer regiment just packing up their wagons. One of the cooks spilled the contents of a kettle on the grass by the road side. I saw it was rice, none of which I had had since leaving Booneville. I was so hungry

that I kneeled down by the roadside and gathered the kernels of rice in my cup and ate the mess right from the ground. I even scraped the grass. "Hurry up there," growled the sergeant bringing up the rear of the company, "no straggling." I filled one more cup full of rice and then hurried on. I learned afterwards that hunger brought several of my comrades to steal a side of bacon out of the lieutenant's wagon. He discovered the culprits and whipped them in his usual fashion. The next morning at roll call it was found that they had deserted during the night, taking their arms with them. The country on both sides of our march thus filled up with marauding parties who generally outstripped the march of the army as we heard from some of the people. On the third day out from Springfield I saw one solitary hard tack exchanged for a twenty dollar gold piece. It is possible that some might be inclined to doubt this statement. But the exchange was made nevertheless. It was a man of the Second United States Regular Infantry who offered the gold piece to a volunteer for his last army hard tack. The man had not touched anything to eat for two days and was half dead with dysentery. It seemed to help him, for he survived.

Thus we marched on in a dispirited manner. On the evening of the third day I was thoroughly exhausted and could hardly crawl along. All at once I heard the cheery voice of a friend at my side offering me a bottle. It was Captain Adolph Dengler of the Third Missouri Infantry who afterwards became Lieutenant Colonel of the Forty-third Illinois Infantry. I took a good swallow and found it was the same blackberry wine we had plundered in Springfield. I wanted to return the bottle. "Keep it," Captain Dengler said. "You will need it. I have more on the wagon. We had the hardest time to get the stuff before we left Springfield and we loaded up." He then continued: "We came back to Springfield a good deal quicker than we were in going out to that bloody field. We had marched with the greatest confidence along until we were at the very place appointed to us by Lyon. Sigel planted his battery on a hill just this side of the Fayetteville road, just south of the little branch that runs along there and joins

Wilson's creek (he meant Skegg's branch). The infantry was placed on both sides of the road to protect the battery. A few skirmishes were thrown out towards the dense woods in the valley northeast of our position. But there is where the first mistake was made—there was no regular skirmish line. The few men who tried to investigate the mysteries of the thick bushes and woods before us were unfortunately led by a man whose eyesight was bad. He was Albert Tod, your old schoolmate—one of Sigel's volunteers. We saw him shot and fall suddenly—then, all at once a line of men in grey uniforms advanced against the battery, rushing out of the woods opposite us. The sudden killing of Tod ought to have warned us, but before our men could fire a shot the rebels were on us, shooting and bayonetting. A panic seized the men. The guns were abandoned. The officers tried in vain to rally the men. Very nearly at the same time a cloud of horsemen burst out of the woods in our front and on our right and pursued the fugitives, who were shot and struck down right and left. Then followed a race for Springfield."

Such was Captain Dengler's version of Sigel's surprise and defeat. A well formed and ably organized line of skirmishers would have saved Sigel's command and the guns would not have been lost. The Confederate accounts say that it was the Third Louisiana regiment of infantry, led by McCullough and McIntosh which made the charge on Sigel's battery. Singular to relate the latter never fired a shot on being so charged. The cavalry which completed the route were of Greer's and Churchill's mounted Missourians, who had been stationed and encamped just north of Tyrrel's creek, where it joins Wilson's creek.

Captain Dengler's bottle of blackberry brandy revived my sinking powers wonderfully and I marched along again with a more elastic step. The stretch of country between Springfield and Rolla is rather stony and sterile, a succession of rough hills with few settlements.

Chapter VI.

Campfire in Rolla and St. Louis.

We could get nothing to eat on the route except what has already been mentioned, fresh beef and green corn, and that made us sick. A great many refugees from Springfield joined us and made things more miserable. The train of the army numbered over 400 wagons and this was swelled by the carriages and wagons of the fugitives. The miseries of this march will not be forgotten by those who suffered from it. It took only about half an hour's time when a well or spring was discovered to exhaust the same. The watering places on the crossings of creeks and rivers were trampled into a sea of mud before the horses and mules got their share. If the rebels had pursued us, a panic would have resulted among the crowd. But no enemy molested us. The distance between Springfield and Rolla is about one hundred and twenty-five miles. Rolla was at that time the terminus of the Pacific Railway and afterwards became a military depot of considerable magnitude. After we had left Lebanon behind us the desertions from the companies of regular recruits became more frequent. Finally between the evening of August 17th and the morning of August 19th the troops, which had so heroically stemmed the tide of the Confederate invasion of Missouri at Carthage, Forsyth, Dugsprings and Wilson's Creek reached Rolla and there went into camp. Rolla meant whiskey and beer for the thirsty and exhausted, and bread and rations for the hungry. It was no wonder that there were some excesses, particularly among the regulars, who had suffered the most. The company under the command of Lieutenant Lothrop contained probably the greatest number of hard cases that I ever saw assembled in one military company. The other regulars were not much better in wild and ferocious behavior, but "Lothrop's pets" were certainly the worst. On the night of the second day of our stay at Rolla Lieutenant Lathrop singled five of the worst offenders out. They had raised a row in town and came back to the camp drunk. He ordered them tied up to a stout fence. He then armed himself with his

great big black snake and "whaled" each of the five until his ached. This was witnessed by a good many of the volunteers and it made us all shudder. Corporal punishment had not yet been abolished in the army. Later an act of congress was passed forbidding it. The same night these five men deserted. No day now passed when some of the regulars would not be missed. There was no enemy between Rolla and St. Louis and it was comparatively easy to get away. Toward the end of August the arrangements for our transportation to St. Louis by railway had been perfected and we were now packed in cars.

I think it was in the first days of September that we again set foot in the well known streets of St. Louis. The appearance of the army as we marched through the streets was extremely shocking. Our clothing was very deficient; many had no shoes, jackets, blankets nor hats or caps. I marched barefoot, without a blouse, and had only a woolen shirt and a very dilapidated pair of pants on. Our muskets looked bright enough; and we brought back the flags that went into the fight. The citizens of St. Louis cheered and feted us. We regulars went into camp on the north side of the city near the river, after we had been fitted out with shoes and new uniforms at the arsenal. We then received our pay. For the next ten days a pandemonium ensued such as I had never before witnessed. All former excesses paled into insignificance before the dreadful scenes now enacted in camp. Our officers quartered themselves in the city and "Old Brophy" troubled himself only in the morning and at night to look after us and occasionally whip some one. We knew that he and the other officers indulged in monumental sprees; why should not the common soldier? Whiskey flowed in streams and a crowd of vile women joined in the disgusting orgies. Fights were the order of the day. No man peacefully inclined and trying to behave himself was left alone. He was forced into the wild vortex and the bacchanalia of the drunken crowd allowed him no rest. Firearms were discharged indiscriminately in camp and "Old Brophy's" tent riddled with bullets. It would have been almost as safe to be actually in battle again as

among such tigers. It was literally hell on earth. The desertions had again commenced just as soon as we had received new clothing and our pay. Our number grew less at every roll call.

We recruits expected to be drafted into regular regiments. Most of us had enlisted with the idea that we would be transferred to a regular cavalry regiment. We were, therefore, very much astonished to hear that Col. Frank P. Blair had conceived the idea of having us regular recruits drafted into his newly formed regiment of First Missouri Light Artillery Volunteers. The men of the First Missouri Infantry were ninety days men, but we were retained in service in order to form the First Missouri Light Artillery. We could, however, form only the nucleus of a few companies. The whole scheme was gotten up to reward the officers and to retain the men in service. Most of the enlisted men of the First Missouri Infantry would not listen to the proposals and refused particularly to be enrolled under officers of the regular army and under such cruel and tyrannical task masters as our Lieutenant Lothrop was. The few men that were left of his company of regular recruits were then crowded into this battery and regiment of the volunteer service and transferred thus, although still belonging to the regular army. I cannot say whether this was exactly according to law, or whether such a scheme was contrary to regulations or if the necessary forms for a legal transfer were observed. I can only speak of the result.

The volunteers rebelled against the idea of being officered by regular army officers and being banded together with such a lot of reprobates and hard cases as were found among the regular recruits. Most of the regulars strenuously opposed the idea of being forced into a volunteer regiment without being enabled to reap the benefit thereof, that is without being allowed to share the bounties offered. But the greatest objection was the tyrannical conduct of Lieutenant Lothrop. We had hoped to come under more humane officers by getting drafted into some regular regiment. Such was not to be our fate. We were still condemned to witness the daily execu-

tions of "Old Brophy" and hear the lash descend on the backs of our comrades. We had no respect for him, we only feared his big black snake whip. What wonder that volunteers and regulars alike now deserted? There was a mutiny in camp.

I must now relate, that soon after our re-entry in St. Louis, I made a written application to Lieutenant Lothrop for my discharge from the regular army and for permission to enter a volunteer regiment in which I had friends who would have assisted me to a promotion. Lothrop pocketed the application and promised to forward it through the regular channels. I do not know whether my application ever reached Washington. I have, however, reason to think that Lothrop forwarded the same, that it was endorsed by Captain Fred Steele and sent to General Fremont's headquarters. But there it must have stopped, for I never heard of it again. Thus the latter part of September, 1861, came around and after obtaining a permit to visit the city I overstayed my furlough. I could not brook the idea of getting into the clutches of Lothrop. Thus far I had escaped the lash by good conduct. But I knew he punished all offenders alike. I reasoned that I had not enlisted for the purpose of getting such treatment. Should I suffer the punishment by the lash like a slave? Besides this I expected my discharge every minute. I was desperate and had been in a melancholy mood for a long while. Who could witness the brutal orgies in the camp of the regulars and not wish himself away? In my desperate situation I fell in with a lot of other men and with some recruiting officers. These took me on a big carousal and filled me up with a tremendous load of beer, wine and liquor. I remember nothing more but that next morning I woke up in a strange place with a tremendous headache and was informed, that I had joined the Thirteenth Illinois Cavalry. They showed me my signature, but I had signed only part of my name. I found that I was already on Illinois ground and in a short while afterwards we were packed into cars destined for Chicago and Camp Douglass. It has always seemed to me that I was kidnapped on the occasion referred to above.

Ein unveröffentlichter Brief von Paul Follen.

Der nachstehende Brief oder vielmehr Briefentwurf von Paul Follen, dem ausgezeichneten Bruder Karl Follens, ist dem Jahrbuch durch seine Enkelin, Frau Dr. J. Holinger in Chicago, gütigst zur Verfügung gestellt worden. Es scheint der letzte Brief gewesen zu sein, den Paul Follen schrieb, denn schon wenige Wochen darauf, am 3. Oktober 1844, erlag der tapfere, vielgeprüfte Mann dem tückischen Wechselfieber, an dem er schon litt, als er diese Zeilen niederschrieb.

Wie uns der Brief einen tiefen Einblick gibt in die unsäglichen Schwierigkeiten, mit denen der hochgebildete deutsche Einwanderer im Hinterwalde zu ringen hatte, um sich und seine Kinder vorm Verbauern und der geistigen Versumpfung des Grenzlerlebens zu retten, so zeigt er zugleich auch die Charakterstärke, den Opfermut und das stille Heldentum, welche die enttäuschten deutschen Idealisten, Männer wie Frauen, in diesem Kampfe bewährten und ihren Nachkommen als bestes Erbteil hinterließen. Nicht allen Mitgliedern der „Gießener Gesellschaft", die Karl Follens ursprünglichen Plan der Gründung eines deutschen Staates in Amerika zur Ausführung bringen wollten, gelang es, sich wie z. B. F. Münch u. A., ins Freie zu kämpfen. Und gerade das Schicksal Paul Follens ist typisch für die Tragik, in der das Leben von Tausenden gebildeter deutscher Einwanderer in diesem Lande geendet hat.

Der Brief ist an Hofgerichtsadvokat von Buri, einen vertrauten Freund der Familie Follen in Gießen, gerichtet.

Ueber Paul Follens Leben bringt Näheres F. Münch, Gesammelte Schriften, ebenso G. Körner, Das deutsche Element. Vergl. auch den Brief von F. Münch im letzten Bande dieses Jahrbuchs, S. 74 ff.

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St. Louis, den 23. August 1844.

Liebster Buri!

War es nicht während der Schlacht bei Torgau, daß Marschall Daun eine Anzahl blasender Postillone mit der Siegesbotschaft nach Wien sendete, nach Verlauf weniger Stunden aber genöthigt war, die Trauerbotschaft von fast gänzlicher Vernichtung seines Heeres folgen zu lassen? So ergeht's mir jetzt, sans comparaison. Mein Brief vom März oder April l. J. meldete Dir meinen Überzug hierher, mit den besten Hoffnungen auf Erfolg, der gegenwärtige verkündet Dir meine gänzliche Niederlage. Nicht für uns Alten faßten wir den Entschluß, hierher zu ziehen, für uns konnte dieses Wagniß nur neue Mühen und Einschränkungen zur Folge haben. Wir hatten dabei nur unserer wirklich meist ausgezeichneten Kinder Zukunft im Auge, es galt den Versuch, sie hierdurch der geistdämpfenden und ärmlichen Bahn des unbemittelten Bauern zu entreißen und ihnen die Theilnahme an fortschreitender geistiger Kultur zu erkämpfen. Mein Plan, wie ich Dir schon früher andeutete, war der. Ich hatte Herrn Angelrodt's Landgut, 2 Meilen von St. Louis entfernt, um den mäßigen Preis von $350 jährlich auf 2 Jahre gepachtet, daran wollte und konnte ich sehr gut während der Pachtperiode nicht nur unseren gesammten häuslichen Bedarf erziehen, vielmehr auch das Pachtgeld und ein Beträchtliches darüber durch Verkauf von Produkten gewinnen. Eine teutsche Zeitung, die ich nach allgemeinem Wunsche herauszugeben gedachte, Besorgung allerlei ins Rechtsfach einschlagender Geschäfte namentlich von hier nach Teutschland, hätten unseren sonstigen Bedarf vollkommen zu decken vermocht und bis zum nächsten Frühlinge konnte ich mir nebenbei die nöthigen praktischen Fertigkeiten zur Betreibung der Advocatur angeeignet haben, da das Studium des im Ganzen erbärmlichen, materiellen englischen Rechts uns in Teutschland gebildeten Juristen nur wenig Schwierigkeiten darbietet und nur der Prozeßgang, seiner unendlich vielen albernen Formalitäten halber, Hindernisse darbietet. Im März kam ich hier an, ich stellte alles Land mit meinen Kindern aus, es versprach den besten Erfolg. Da mit Einemmale traten die furchtbaren Fluten und Ueberschwemmungen unserer westlichen Ströme, des Mississippi und Missouri

mit ihren Nebenflüssen ein, mein ganzes Ackerland wurde 5 Wochen lang 10 Fuß hoch überschwemmt, alle Saatfelder verwüstet, die Umzäunungen niedergerissen und weggeschwemmt, kurz das ganze Land für mehrere Jahre unbrauchbar gemacht. Als Versuch, was von einer umfassendern teutschen Zeitung zu erwarten sei, gab ich gleichzeitig ein kleineres rein politisches Blatt, hauptsächlich auf die diesjährigen Staats- und National- Wahlen unter den Teutschen einzuwirken bestimmt heraus, und da ich noch keine eigene Presse anzufassen vermochte, machte ich wegen des Druckes desselben mit dem Eigenthümer der damals einzigen hiesigen teutschen Presse, zugleich Intendantur einer teutschen Zeitung die er, bei vielem Talent, Jahrelang kläglich vernachlälsigt hatte, einen Vertrag. Unmittelbar nach meiner Ankündigung dieses Blattes liefen von allen Seiten zahlreiche Bestellungen mit der dringenden Aufforderung an mich ein, die Zeitung der politischen Verhandlungen unter den hiesigen Teutschen ganz in meine Hand zu nehmen, die Sache versprach den besten Erfolg. Da aber scheiterte auch dieses Unternehmen an der Lüderlichkeit des Eigenthümers der Presse oder an einem noch schlimmeren Motive desselben. Das Blatt wurde von Beginn an ganz unregelmäßig, zuweilen 8 Tage nach der Zeit, voller Druckfehler, ausgegeben und so mußte ich, da es auf diese Weise allen Credit verloren hätte, schon nach der dritten Nummer dasselbe vorläufig suspendieren und dann, da ich in keiner Weise eine Abänderung zu bewirken vermochte, es ganz aufgeben. So war die ganze Basis für mein hiesiges Unternehmen verloren. Alles was der Flut des Stromes entging, wurde durch die unaufhörlichen Regengüsse zerstört, alle von der Farm mitgebrachten unendlichen Vorräthe, selbst Kleider in Schränken und Kommoden verdarben theils bis zur völligen Unbrauchbarkeit durch die alles durchdringende Feuchtigkeit, namentlich auch vieles Weißzeug, welches die fürsorgliche Natur meiner Hausfrau in Quantitäten von Teutschland mitgebracht hatte, daß selbst künftige Generationen noch der Nothwendigkeit des Flachs- und Hanf-Baues zu eigenem Gebrauche enthoben gewesen wären. Kurz, ich habe während der wenigen Monate meines Hierseins einen Verlust von mindestens 700 Dollars erlitten, der, da Du meine Vermögensverhältnisse kennst, wie Du einsehen wirst, für mich ruinierend sein muß. Da ich mit meiner starken Familie hier

nicht aus der Schnur leben kann und dieß wenigstens ein halbes Jahr lang jetzt thun müßte, bis meine Rechtspraxis genügend eingerichtet und eine eigene Presse verdient wäre und Sicherheit gewähren könnte, so bleibt nur die Rückkehr nach meiner Farm übrig, die nächsten 15ten Dezember angetreten werden soll. Aber auch da komme ich in neue Klemme, denn ich habe nicht nur sämmtliches Vieh, Ackergeräth und Hausrath, was alles **hier** nicht brauchbar, bei meinem Abzug von dort verkauft, was ich jetzt alles zu ungleich höhern Preisen wieder kaufen muß und nebenbei meinen Pächter, für Rückgabe eines Theiles des Feldes, Zäunung meines Wohnhauses und Einrichtung in einem anderen alten Hause des Platzes vor Ablauf der zweijährigen Pachtzeit entschädigen muß. Ueberdieß muß ich allen bis zur nächsten Ernte erforderlichen Bedarf meiner Familie kaufen — kurz fast genau da wieder anfangen, wo ich vor 10 Jahren, mit weit mehr Mitteln versehen und soviel jünger hier begonnen habe. Dies aber ist der Schluß der Tragödie noch keineswegs. Vor mehreren Wochen reiste ich, um unsers Rückzugs halber das Nöthige vorzubereiten, nach meinem 60 Meilen von hier entfernten Platze, erkrankte dort unmittelbar nach meiner Ankunft in meines Schwagers Georg Hause, an heftigem Gallenfieber, erhielt, nach 14tägigem Lager und kaum etwas wieder auf den Beinen, die Nachricht, daß meine Frau, wahrscheinlich meist aus Angst um mich, krank niederliege und beschloß sogleich, gegen Arzt und Verwandten-Widerspruch, nach St. Louis zurückzukehren, theils zu Pferde, theils per Steamboat, theils zu Fuße und obgleich ich den Meinigen meinethalben Beruhigung brachte, erlitt ich durch diese Parforce Tour schwere Rückfälle, die mich jetzt noch so niedergedrückt haben, daß mir zum Beispiel das Schreiben dieses Briefes die größte Anstrengung kostet und ich gestern zum Erstenmale wieder zur Stadt fahren konnte. Meine gleichfalls noch leidende Frau und ich beginnen uns indeß jetzt so weit wieder zu erholen, daß wir das Einpacken vornehmen und wahrscheinlich in 3 Wochen die Rückreise vornehmen können.

Hier, lieber Buri, eine ausführliche Historie unserer letzten Lebensperiode, den Schluß auf unsere nächste Zukunft im Allgemeinen kannst Du Dir selber ziehen, das heißt so viel als dies möglich, denn in Eueren europäischen Verhältnissen könnt Ihr Euch

unmöglich einen klaren Begriff von den uns zur Gewohnheit gewordenen Mühseligkeiten und Entbehrungen machen. Unsere bisherige Existenz war nach hiesiger Weise bequem, nämlich bei ununterbrochener Körperanstrengung besaßen wir reichlich was zur hiesigen ländlichen Existenz gehört. Mein Haus war — ich darf es behaupten — das geachtetste unter den Deutschen in Missouri, alle unsere Landsleute setzten einen Werth darin, mit uns in Verkehr zu stehen, denn obgleich rustici haben wir uns standhaft das hier so gewöhnliche Verbauern, freilich mit unsäglicher Anstrengung, vom Halse gehalten. Warum also gaben wir diese sichere und geachtete Existenz auf und setzten sie an das Wagniß hierher? Lieber Buri, wenn Ihr, was Gott verhüten möge, jemals meinen und meiner Frau Seelenschmerz darüber empfinden solltet, aus Mangel an, in unsern hiesigen jetzigen ländlichen Verhältnissen unerschwinglichen baaren Mitteln von wenigen Hunderten erbärmlicher Dollars, für der Kinder geistige Ausbildung, trotz ihrer trefflichen Anlagen und ihrem deutlich erwachten Streben darnach, nicht nur nichts Förderliches thun zu können, sie vielmehr geflissentlich und consequent davon zurückhalten, sie in ihrem Aufschwunge hemmen, die geistigen Flügel ihnen stümpfen, ihnen niederziehende Gewichte anhängen zu müssen, damit sie nicht den Geschmack an den, dem mittellosen Bauern nothwendigen rohen Beschäftigungen und kleinlichen Zwecken verlieren — dann ungefähr könntest Du Dir unser Wagniß, an dieses Unternehmen alles zu setzen, erklären. Ihr kennt uns genug, wir sind nicht zu schwindelnden Unternehmungen geneigt, wir schrecken vor Mühen und Arbeiten nicht zurück, unser Haushalt stand nie mit unsern Mitteln in Mißklang. Dieß jetzige Unternehmen war nicht leicht angelegt, bezweckte nicht unsere Gemächlichkeit, hätte das widrige Geschick nicht alle Chancen vereint vernichtet, wir wären wahrlich nicht gescheitert. Daß die nun eingetretene höchste Wahrscheinlichkeit, für unserer Kinder bessere Ausbildung noch weniger als vorher thun zu können, sie mit uns, um alles wieder in leidlichen Stand zu setzen und uns von aufgedrungenen Schulden allmählig zu reinigen, quälend anstrengen zu müssen — Daß dieser Zustand wenig Ermunterndes für uns habe, wirst Du, lieber Buri, ohne Versicherung glauben. Doch lassen wir das, ich will Dir von unserer allerdings jetzt schwierigen Zukunft etwas sagen, denn

Deiner herzlichen Theilnahme an unserem Geschicke bin ich gewiß, Du geprüfter, treuer Freund.

Wir müssen also aufs Land zurück, mit 400 Dollars Schulden belastet, wofür ich weder die Zinsen, noch weniger die Zurückzahlung des Kapitals aus dem Landbau erschwingen kann, da alle ländlichen Produkte jetzt nichts einbringen als Tauschartikel, und meine Farm vom kleinen Markte zu weit abliegt. Ueberdieß bin ich fest entschlossen, meinen Wilhelm nicht hinterm Pfluge versauern zu lassen, ihn vielmehr wo möglich hier in St. Louis in einem angemessenen Geschäfte, welches der Entwicklung seiner vortrefflichen Anlagen günstig ist, unterzubringen. Freilich muß er, kaum 15 Jahre alt, seiner eigenen Kraft vertrauen und ohne Unterstützung von mir erwarten zu können, sich gegen Wind und Wogen durchzukämpfen suchen. Was wir dabei empfinden, ihn sich selber überlassen zu müssen in noch so frühem Alter, kannst Du denken und nur das gibt uns Beruhigung, daß er selber muthig entschlossen, fähig und im Besitze eines so unbeugsamen, festen, sittlichen Charakters ist, daß wir wegen moralischen Untergangs dieses unseres Herzblattes wenigstens sicher sind. Da die anderen Knaben, Bernhard ist 9, Karl 7 und Reinhold 5 Jahre alt, noch zu kräftiger Hülfe in ländlicher Arbeit zu zart sind, so muß ich die ganze Last der Farmerei, jetzt derselben etwas entwöhnt, älter und durch so manche Stürme mürber geworden, abermals auf meine, Gottlob, ziemlich breiten Schultern nehmen, Dabei aber kann ich, eben weil beim Landbau nichts zu erschwingen, nicht stehen bleiben, ich muß, um wenigstens schuldenfrei zu werden, erst noch andere Wege versuchen oder mit dem Landbau verbinden. Hier bieten sich hauptsächlich zwei Wege dar. Entweder ich erschwinge durch allerlei schriftstellerische Arbeiten und auf dem Lande vorkommende in's Rechtsfach einschlagende kleinere Geschäfte, sowie durch Vermögenseinziehung hiesiger Landsleute aus Teutschland soviel, um Zinsen und Capital meiner Schuld allmählig decken zu können, oder dadurch, daß ich junge Leute von 9 Jahren aufwärts als Kostgänger in mein Haus und zu häuslicher Erziehung und Beaufsichtigung annehme, da mein Schwager Fritz und unser trefflicher Landsmann und Schicksalsgefährte Professor Göbel von Koburg in Verbindung mit mir den Plan gefaßt haben, ein Institut an unserem Platze zu errichten. In

dieser Beziehung kommt mir sehr zu statten, daß ich unter den meisten hiesigen reicheren Familien und unter einigen amerikanischen großes Zutrauen besitze. Ueber das Gelingen dieses letzteren Plans läßt sich indeß noch nichts sagen, denn auch Göbel und Fritz Münch können ihrer Finanzen halber keine Geld kostenden Einrichtungen machen, bevor wir vorherige feste Zusagen auf eine zureichende Anzahl von Zöglingen und Kostgängern haben. Gelänge dieß und könnten wir eine kleine Druckerpresse, die hier etwa 200 Dollars kostet, uns erstehen, um ein kleineres, für hiesige Landsleute berechnetes wöchentliches Blatt und einen von Professor Göbel jährlich herauszugebenden guten und rüstigen Kalender, statt der vielen hier grassirenden, ohne Ausnahmen schlechten, auch kleinere, belehrende und sonstige Pamphlete zu drucken — so würden wir uns wohl tapferlich durchschlagen, wenn wir daneben unseren Landbau beibehielten und mit Hülfe unserer Kinder fortbetrieben. Geht dieß aber alles nicht, so wird mir, um aus meinen Schulden zu kommen, einzig der mir unter allen verhaßteste Weg übrig bleiben, meine Familie zur Farm zurückzubringen, für ihren Unterhalt dort möglichst zu sorgen, gegen Frühjahr für meine Person hierher nach St. Louis zurückzukehren und mich hier festzusetzen suchen, bis wir uns sicher hier wieder alle zusammenfinden können. Wie schwer es mir werden mag, mich von meiner Frau und meiner Familie zu trennen, hier für mich eine separate Junggesellen-Wirthschaft zu führen und meiner Frau die Last der Erziehung und Aufsicht über die derben und lebhaften Jungen, neben den häuslichen und Wirthschaftssorgen aufzubürden. Dennoch würde ich bei naher guter Aussicht auch hierzu um der Kinder willen schreiten, falls eine dritte Möglichkeit sich als eitel erweist, nämlich folgende. Mein Schwager Friedrich, Professor Göbel u. s. w.

Ich bitte Dich liebster Buri, um des jüngsten Gerichts willen, eile was Du kannst, daß ich sowohl die Forderung an Florsheim, als das Schäfersche Geld erhalte, wenn sonst nichts mehr aus meinen alten Ausständen zu erlangen wäre. Du kannst, wie ich bemerkte, Dich in meine jetzige Lage nicht denken, es reibt mich auf in Geldabhängigkeit von andern zu stehen, und doch kann ich es nicht vermeiden, da ich hier alles eingebüßt habe, bevor ich Zeit zum Ersatze erhalte. Die in meinem vorigen Briefe an Dich ge-

stellte Bitte die Ankündigung meiner hiesigen Praxis in teutschen öffentlichen Blättern betreffend, muß ich, wenn sie noch nicht besorgt ist, zurücknehmen, und ebenso den Auftrag, wegen Sendung von Büchern und Einleitung einer Korrespondenz für meine damals beabsichtigte Zeitung. Was Du irgend an Geld für mich aufzutreiben vermagst, und auf die möglichst wohlfeile Weise, unter der bekannten Adresse über Bremen an Angelrodt...

Denke Du aber nicht, mein Vielgeliebeter, daß die ganze Schaar der hiesigen schwarzen Fohlen, die Alten an der Spitze, auf einen Knäuel zusammen gekauert sitzen, die Schnauzen gen Himmel gekehrt, ihr Unglück beklagen und bejammern und unthätig darauf harren, daß der Arm der Vorsehung, wie er, ich glaube in Arndt's glorreicher Predigt abgebildet zu sehen, aus den Wolken fahre und ihnen den vollen Geldbeutel entgegenreiche. Wir haben, Vater, Mutter und älteste Kinder in vollem Senate vereinigt, beschlossen und gewagt, was wir für gut und hülfsam erachteten, mit offenen Augen sind wir den uns drohenden Klippen entgegengesegelt, an keinen uns sichtbaren sind wir gescheitert, wir sind also frei von Selbstvorwürfen, ist ja doch Leben und Ehre gerettet, der Verlust unserer Mittel, ist für uns hart, sehr hart, eine Zukunft voller Mühen und Plagen liegt vor uns, aber muthlos und jämmerlich, das sind Worte, die auf uns nie Anwendung haben werden. Unser Selbstvertrauen erlahmt weder noch stirbt es, wir werden nicht aufhören aus allen Kräften gegen die widrigen Verhältnisse anzukämpfen und zufrieden sein mit jedem Loose, welches uns fällt. Allerdings habe ich während der letzten Monate meines Hierseins wo ich ohne Möglichkeit des Gegenstrebens alle die zufälligen Unfälle Schlag auf Schlag hereinbrechen sah, Tage, Wochen in meinem Innersten durchgelebt, die ich kaum einem europäischen Diplomaten wünschen mag. Ich bin in wenigen Wochen grau geworden wie Bileam's Leibarzt, dabei noch fieberkrank, und spüre, obgleich im besten Mannesalter die Folgen aller durchlebten moralischen und körperlichen Strapazen nur zu sehr. Doch hoffe ich, daß der alte Bau noch so lange stehen soll, bis meine Kinder, wovon freilich eines, gewiß das jüngste, erst im nächsten November geboren werden soll — soweit sein werden, um nicht der Gegenstand des Mitleidens andrer werden zu müssen. Wir müssen uns eben durchschlagen so gut es gehen

will, und werden durch Murren gegen das Geschick uns nicht selbst erniedrigen, wenn wir mit aller äußersten Anstrengung und Aufopferung nicht so viel erschwingen können als so viele Dummköpfe und Schurken in der Welt bei Müßiggang erwerben und für die elendsten Zwecke gleichgültig wegschleudern. Behalten wir Leben und Gesundheit und können wir erst unseren trefflichen ältesten Jungen in die geeignete Bahn einführen, dann sehen wir noch bessere Tage. Das aber, lieber Buri, ist meine Hoffnung, mag auch hier mich treffen was da will, denn unter keiner Bedingung möchte ich zurück nach Europa in seinem jetzigen Zustande, trotz aller Eurer vergeblichen Hoffnungen auf gründliche Besserung.

A GERMAN SONG OF 1778

RELATING TO MERCENARIES IN AMERICA

The following crude poem is preserved in a print in the Royal Library at Berlin in a volume belonging to the famous Meusebach collection (Yd 7909: "Lieder. 60 fliegende Blätter aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," No. 55, 4 foll., 8°, date and place not given except as on title-page below). It was to be sung to the tune of Georg Neumark's well-known hymn, "Wer nur den lieben Gott läszt walten."

„Ein schön neues/Lied/von dem weitentfernten Welttheil/ Amerika./Verfertiget/im Monath Junii 1778,/von/Joseph Weinhard,/aus Schwabach./Gedruckt auf der Insel Cypern."

[1] Amerika, ich muß bekennen
Du bist ein Glanz der Herrlichkeit.
Die reichste Braut bist du zu nennen,
Wo GOtt den Seegen ausgebreit; —
Dein Reichthum der ist übergroß,
Du sitzest in dem Glückes Schooß.

[2] Die Güter die dir GOtt gegeben,
Sind hohe Schätze dieser Welt,
Damit sollst du in Frieden leben,
Weil du vor andern auserwählt;
Darum vergiß auch niemals nicht
Dankbar zu seyn, sey deine Pflicht.

[3] Langmüthig ist die GOttes Güte,
Und seine Liebe niemals blos;[1]
Denjenigen,[2] der nur sucht Friede,
Bey dem ist seine Gnade gros.

[1] blos: "wanting."

[2] Denjenigen, for Demjenigen.

Der HErr ist unser Schutz und Heil,
Er schenket uns auch sein Erbtheil.

[4] Betrachtet es, ihr Menschen-Kinder,
GOtt setzt euch oft in Freuden-Stand,
Lebt nicht gleich wie die rohen Sünder,
Amerika, betracht dein Land;
Du bist der beste Theil der Welt,
An Gütern, Reichthum, Gut und Geld.

[5] Der HErr des Himmel thut regieren,
Er setzet die Gesalbten ein;
Und warum wollt ihrs Ruder führen,
Dem König nicht gehorsam seyn,
Da er euch allzeit Gutes gönnt,
Und ihr euch freye Staaten nennt.

[6] Fallt vor dem Thron des Höchsten nieder,
Weil vor ihm nichts unmöglich ist,
Und betet: gieb den Frieden wieder
Uns noch in dieser Gnaden-Frist;
Du hast allein die stärkste Macht,
Wohl dem der sein Gesetz betracht.

[7] Denselbigen[3] wirds niemals grauen,
Wann gleich bricht ein die gröste Noth.
Ja, wer den[4] Höchsten wird vertrauen,
Und hält auch gerne sein Gebot;
Der sitzet unter GOttes Schutz,
Und bietet allen Feinden Trutz.

[8] Was nutzt es euch, ihr treuen Brüder,
Vergesset niemals eure Pflicht,
Die Gnad des Königs blüht euch wieder,
Weil ihm durch euch sein Herze bricht.

[3] Denselben, for Demselbigen.

[4] den, for dem.

Ihr macht euch selbst die Schmach und Pein,
Und müßt zuletzt doch dienstbar seyn.

[9] O HErr! erhöre unser Flehen,
Du wirst gewähren unsre Bitt,
Weil wir vor deinem Thron jetzt stehen,
Dann deine Weeg sind eitel Güt.
Erhöre uns in unsrer Noth.
Du bist der Israelis GOtt!

[10] Hast Israel durchs Meer geführet,
Durch deine große Wunder Hand,
Daß sie kein Ungemach berühret,
So seegne den Soldaten Stand,
Gieb ihnen Sieg und Tapferkeit,
Erwünschte Tag', vergnügte Freud.

[11] Endlich wirst du nach Haus sie bringen,
Von jenem weit entfernten Theil;
Alsdann wird dir das Land lobsingen,
Von GOtt kommt Seegen, Glück und Heil;
Der HErr ist Schutz zur Zeit der Noth,
Wohl dem der sich verläßt auf GOtt.

[12] Er ist ein GOtt der nah und ferne,
Der HErr ist GOtt zu Land und Meer,
Gewiß er hilft von Herzen gerne,
Drum gebet GOtt allein die Ehr;
Die von uns sind entfernet aus,
Wird er bald bringen g'sund nach Haus.

Rector Meyer, President of the Historical Society in Schwabach, Bavaria, kindly answered an inquiry regarding Joseph Weinhard, the author of these verses, but could give me no definite information. Assuming however that Weinhard, as a citizen or former resident of Schwabach in the old Margraviate of Ansbach, was interested in the fate of the

soldiers sent from that district to fight for the British in America, I offer a brief historical commentary to the poem.

One of the six German princes who furnished England soldiers for the American colonies was Karl Alexander, the last Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, a member of the Franconian line of the Hohenzollerns. In 1757 he succeeded in Ansbach his despotically cruel father, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm, and in 1769 inherited Bayreuth, which increased the number of his subjects to about 400,000. In 1791 he gave over his lands to the older Hohenzollern line and married his mistress, Lady Craven, with whom he went to England, dying there in 1806.

Karl Alexander had no compunctions about offering two batallions of his subjects to England not long after the American war broke out; selling soldiers was nothing new even in Ansbach, for the Margrave's predecessors had furnished mercenaries to the Empire, to France and to England. Karl Alexander's offer was at first refused but his desire for gold outweighed all considerations and later he resumed negotiations with better success. In March 1777 he was able to send 1285 men (from both Ansbach and Bayreuth) who were followed late in the same year by 318 recruits and, in the four years from 1779 to 1782, by 750 more. Of these 2353 men, 1183 returned in the autumn of 1783. There was accordingly a loss of 1170 men, practically fifty per cnt, to be accounted for by disease, wounds and desertion.[5]

Since these verses are dated 1778 they probably refer to the Ansbach soldiers among the 1603 Ansbach-Bayreuth mercenaries who started for America in 1777. It is quite plain that there was little enthusiasm among the men for the expedition. Karl Alexander himself remarked to the English ambassador, "They are all fine fellows if they were not so disinclined to go to America." He declared that the eighteen or twenty desertions that had occurred in the first weeks after the departure of the troops were few, considering the evident partiality of

[5] Fr. Kapp, Der Soldatenhandel deutscher Fürsten nach Amerika, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1874, p. 209.

his subjects for the Americans and their bitter antipathy toward England.[6]

The two regiments first sent out mutinied as they were to be transferred to boats at Ochsenfurt on the Main but were quelled by the Margrave, who felt it necessary to accompany them himself to their ships in Holland. Karl Alexander's request that the second levy of 318 men be allowed to cross Prussian territory brought him a sharp rebuke from his uncle, Frederick the Great (letter of Oct. 24, 1777).

Once in America the Ansbach troops fought bravely enough,—at Forts Montgomery and Clinton and (1073 strong) with Cornwallis in 1780-81. They surrendered with Cornwallis to Washington and were kept prisoners in Frederick, Md.,

[6] Kapp, p. 219. Note the contrast in the attitude of Karl Alexander's subjects and that of the unknown author of another poem on the departure of the Ansbach-Bayreuth troops in 1777, reprinted in *Americana-Germanica,* Vol. 1, pt. 3, pp. 87 ff. The following stanzas from this source have certainly a strange sound today! (George II had helped drive back the French at Dettingen in 1743).

. . . So ["like Hector's spouse"] fallen Kinder, Gattinnen
Den Kriegern um den Hals,
Und Schreyn gequält von Andungen
Des künftigen Trauerfalls:

„Was gehn uns Englands Colonien
Was die Rebellen an?
Was soll in andere Welten ziehn
Kind, Vater, Ehemann?"

— Schweigt, aufgebrachte Töchter Teuts,
Besiegt den irrigen Wahn!
Was wir jetzt thun hat seiner Seits
Der Britte längst gethan.

Er sah den stolzen Gallier
Uns Tod und Knechtschaft drohn;

for nearly two years, losing, it is said, scarcely an eighth of their number by desertion.[7]

The author of this poem was evidently a well-meaning man of very limited education. The tone of complete submission to the divine will was given by the hymn he used as a model for his stanza-form. What could be more naïve than his advice to the Colonies to yield, his ignorance of the real causes of the war, the argument of the divine right of kings under such circumstances, the references (in the fifth and eighth stanzas) to George III, and his confidence in the

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Und großmutsvoll kam Er daher,
  Befreite uns davon.

Auf wilden Wellen nahten sich
  Die Helfer Teutschem Strand;
Und wie ein Gott von Himmel stieg
  Ihr König selbst ans Land!

Georg erschien: Ihm folgete
  Die Waffen in der Hand
Der Stolz der Brittischen Armee
  Sein Sohn, Held Cumberland!

Und alle fochten voller Wuth
  Germania! für dich
Erfochten drauf mit Tod und Blut
  Dir Freiheit und den Sieg.

Ha! solchen Freunden beyzustehn;
  Mit glühendem Gesicht
Auf Ihre Feinde loß zu gehn
  Ist Edler Teutschen Pflicht. . . .

[7] Kapp, p. 219.

failure of the Americans with all their great resources?[8] But Weinhard may have had it in his heart to say many things differently. There is no word of complaint about men being forced into a war for the financial benefit of a corrupt prince. He dared treat matters no differently in print. As it was, the expression, "Printed on the Isle of Cyprus," may have been a means of protecting the printer,—I doubt that a printing-office was called that.

Behind the appeal in the first three-fourths of the poem lies merely the longing to have the German soldiers come home. How bitter must have been the disappointment of friends and relatives that none of the Ansbach soldiers levied in 1777 returned for six years or over, and perhaps barely half of them even then.

CHARLES A. WILLIAMS.

University of Illinois.

[8] [This naïve rhymster may now, after all, lay claim to the gift of prophesy. At a time when a certain class of American citizens seriously believes that the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine depends upon continued British naval supremacy; at a time when the same class of people considers the unlimited sale of ammunition to George V. a patriotic duty comparable only to the noble impulse which prompted petty German princes to sell their subjects to George III. — at such a time the supreme moment seems to have arrived which good Joseph Weinhard foretold in his immortal verses:

Die Gnad des Königs blüht euch wieder
. . . .
Und müßt zuletzt doch dienstbar sein.

J. G.]

Biographien.

Harm. H. Emminga.

Am Donnerstag Abend, den 9. Dezember 1915, starb in seiner Wohnung zu Golden, in Adams County, Illinois, Harm. H. Emminga, einer der Pioniere jener zum größten Teile von Ostfriesen besiedelten Gegend. Geboren am 25. Dezember 1850 zu Wirsens, Ostfriesland, als Sohn von Heinrich R. Emminga, war er gegen Ende des Jahres 1851 mit seinen Eltern nach diesem Lande gekommen. Seine Mutter war Margaretha, geb. Franzen. Die Reise nach New Orleans nahm zwölf Wochen, und ließ sich die Familie Mitte Februar 1852 in der Golden Prairie nieder. Der Vater war Mühlbauer und errichtete die erste Windmühle in der Gegend, welche in 1854 vollendet wurde; auch betrieb er die Müllerei bis 1863, bis er mit seiner Familie nach der alten Heimat zurückkehrte, wo seine Frau in 1868 starb, während er selbst in 1888 aus dem Leben schied. Der Sohn, Harm H. Emminga, war 1872 wieder nach Golden gekommen und hatte sich im selben Jahre mit Frl. Marie Gembler verheiratet, einer Tochter von Johann Jakob Gembler, San Antonio, Texas. Viele Jahre war Harm H. Emminga im Mühlengeschäft tätig und errichtete im Jahre 1889 eine Mahlmühle mit einer Leistungsfähigkeit von 200 Faß Mehl per Tag. Das Produkt seiner Mühle wurde nach Westindien, England, Frankreich, Holland und anderen Ländern gesandt. Im Jahre 1894 eröffnete Harm H. Emminga eine Bank in Golden, die sich als Erfolg erwies.

Harm H. Emminga unternahm im Lauf der Jahre manche Reise in diesem Lande und auch nach Europa. Am 9. März 1910 trat er eine Reise nach Palästina an, die drei Monate in Anspruch nahm. Am 10. Juni heimkehrend, lieferte er eine sehr interessante Beschreibung seiner Erlebnisse im Gelobten Lande, sowie in anderen Ländern in Asien und Afrika. Mehr als hundert Artikel über diese Reise erschienen in verschiedenen Zeitungen dieses Landes wie auch in Deutschland, die für Tausende von Lesern interessant und lehrreich waren.

Harm H. Emminga war auch ein großer Freund von Büchern und erwarb im Laufe der Jahre eine große Sammlung von seltenen und wertvollen Werken.

Der Dahingeschiedene war Mitglied der Lutherischen Kirche, ein Mann von seltener intellektueller Begabung, ein Wohltäter, der einen großen Teil seiner Zeit und seiner Mittel wohltätigen Zwecken widmete, wie er sich denn auch als besonderer Freund und Gönner des von Dr. Schneller in Jerusalem gegründeten Waisenhauses erwies.

Außer der Wittwe hinterläßt der Dahingeschiedene einen Sohn, John F. Emminga, Kassierer der Peoples Bank in Golden, sowie eine Tochter, Frl. Margarethe Emminga.

Von Anbeginn der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois war er Mitglied derselben.

Ehre seinem Andenken!

Heinrich Bornmann.

Quincy, Illinois, im Februar 1916.

Heinrich Schoellkopf.

Mit sanfter Hand rief am 2. Januar 1916 der Tod den alten deutschen Pionier Chicagos, Herrn Heinrich Schöllkopf, im Alter von neunzig Jahren zu sich.

Im April 1826 in Göppingen, am Fuße des Hohenstaufen in Württemberg geboren, und wo er seine Schulbildung genoß und zum Kaufmann erzogen wurde, wanderte er im Alter von etwa zwanzig Jahren nach Amerika aus, hielt sich drei Jahre in Buffalo auf und kam im Jahre 1851 nach Chicago, wo er seitdem ununterbrochen gelebt und tätig gewesen ist. Im selben Jahr eröffnete er an der Nordostecke von Fifth Avenue und Washington Straße ein Materialwarengeschäft, welches er fünfzehn Jahre später nach der Randolph Straße, zwischen Franklin und Market Straße verlegte, und wo es sich noch heute befindet.

Trotz großer Schwierigkeiten und besonders durch zwei Feuersbrünste, die erste im Jahre 1866, und die zweite beim großen Chicagoer Brande, ließ er sich nicht einschüchtern und baute mit großer Energie und emsiger Tätigkeit ein bedeutendes Geschäft auf, welches heute als das älteste in seiner Branche und in seiner Art wohl einzig dasteht.

Fünfundsechzig Jahre lang hat Henry Schöllkopf seinem Geschäfte vorgestanden, war stetig selbst darin tätig, und bis vor einem Jahre konnte man den alten Herrn persönlich dort sehen, wie er mit steter Freundlichkeit die ihn besuchenden Kunden und Freunde empfing.

Henry Schöllkopf hatte einen sanften, ruhigen Tod. Ohne eigentlich krank zu sein, starb er an Altersschwäche.

Der Verstorbene fand sein größtes Glück in seinem Familienleben und der Tod seiner treuen Lebensgefährtin, die ihm vor etwa dreizehn Jahren im Tode voraufging, war ein schwerer Schlag für ihn. Wenn auch wenig über sein Privatleben in die Oeffentlichkeit gelangte, so ist es doch bekannt, daß er im Stillen manches Gute stiftete und nie zurückstand, wo es zu helfen galt, doch wollte er nie, daß darüber gesprochen werde.

Henry Schöllkopf war Mitglied des Deutschen Altenheims, des Singvereins, des Deutschen Hospitals und gehörte auch seit ihrer Gründung der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois an.

Fünf Kinder überleben den greisen Vater, Henry Schöllkopf, Jr., Edward Schöllkopf, Frau P. J. Gallagher, Frau Ida DeVry in Chicago und Frau Bernard DeVry in Evansville, Ind.

Am 4. Januar wurden die sterblichen Reste des Verstorbenen auf dem Graceland Friedhofe beigesetzt.

Fünfzehnte Jahresversammlung

der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois, abgehalten am Mittwoch, den 17. März 1915 um 5 Uhr abends im Zimmer 1615 Mallers Building, 5 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Der Präsident, Herr Dr. Otto L. Schmidt eröffnete die Versammlung und machte darauf aufmerksam, daß die Jahresversammlung eigentlich am 12. Februar, Lincolns Geburtstag, stattfinden sollte, doch sei auch in diesem Jahre eine Verzögerung nötig geworden, weil die Mehrzahl der Direktoren und Beamten an diesem Tage unmöglich hätte anwesend sein können und sei auf besonderen Wunsch der Herren die Versammlung auf den späteren Tag angesetzt und einberufen worden.

Daraufhin verlas der Sekretär das Protokoll der letzten Jahresversammlung, welches ohne weitere Besprechung einstimmig angenommen wurde.

Ueber die Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft im vergangenen Jahre verlas der Sekretär zunächst den Finanz-Bericht wie folgt:

Finanz-Bericht.

Am 1. Januar 1914 befanden sich in der Kassa..............	$ 587.11
Im Laufe des Jahres zahlten 184 Mitglieder ihre Beiträge in der Höhe von....................................	598.50
worunter sich 4 Herren befanden, welche je $5.00 zahlten, die Herren Halle, Graus, Leicht und Knoop, 3 Herren, welche je $10.00 der Kassa beisteuerten, Herr Leo Ernst und Dr. Wiener und Herr Kalb, welcher als lebenslängliches Mitglied sich verpflichtet hat, einen Jahresbeitrag von $10.00 zu leisten.	
Verkauft wurden an Herrn J. H. A. Lacher, Waukegan, ein Set	24.00
an die University of Oregon, ein Set..	32.50
an die Yale University, extra Bücher..................	4.50
an die Warburg Publ. Co., ein Buch....................	2.25
an die Spokane Public Library, ein Buch..............	2.25
an Lemke & Buechner, New York, ein Buch.............	2.25
an den Methodist Book Concern in Toronto, ein Buch....	2.25
an Herrn Bodemann, eine Anzahl Pamphlete...........	2.00
an Herrn A. H. Griffith, Manitowoc, ein Lincoln Pamphlet	0.75
an Herrn C. Witter in St. Louis, Pamphlete............	1.00

9 neue Mitglieder wurden erworben, nämlich die Herren: Richter Alfred K. Nippert in Cincinnati, A. C. E. Schmidt, Chicago, Max Schuchart, Chicago, C. Benninghofen, Hamilton, O., University of Oregon Eugenie, Ore., Jacob

M. Loeb, Chicago, Rob. J. Scheunemann, Chicago, Society of Americans of German Ancestry, Waukegan, Orville Schultz, Amana, Iowa, welche zusammen der Kasse zuführten 27.00

Außerdem überwies ein Mitglied der Klasse................ 152.00

Was zusammen eine Gesamteinnahme bedeutet von..........$1437.86

Die Ausgaben setzten sich wie folgt zusammen:

Druckkosten bei C. M. Staiger....................	$ 97.50	
und	9.00	
wobei zu bemerken ist, daß Herr Staiger 4000 Inhaltsverzeichnisse der bisher erschienenen Jahrbücher in deutscher und englischer Sprache druckte, sowie 4000 Begleitschreiben und 4000 besondere Briefumschläge.		
Die Unkosten für das Jahrbuch betrugen..........	736.50	
und wurde für Briefumschläge auch noch.......	4.00	
an die Fred Klein Printing Co. bezahlt.		
Für Expreß und Portokosten für den Versandt des Jahrbuches wurden ausgegeben...........	68.65	
woraus hervorgeht, daß die Gesamtunkosten für das Jahrbuch $809.15 betrugen.		
Außerdem wurden an Porto und Expreßgebühren ausgegeben	53.00	
Für einen Gummistempel wurde ausgelegt........	0.35	
Für Exchange auf Schecks.......................	0.20	
An G. Herzberg & Co., für das Einbinden von Büchern, welche an die Bücherausstellung nach Leipzig gesandt wurden......................	21.00	
Herr Heinr. Bornmann erhielt als Commission für das Kollektieren von Mitgliedsbeiträgen von Mitgliedern in Quincy, Ill..................	15.75	
Für ein besonderes Buch der Jewish Historical Society in New York wurde ausgezahlt...............	3.00	
Und zurückgezahlt an Baker & Taylor für ein umgetauschtes Buch..............................	2.25	
Was eine Gesamtausgabe ergibt von...............	$1011.20	
und dementsprechend am 1. Januar 1915 einen Ueberschuß in der Kassa ließ von..............................		426.66
Seit dem 1. Januar sind noch eingegangen von 20 Mitgliedern		72.00
Sodaß sich zur Zeit in der Kassa der Gesellschaft befinden.....		$ 498.66

Die Portokosten im vergangenen Jahr belaufen sich ziemlich hoch, weil eben eine Anzahl Zirkularbriefe an Universitäten und Bibliotheken

gesandt wurden, um diese als Mitglieder zu gewinnen. Leider war der Erfolg, wie aus vorstehendem Bericht hervorgeht, kein zu günstiger.

Das Jahrbuch 1914 ist in den Händen des Druckers und wird in den nächsten Tagen fertig werden. Es ist ein Buch, welches etwa 1000 Seiten enthalten wird.

Beiträge dazu haben geliefert: Herr H. A. Rattermann aus Cincinnati, der Nestor deutscher Geschichtsforscher, welcher nun erblindet ist und wohl schwerlich einen weiteren Beitrag liefern kann. Sein Artikel über die Geschichte der deutschen Kultur und Literatur in Amerika wird über 250 Seiten groß sein und eine Fundgrube für zukünftige Geschichtsforscher bieten.

Herr Professor Herriott hat eine Fortsetzung oder vielmehr einen Anschluß an seinem im vorigen Jahrbuch erschienenen Artikel über die politische Tätigkeit der Deutschen in Iowa geliefert, welcher höchst interessant ist und an Umfang (die Gediegenheit des Artikels ist ja außer Zweifel) mit etwa 225 Seiten an zweiter Reihe kommt.

Herr Professor Goebel hat die Briefe Follens verarbeiten lassen. Die Abschriften dieser Briefe wurden uns durch Prof. Haupt in Gießen besorgt. Zum größten Bedauern ist hier zu berichten, daß ein Blatt des Manuskripts auf unerklärliche Weise verloren gegangen ist und muß diese Seite eben nachgebracht werden, sobald eine Abschrift von Deutschland aus zu erlangen ist.

Einen sehr interessanten Artikel, die Geschichte der deutschen Juden in den Ver. Staaten, hat uns Herr Herman Eliassof, Redakteur einer jüdischen Wochenschrift und früherer Mitarbeiter des Herrn Dr. Hirsch, geliefert.

Einen weiterhin interessanten Artikel hat Herr Lohr von der New Yorker Staatszeitung geliefert und Frl. Knoche von der Universität in Urbana einen Artikel über den Einfluß von Richard Wagner auf Amerika.

Die Zusammensetzung des Buches ist eine solche, daß dasselbe wiederum der Gesellschaft und der Schriftleitung zur größten Ehre gereichen wird.

Ueber den Vertrieb der Bücher sollten wohl bestimmte Vereinbarungen getroffen werden. Der Versuch, die Bücher durch Zirkularbriefe und Korrespondenzen zu verkaufen, hat nur dazu geführt, daß einige wenige neue Freunde erworben wurden, daß aber die Korrespondenz mit Gesuchen überhäuft war, den Antragstellern unsere Bücher frei zu liefern oder im Umtausch mit anderen Publikationen, woran natürlich nicht zu denken ist.

Es sollte deshalb die Aufgabe der Gesellschaft sein, um dieselbe womöglich unabhängig zu machen, einen Ausweg für den Absatz der Bücher zu finden, wie ebenfalls eine besondere Agitation zu veranstalten, um neue Mitglieder zu gewinnen.

Wie man aus einer Uebersicht des vorstehenden Finanzberichtes ersieht, sind in diesem Jahre etwa $300.00 weniger eingegangen, wie im

vorigen Jahre, wobei wohl zu berücksichtigen ist, daß von den 46 Abonnenten in Deutschland dieses Jahr keine Beiträge gezahlt wurden, weil wir es nicht für angebracht hielten, Rechnungen dorthin zu senden, doch geht auch daraus hervor, daß etwa 50 bis 75 hiesige Mitglieder ihren Pflichten nicht nachgekommen sind und die Gesellschaft mit dem wirklich geringen Beitrag von $3.00 pro Jahr unterstützt haben.

Zum Schlusse sei der Mitglieder gedacht, die uns im vergangenen Jahre durch den Tod entrissen wurden, nämlich die Herren G. F. Klenze, Jacob Spohn, C. A. Spoehr, Simon S. Blum, Chicago, Rev. F. W. Scholz, Secor, Ill., Edward Deuß, Chicago, Dr. Carl Matthey, Davenport, Iowa, deren Gedächtnis durch einen entsprechenden Nachruf im kommenden Jahrbuch gewürdigt wurde.

Der Bericht wurde auf Antrag des Herrn Mannhardt einstimmig entgegengenommen, und auf Antrag des Herrn Präsidenten erhoben sich die Anwesenden, um den Manen der verstorbenen Mitglieder ihre Verehrung auszudrücken.

Es wurde darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß Schritte und Wege gefunden werden sollten, neue Mitglieder zu erwerben, und wurde die Hoffnung ausgesprochen, daß der Inhalt und die Ausstattung des zu erwartenden Jahrbuches wohl dazu beitragen werde, neue Freunde zu gewinnen, was wohl eher zu erwarten sei, weil infolge des Krieges in Europa und die hier im Lande herrschende Stimmung das Deutschtum sich enger an einander schließen und sich unter dem Deutschtum ein festeres Streben für die deutsche Kulturarbeit in diesem Lande entwickeln werde.

Im Anschluß an diese Bemerkungen fand der Vorsitzende es angebracht, daß man infolge der bestehenden Verhältnisse den in Deutschland wohnenden Mitgliedern und Abonnenten das Jahrbuch frei liefern sollte.

Herr von Wackerbarth stellte daraufhin einen entsprechenden Antrag, welcher unterstützt und angenommen wurde.

Herr Dr. Schmidt machte dann darauf aufmerksam, daß die Gesellschaft eine besonders gebundene Ausgabe unserer Werke auf die Ausstellung für Bücherei und Graphik in Leipzig entsandt habe und daß nach Schluß der Ausstellung diese Bücher irgend einer deutschen Bibliothek überwiesen werden sollten.

Herr von Wackerbarth verlas daraufhin einen Brief, welchen er von Professor Paul Förster in Berlin erhalten habe und welcher auf die in Deutschland herrschende Stimmung während des Krieges hinwies.

Herr Dr. Schmidt kam dann auf den Vertrieb unserer Bücher zu sprechen und wies darauf hin, daß es der Gesellschaft bedeutende Kosten bereiten würde, einen ausgiebigen Absatz zu finden und wäre es deshalb wohl angebracht, wenn man den Versuch mache, eine Verlagsanstalt zu finden, die den Vertrieb übernehmen würde. Die Chicago Historical Society habe in dieser Beziehung einen verhältnißmäßig guten Erfolg

mit der Univer..ty of Chicago Preß erzielt und wäre es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß diese Gesellschaft auch den Vertrieb für unsere Werke übernehmen würde.

Nach einer Besprechung dieser Sache stellte Herr Mannhardt den Antrag, daß ein Komite ernannt werde, welches diese Sache in die Hand nehmen solle und sollte diesem Komitee vollständig freie Hand gegeben werden.

Der Antrag wurde von Herrn Kalb unterstützt und angenommen.

Herr Huttmann stellte dann den weiteren Antrag, daß dieses Komitee aus dem Präsidenten und den Herrn Mannhardt und Kalb bestehen sollte.

Der Antrag wurde unterstützt und angenommen.

Der nächste Punkt der Tagesordnung war die Wahl von fünf Mitgliedern des Verwaltungsrates an Stelle der ausscheidenden Herrn F. J. Dewes, E. W. Kalb, Dr. O. L. Schmidt, H. W. Huttmann und Rudolf Seifert.

Herr Mannhardt stellt den Antrag, daß die Herren einstimmig wiedererwählt würden.

Der Antrag wurde von Herrn Mees unterstützt und angenommen, worauf der Vorsitzende die Herren als Mitglieder des Verwaltungsrates für die zwei folgenden Jahre erwählt erklärte.

In Bezug auf die Wahl der Beamten für das laufende Geschäftsjahr stellte Herr Huttmann den Antrag, daß die bisherigen Beamten wiedererwählt würden.

Herr Seifert unterstützte den Antrag, welcher einstimmig angenommen wurde, und wurde der Sekretär beauftragt, die Stimme der Gesellschaft für die Wahl der Mitglieder des Verwaltungsrates und der Beamten abzugeben, was in ordnungsmäßiger Weise geschah.

Nach einer allgemeinen weiteren Besprechung über Mittel und Wege zum Besten der Förderung der Mitgliederschaft und der Verbreitung der Arbeiten der Gesellschaft, an welcher sich die Herren Holinger, Huttmann, Mannhardt, Kalb, Mees, Lacher, Seifert, von Wackerbarth und Frl. Heuermann beteiligten, wurde der Antrag auf Vertagung angenommen.

Ergebenst unterbreitet

Max Baum, Schriftführer.

Beamten der Gesellschaft.

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Dr. E. P. Raab, Belleville	E. W. Kalb
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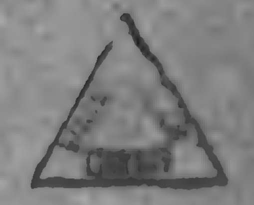
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Herausgegeben von

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Professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois

Jahrgang 1916

(VOL. XVI)

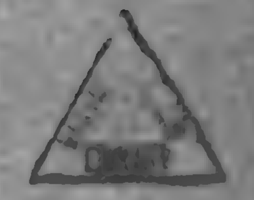
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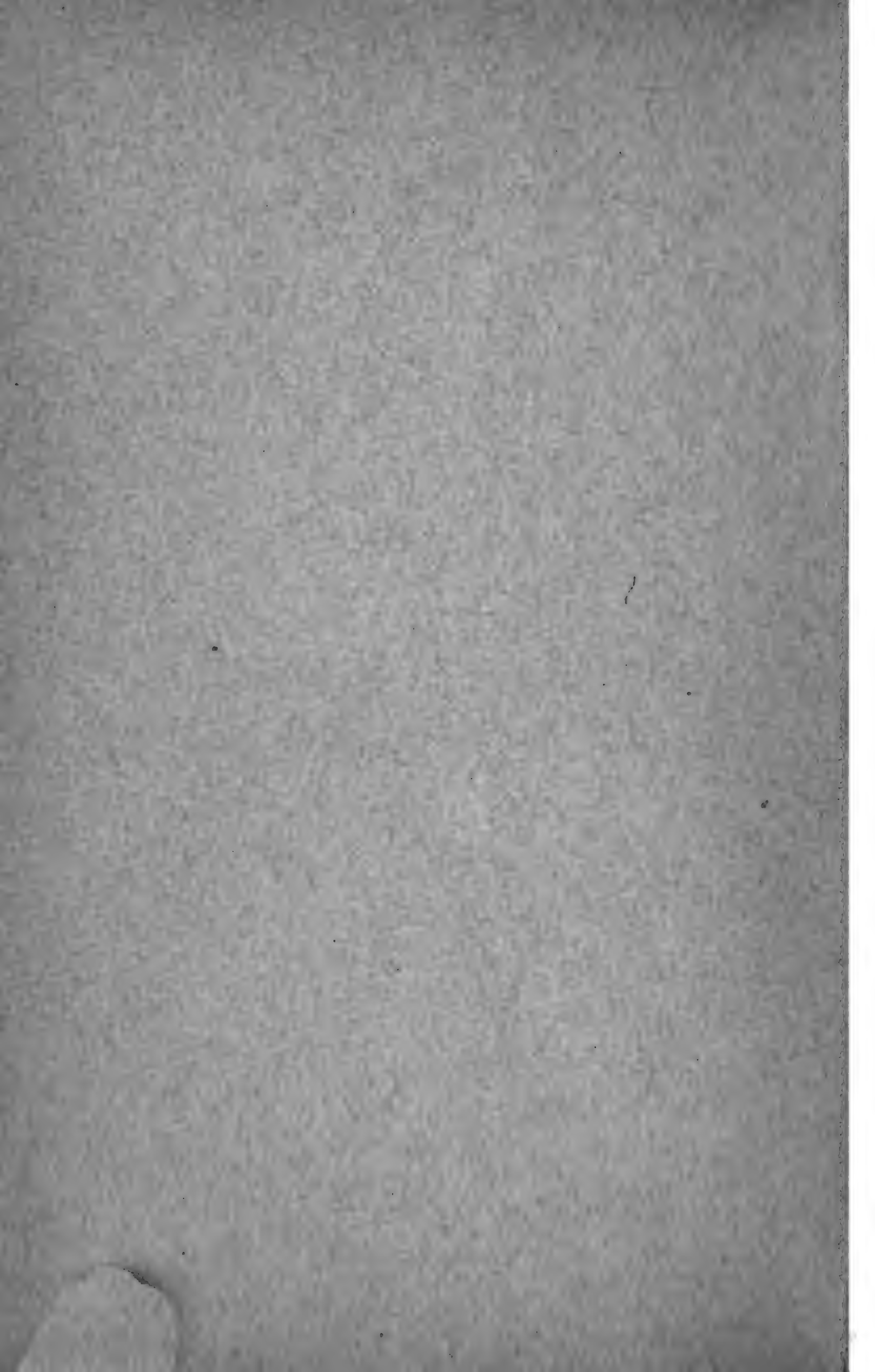
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Vorwort.

Für den Inhalt des vorliegenden Jahrbuches ist die herannahende Jahrhundertfeier der Aufnahme von Illinois in den amerikanischen Staatenverband in erster Linie bestimmend gewesen. Es ist noch wenig bekannt, daß die frühen deutschen Ansiedlungen im Staate Illinois im engsten Zusammenhang stehen mit dem Plane eines freien deutschen Staatswesens in Amerika, den Karl Follen, der große Freiheitskämpfer, in den Tagen der Verzweiflung faßte, als er seine Bemühungen um die deutsche Einheit scheitern sah. Als ein wesentlicher Beitrag zur Jahrhundertfeier des Deutschtums von Illinois darf darum die nachstehende Biographie Karl Follens gelten. Sie ist die erste wissenschaftliche, auf gründlichstem Quellenstudium beruhende Darstellung des Lebens und Wirkens dieses außerordentlichen Mannes, in dem wir Deutsch-Amerikaner mit Recht den größten Vorkämpfer deutschen Geistes in Amerika im vergangenen Jahrhundert sehen. Sein Aufsatz „The Cause of Freedom in our Country", der bisher in einer selten gewordenen amerikanischen Zeitschrift vergraben lag, mutet uns heute noch als zeitgemäß, ja in mancher Hinsicht geradezu als profetisch an.

Unter dem Titel „Zur Geschichte der frühsten deutschen Ansiedlungen in Illinois" sind zwei Aufsätze von Dr. G. E. Engelmann und Gustav Körner vereinigt, die uns als zeitgenössische Berichte, von zwei hervorragenden Männern verfaßt, einen überaus klaren Einblick in das deutsche Pionierleben und in die allgemeinen Zustände jener Zeit gewähren. Körners Kritik des berühmten Buches von Gottfried Duden ist um so wertvoller, als sie heute fast ganz vergessen und verschollen zu sein scheint.

Die Abhandlung über die Geschichte des Deutschtums im Staate Colorado von Fräulein Mildred S. McArthur erschließt der deutsch-amerikanischen Geschichte ein neues Gebiet und wird darum nicht nur in jenem Staate mit Interesse gelesen werden.

J. G.



Karl Follen

KARL FOLLEN.

A BIOGRAPHIC STUDY.

By G. W. SPINDLER, Ph.D., Purdue University, Indiana.

INTRODUCTION.

This Monograph is not only an attempt to rescue from oblivion the memory of the pioneer of Germanic studies in America and of the influence of his work in this direction, but it aims also to present for the first time an authoritative account of his life.

The best existing biography of Follen is that published by his widow in 1842.[1] Valuable as this biography is, it is, however, in no sense a scientific work but rather an attempt of a devoted wife to pay a loving tribute to the character of a noble husband in recording the chief events of his life. Many important sources which throw light upon Follen's European career were at the time still unavailable. The reasons for Follen's antislavery activity were only partly explained and his motives for joining the Unitarian movement were wrongly attributed to the influence of W. E. Channing.

While Gustav Körner and Friedrich Kapp recognize[2] Follen as one of the most distinguished and influential German-Americans in the first half of the 19th century, they devote only a few pages to his life and his various activities. Friedrich Münch,[3] a friend and follower of Follen in the Burschenschaft movement, has contributed some useful information on Follen's connection with this movement, but in several important instances has unfortunately erred; moreover his account of Follen's life in America is based entirely upon Mrs. Follen's work and contains nothing new. Ratter-

[1] Vol. I of Follen's Works.

[2] Körner, *Das deutsche Element;* Kapp, *Deutsche Rundschau,* Bd 25, 1880.

[3] *Gesammelte Schriften,* p. 39ff.

mann's[1] short biography is likewise based wholly upon the same source and presents, therefore, no new information.

The chief German authorities on Follen are Treitschke, Biedermann, Haupt, and Pregizer, all of whom have discussed only his connection with the German liberal movement without any attempt to give an account of his career in the United States. Haupt's work on "Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen" is the most thorough and comprehensive study of Follen as the founder and leader of the Giessen Burschenschaft. In his discussion of Follen's political ideas Pregizer confines himself wholly to Follen's early life without taking into account his later and more mature views. Owing to their limited knowledge of Follen's later life both Treitschke and Pregizer have arrived at certain conclusions which seem to be untenable. In general German historians have hitherto dealt almost exclusively with Follen's early life, regarding him for the most part only as a political radical and revolutionist.

Since the German wars of liberation are beginning at present to be viewed not simply as a struggle against foreign domination but also, and above all, as the first powerful rise of German national feeling, which aimed at national unity,[2] it seems now to become possible to give a more correct interpretation to Follen's youthful activity. For only against the background of the movement for national independence and from the spiritual forces which at that time exalted the German mind to undreamed of heights can Follen's historical significance be understood. It was the time when the best men of the nation first became conscious that only in their own nationality could that higher humanity of which the great poets and thinkers had dreamed be realized; the time when in the life-and-death grapple with Napoleon the people first became aware of their strength and their rights, and when the German nation, in spite of its political discord, once more experienced, for the first time in centuries, the joy of unity and demanded for the rejuvenated spirit the body of a new

[1] *Gesammelte Werke,* X.

[2] Lamprecht, *Deutscher Aufstieg,* 1750-1914, p. 28.
Meinecke, *Die deutsche Erhebung von 1814,* p. 10ff.

national state. The impulse toward national regeneration and a sound physical life found expression in the gymnastic endeavors of Jahn, and the national exaltation as a whole seemed to receive its consecration by the awakening of a new religious spirit,—an awakening such as Germany had not experienced since the days of the Reformation.

It will be seen that Follen as a product of the classical period of German literature and philosophy assimilated even in his youth the spiritual forces of his time, and that these not only determined his activity in Europe but also that of his American career. As a representative of these ideals he thus became the forerunner of thousands, who in the '30s and especially in the later '40s followed him to America. It may justly be said that no other nation in the world was so deeply affected by the German patriotic movements of the 19th century as was this country. The period subsequent to Follen's coming is one of the most important also in our national history. It was during this period that the higher intellectual life of the young nation began to emancipate[1] itself from English traditions and to form independent ideals in education, philosophy, and literature. At the same time there was developing within the Union a political conflict, the final outcome of which had to demonstrate whether the high ideals upon which the Republic was founded were to prevail or not. In all these great national movements and struggles Follen and those who followed after him were destined to play an important rôle.

PART ONE.

FOLLEN IN EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

HIS PROPAGANDA FOR GERMAN UNITY.

To trace the rise and growth of German national consciousness, of which Follen became one of the foremost rep-

[1] Channing, *Remarks on National Literature Complete Works,* p. 137.
Barrett, Wendell, *Literary History of America,* p. 295 f.
Higginson, T. W., *Cheerful Yesterdays—Atlantic Monthly,* Vol. 79, p. 490.

resentatives, even in outline, would in itself be an extensive study. For the present purpose let it suffice to say that the undercurrent of patriotism making itself felt first in the patriotic poetry of Klopstock and in the effects of the deeds of Frederick the Great, then growing broader and deeper at the opening of the 19th century, burst forth into a great surge of patriotic feeling as the Germans watched their national inheritance crumble away beneath the heel of the foreign conqueror. Through the writings of such men as Fichte, Arndt and Jahn, the Germans came to realize that Teutonic civilization could be preserved only by means of national independence and a national state. Fichte's famous "Addresses to the German Nation" marked the transition from cosmopolitanism to patriotism, and in the great national awakening that followed German national unity had its inception.

In the wars of liberation the German people united especially to regain their national independence, but in accordance with the promises of their rulers they expected also a closer union of all the German states and a greater degree of civic freedom as a reward for their patriotic devotion in the hour of national peril. When the victorious German armies returned home they demanded national unity in order to avoid future national calamity and looked forward, consequently, in confident expectation to a new political life. In their attempt to formulate a plan of union only two possibilities presented themselves: either to form a German confederation or to dissolve the existing governments and in their stead found one German state. The patriots naturally demanded the latter plan; most of them favored a limited monarchy while the more liberal-minded were eager for a republic. "But the majority of those who were enthusiastic for one German state and distinctly demanded:

> Ein Deutschland nur, nicht dreissig deutsche Länder,
> Ein einzig Band statt all der deutschen Bänder!

would have been indignant at the suggestion that this demand expressly implied the dethroning of their ruling princes." [1]

[1] Jastrow, *Geschichte des deutschen Einheitstraumes*, 109.

The problem of German unity was one of supreme difficulty, for the international Congress of Vienna was more concerned with the general settlement of European affairs than with the future welfare of Germany, and the diplomats from other countries naturally did not desire a strong, united Germany. But the greatest obstacle to the establishment of a central government was the unwillingness of the German princes to surrender any of their sovereignty. Believing, however, that they ought at least to unite for mutual protection they finally passed an act organizing Germany into a loose confederation of independent states. As an opponent both of national unity and popular sovereignty Metternich, the ruling spirit of the assembly, succeeded also in thwarting the demand for constitutional government. As a result none of the rulers except the Grand Duke of Weimar took any immediate steps to grant their subjects a voice in governmental affairs. The German people had been temperate in their demands, asking merely for a government that would be more in conformity with the existing views of human rights. Bitter and profound was their disappointment when their dream of national unity and civic freedom turned out to be a mere illusion. While the older men with few exceptions seemed to accept the hopeless political situation with a spirit of pessimistic resignation, it is highly significant that the widespread dissatisfaction with the reactionary attitude of the German rulers found its most fervent expression among the younger generation of German patriots. Now that the foreign enemy had been overcome the academic youth, in whom the spirit of Fichte and Schleiermacher still survived, united to promote the welfare of their common country, or as a contemporary has it: "In the academic youth the German nation first became conscious of its unity." [1] By exalting the idea of a common fatherland and by fostering a broad unsectarian spirit in church and state these young patriots hoped to lay the foundation of a new national life. The first attempt [2] to

[1] Wolfgang Menzel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 119.

[2] Stern, *Geschichte Europas*, 1815—1871, I, 446.

organize the academic youth into an association on national lines was made at Giessen in 1814. Foremost in this movement was Karl Follen.

Karl Theodor Christian Follen was the second son of Christoph Follenius,[1] advocate and judge at Giessen in Hesse-Darmstadt. He was born on the 4th of September, 1796, at the home of his grandfather in the village of Romrod, whither his mother had gone to escape the turmoil occasioned by the French occupation of Giessen. After his mother's death, when he was only three years old, his brothers and sisters were sent to live with their grand-parents while he remained at home in close companionship with his father, a circumstance which tended on the one hand to increase his natural precocity, on the other to develop in him an unnatural seriousness of character. After several years his father married again, which, along with the return of the other children to the parental roof, supplied the home life necessary to childhood. Under the direction of his devoted stepmother the sensitive, backward boy received his first elementary instruction and was sent to the public schools where he made rapid progress in the common branches. Since he had not been accustomed to the companionship of children he took little interest in the sports and games of his schoolmates; in fact he had little relish for the ordinary pleasures of childhood. As he grew older, however, a close companionship sprang up between him and his elder brother, Adolf, which gradually developed into an intimate and abiding friendship.

While still a mere child Follen began to manifest certain characteristics for which he became distinguished in later years. Whenever his brothers laughed at his little idiosyncracies he would often fly into a fit of uncontrollable anger. This fault he soon resolved to overcome. He was naturally timid and as a result had a great dread of passing the graveyard at night. In order to conquer this weakness he forced himself to go there after dark and to remain until he had

[1] The latinized form of the name was dropped by Follen when he came to America.

overcome his fear.[1] Being easily affected with dizziness when looking from a height, he subdued this weakness by walking daily upon the parapet of a high bridge with his eyes fixed upon the rushing stream beneath, until by perseverance he was able to run backward and forward upon the narrow footing.[2] Thus by great and constant effort he at last acquired that perfect self-control which was a distinguishing trait of his character. In these early years he began also to manifest that spirit of independent thought and free investigation for which he was noted in after life. He often lay awake at night reflecting over the mysteries of nature and the religious instruction he had received at school, and when he could find no satisfactory answer to some puzzling question would arise and beg his father to satisfy his curiosity. If things were not explained to his satisfaction he formed decided opinions for himself in all matters that seemed ambiguous to his childish mind, accepting what seemed good and rejecting what seemed unreasonable. When he was scarcely twelve years of age he conceived the idea that if everyone should of his own free will make himself an image of Christ it would lay the foundation for a new state of society.[3] Thus early did he in a general way formulate a conception of life which, broadened and modified by subsequent study, became the basis of his mature religious and political views.

After passing through the common school he entered the gymnasium where he distinguished himself in all his studies, especially in the ancient and modern languages. Among his teachers none exercised so great an influence on his early development as Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker,[4] a man imbued

[1] *Works of Charles Follen,* I, 8. In the following pages these works will be referred to simply as *Works.*

[2] This incident is related by W. H. Channing in *Christian Examiner,* XXXIII, 50f.

[3] *Works,* I, 21.

[4] Welcker was afterwards noted as an archeologist and classical philologian, and became professor of ancient literature at Göttingen where he made the acquaintance of the American students, George Ticknor and Edward Everett, to whom he gave Follen letters of recommendation when the latter left Europe.

with an ardent love of freedom and fatherland. Although the boy's patriotism had, no doubt, already been awakened by conversations with his father on the Napoleonic rule in Germany, it was his teacher who first aroused his interest in political questions and contemporary historical events. Welcker was a true German patriot and sought to inspire his pupils also with a love of fatherland and a hatred of French domination.[1] To this end he interested them first of all in Schiller's patriotic poetry. Thus Schiller became the light and companion of Follen's early days. The thing that impressed Follen most of all, as he states in his lectures[2] many years later, was the fact that Schiller was a poet of freedom, that he resisted all kinds of unnatural and unreasonable restraints, and that he preached the gospel of freedom in the Kantian sense as synonymous with the moral nature of man. Welcker further inspired his pupils by giving them patriotic themes upon which to write compositions. Two such essays from young Follen's pen in 1811 give evidence of his growing patriotism and his longing for freedom, even at the price of a martyr's death. He expressed himself in this manner:[3]

"The Germans lack patriotism; in learning they take the lead, but they lack energy. It is the duty of everybody to live and to die for the common weal. Then only can they serve God and the fatherland. It breaks my heart when I see how the worm of tyranny is daily gnawing at the vitals of our ancestral freedom. The stars of hope have set and never will the sweet morning dawn. But living or dead the goal will yet be attained."

In the spring of 1813, when scarcely more than sixteen years of age, young Follen graduated from the Gymnasium and at once began the study of law at the university of Giessen. It was at this time that the growing patriotic movement, such as Germany had never witnessed before, swelled into that great popular uprising against the foreign oppressor. In re-

[1] Haupt, *Karl Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen*, 6.

[2] *Works*, IV, 388.

[3] Haupt, 22.

sponse to the appeal of the king of Prussia to the nation the German youth rushed to arms and with noble enthusiasm went out to battle for their dearest rights. Inspired by Jahn's "Teutsches Volkstum," Fichte's "Reden an die deutsche Nation," Welcker's teachings and example, and especially by Körner's heroic death, Follen with his two brothers joined a student corps of riflemen and entered the struggle for national independence, ready to sacrifice his dearest hopes upon the altar of freedom. At the close of the campaign in 1814 the brothers returned home safely and with new-born ardor Follen again took up his study of jurisprudence and theology at Giessen. Imbued with higher ideals of patriotism and possessed of a more serious view of life as a result of his experiences in the war, his early religious and political ideas now shaped themselves into a system somewhat as follows:[1] All tyranny whatsoever is sinful, for man is and of right ought to be free. Nobody is free who is a slave to his own passions, who fears death, or who does not believe in immortality. Since the end and aim of life is Christlike perfection, that is, perfect freedom, men are in duty bound first to subdue the tyrant in their own breasts and then to oppose all unjust dominion without; in other words, to lead a life of purity, to submit to the law of justice, and to promote universal brotherhood as taught by Christ. Follen began early the practical illustration of this theory by leading a life of strict morality and of devotion to duty, becoming himself a freeman according to his own conception of freedom and consecrating himself, thereby, to his life-work as a reformer. Believing that the adoption of these principles would effect a regeneration of all mankind he now entered upon a course of activity which gradually developed into a systematic propaganda for the political, social, and religious reform of Germany.

HIS PROMOTION OF THE BURSCHENSCHAFT.

Although the German patriots prior to the wars of liberation gave passionate expression to their longings for national unity, the fact must not be overlooked that the object was not

[1] *Works*, I, 21f.

so much the welding of the German states into a strong political whole for the internal welfare of the country as their mutual cooperation for the establishment of national independence. Even after the latter had been attained the political writers of the day had only the haziest notions concerning the problem of national organization.[1] Wishes, hopes, and theories there were in abundance, but community of interests and definite programs were wanting. But the academic youth took a step in advance of their elders by formulating a definite plan of action. In the first place they conceived the idea of reorganizing university life along new lines and of making it thus the model for a larger national life. To this end they began a general movement for the purpose of forming a closer union of all the students, a true Burschenschaft, to supersede the old, established Landsmannschaften, which had hitherto dominated student affairs in the most arbitrary and tyrannical manner. These provincial clubs not only fostered false notions of honor and a system of caste, but preserved also a feeling of localism, a spirit of particularism, which was one of the greatest weaknesses of German life. Ignoring provincial lines and inculcating a larger ideal of association, the new organization on the other hand was to be national in its aims. Taking Fichte, Jahn, Arndt, and Schleiermacher as their examples and leaders, and pledging themselves to lead a life of industry, sobriety, and chastity, these young idealists hoped by means of physical and mental training, by patriotic inspiration and moral elevation to lead the state of the future to the goal of civic freedom and national unity.

This patriotic outburst during the wars of liberation was accompanied by an intense religious fervor. The supremacy of the moral law, strict obedience to the inner voice of duty, as taught by Kant and Fichte, had prepared the way for a new religious life in Germany. The Romanticists had awakened a new interest in Christianity and a deep feeling of mystic piety, while Schleiermacher through his Addresses on Religion aroused a keener realization of man's dependence on God. Through the national disaster the Germans had become

[1] Jastrow, 129f.

more serious and introspective, and consequently more receptive to the new spiritual life that was dawning. Devotion to humanity rather than personal happiness and culture came to be looked upon as the end and aim of existence. To this young generation to be German meant to be religious; hence the patriotism of the Burschenschaft movement went hand in hand with a fervent religious exaltation.

The Burschenschaft movement originated and reached its climax in Giessen and Jena, receiving its most characteristic stamp from the contrast between the general atmosphere of these two universities.[1] The latter had long enjoyed a reputation for its liberal traditions and its romantic, idyllic academic life, while the former was characterized by a spirit of narrow conservatism and noted for the traditionally rough and disorderly conduct of its students. In both universities duels took the place of arguments, and the Komment, the self-constituted laws of the Landsmannschaften, was arbitrary in the extreme. But in Giessen especially sectional feeling ran high, and the tyranny of the few over the many became almost unbearable; the rowdyism of the students had brought them into numerous conflicts with the laws of the land and this tended also to increase the reactionary attitude both of the ducal and of the university authorities. Such was the status of affairs with which the reformers had to cope in Giessen. In marked contrast therefore to the burschikos character of the Jena movement, that of Giessen took the form of a political propaganda. The heart and soul of this movement was Karl Follen who, bent upon his project for the social and political reform of Germany, inspired his followers to the highest pitch of enthusiasm for his revolutionary program.

Under the influence of Fichte's "Addresses to the German Nation," which advocated a new system of education for the creation of a new national spirit, and hence as a means to national unity, Follen began his propaganda by organizing literary clubs for the promotion of patriotism and science. Largely due to the efforts of himself and his elder brother, Adolf, there was organized in Giessen as early as the autumn

[1] Cf. Braun, *Westermann's Monatshefte*, XXXV, 225.

of 1814 a "Deutsche Lesegesellschaft," in the reading room of which were to be found political newspapers and pamphlets, and in whose meetings the writings of such men as Möser, Schiller, Körner, Arndt, and Fichte were read and discussed.[1] The members of this society adopted the old German garb,—long hair, black velvet coat, and dagger, and under the influence of "Turnvater" Jahn, who had already done so much through his gymnastics to cultivate manliness and patriotic sentiment in the German youth, devoted themselves diligently to physical culture also. But on account of rivalries and jealousies, and especially on account of an attempt by a few of the leaders of the association to abolish the practice of dueling, which had become one of the most baneful customs of student life, the organization was soon broken up. In the following summer, 1815, a small group of the more radical, including the Follen brothers, banded together into a league called the "Germania," with patriotic, moral and scholarly aims. From the color of their academic coats they were dubbed the "Blacks"[2] by the other students, and on account of their stern morality and opposition to rowdyism soon came into conflict with the Landsmannschaften. Follen and his friends soon became so repugnant to the majority of the Giessen students, as Wesselhöft observes,[3] that the latter refused to fraternize with them. Denounced as political conspirators the Blacks were compelled to dissolve this league, but immediately formed a new one under the name of "Deutscher Bildungs- und Freundschaftsverein."[4] As a condition to entrance into this association the candidate had to be a true Christian, a real German, and a bona fide student. Before the end of the year this society also was obliged to disband, but the persecution by the Landsmannschaften continued and the Blacks had to maintain themselves by frequent duels in

[1] Haupt, 6.

[2] Ibid., 12. In his *Aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit* Münch erroneously dates the origin of the Blacks at the end of 1816.

[3] *Teutsche Jugend in weiland Burschenschaften und Turngemeinden*, 80.

[4] Haupt, 12.

which Follen took a leading part. Concerning this struggle Follen's widow gives the following account:[1]

"He was often challenged and called upon to use his sword against these bullies, but he has told me that he never used it in a purely personal quarrel. He was skillful in the use of the weapon and was so calm and collected that he almost always gained the victory, but never abused it. These duels with the broadsword seldom endangered life, and at that time he thought himself justified in occasionally using this means for the defense of truth and justice. It was one of his great purposes and of the party of which he was a leader to put a check to this evil and dangerous custom; but he thought had he not the courage and power to defend himself by force of arms, he should not have the same influence with his fellow students in urging other and moral means for the settlement of differences; he could not even have remained in the university."

Concerning the aims of these literary clubs Follen himself records the following:[2] "They were organized partly among students, partly among other young men for reciprocal exchange of views on philosophy, religion, and political subjects, and held together for the most part by the common bond of like ideas,—an ideal friendship whose simple sincerity and fervor is so characteristically German. The members had public opinion on their side through their zeal for science and their strict morality. In their meetings, which often occurred without any previous appointment, the most important truths of religion, ethics, jurisprudence, politics, and especially of scientific subjects were discussed. The sad condition of the fatherland without unity and freedom was discussed also, and some were of the opinion that the ideal national life needed above all a unity of faith for one Christian German Church. Others held that the church is a private society in the state and believed that the latter should have a different form, which according to some should be a limited monarchy, ac-

[1] *Works,* I, 26.

[2] "Ueber die deutsche Inquisition"—Published in Johannes Wits *Fragmente aus meinem Leben,* III, Sec. 1, 187.

cording to others a republic. Upon these subjects speeches were made and disquisitions written."

Unyielding in his determination to proceed with his original program, Follen continued his efforts to bring the student body into a closer union with a view to establishing a student republic as a model for a larger national organization. In his History[1] of the Christian German Burschenschaft Follen wrote as follows concerning the movement in Giessen: "When local divisions and an oppressive system of rank were wasting, by angry collisions, the free powers of individuals and of the whole student body, there arose among the students of Giessen the idea of a Christian-German Republic in which the officers should be on a complete level with all the others, where the will of the whole, obtained by a free, general discussion in assemblies open to all, should rule in the concerns of the students; and where in a close union of all their youthful powers, in their manners and conduct, and in their public sentiment an earnest, patriotic effort, a striving after learning, physical culture, and freedom as citizens should be unfolded. Many students who were spiritually united by the same striving after Christian and national progress went steadily onward to the attainment of this object in friendly union, held together only by a true inward indissoluble bond of conviction."

Under the leadership of Follen the Blacks continued their discussions and consultations in private throughout the year 1816. In a public assembly of the student body in the autumn of that year they offered a set of resolutions to the effect:[2] That all students should be free and equal among themselves from the day of entrance to the university so long as they conduct themselves honorably; that all associations arrogating to themselves any peculiar power, and opposing thereby the establishing of equality and unity in the university, should be dissolved; that a code of rules for the government of the students and a court for the settlement of all questions

[1] Quoted in part in *Works,* I, 30—50. Haupt and Pregizer give the original title of this history as *Beiträge zur Geschichte der teutschen Samtschulen seit dem Freiheitskriege,* 1813.

[2] "History of the Giessener Burschenschaft,"—*Works,* I, 40.

of honor should be established; that an assembly of all Christian German students, united in a free student community, should, as the only justly authorized association, exercise all legislative and judicial functions in all student affairs; and that for the purpose of a free, progressive development of student life, a free German Burschen-Commonwealth should be established in each of the German universities.

These propositions were greeted with shouts of approval, but owing to the opposition of the Landsmannschaften and the hostile attitude of the university authorities, who regarded this movement for liberty as dangerous to the established order, nothing was accomplished. Undaunted, however, in their efforts for academic reform, the Blacks sought to establish at least a court of honor for the adjustment of differences among the students. After deliberating among themselves they finally adopted a set of laws under the title of the "Ehrenspiegel." Follen himself drafted most of the statutes and prefaced them with the following lines,[1] which indicate the Christian, republican spirit of the work:

Der Gottheit Blitzstrahl, der aus finstrer Wolke
Aus dieser Sturmzeit herrlich sich entzündet,
Die Liebe, die uns All' in Gott verbündet,
Als Gottes Stimm' in Menschen, wie im Volke,
Lebendig neu der Menschheit Urbild gründet,
Die durch den Heiland,
Die jetzt und weiland
Uns durch so viel Blutzeugen ist verbündet,
Sie gibt das Feuer uns zum kühnen Handeln,
Das Licht, um frei der Wahrheit Bahn zu wandeln.

Among the several principles set up in the Ehrenspiegel it was decreed:[2]

"That the relation of individual students to each other must be a relation of unconditional equality, without reference to any particular faith, country, or rank arising from age or family connections.

[1] Ibid.,—*Works,* I, 50.

[2] Ibid.,—*Works,* I, 35ff.

"Honor ennobles at the university, but honor will be rendered to everyone who is animated by a pure zeal for a learned and worthy education, by a holy devotion to the faith and the country to which he, with free conviction, adheres.

"There can be no relation of honor without a relation of justice; consequently every duel is mischievous and sinful if it is ascertained that there is right on one side and injustice on the other, or a misunderstanding on both. But the ascertaining of the right requires a court, and among students it must be a court of arbitration.

"No single department of art or science suffices us, and as little can a single mode of bodily exercise. Only a constant progress towards knowledge and truth, enlarged by friendly communion, united to a social, gymnastic development of all bodily powers, can lead to a free harmony of one being, in parts as in the whole.

"Let the model of a Christian-German Burschenschaft be our perpetual ideal! Let this elevated spirit of union fraternize the whole Burschenschaft into one republic and covenant of honor, which may form itself independently in each university, but yet each one as an image or part of the whole; strong in united action, ruled by a noble morality, springing from free conviction, and enlightened by public sentiment, which constitutes the conscience of this as of every other republic."

Early in 1817 the Ehrenspiegel was submitted to the general student body publicly assembled, but the Landsmannschaften refused to take part in the proceedings. Thereupon about sixty of Follen's adherents pledged themselves to its principles, associating themselves thus into the Christian-German Burschenschaft of Giessen, and invited all other students to join them in their public meetings. To this association Follen dedicated his stirring song of freedom, entitled the "Turnstaat,"[1] which sounds the keynote to his program for civic freedom, for the religious and political unity of Germany.

[1] *Freye Stimmen frischer Jugend*—No. 1.

In consequence of the new organization a violent partisan strife arose. The adherents of the Ehrenspiegel were forthwith excommunicated from the student body by the Landsmannschaften, and all sorts of calumnies were heaped upon them with the object of making them odious to the authorities. They were branded as Jacobins, black bandits, and state traitors, and accused of revolutionary designs against the reigning sovereigns. As a result of these serious charges the university senate instituted an investigation, seeking in every way to discover whether the Blacks were guilty of dangerous political activity. The two important features of this examination were the charges [1] that Follen had sought to found an academic free-state for the training of demagogues and preachers of freedom, and that the Ehrenspiegel was a dangerous, revolutionary document because its declared object was the good of the whole country rather than that of separate provinces. Although the charge against the Blacks of revolutionary aims had in all probability some foundation, the latter were after a long examination declared innocent, but the senate decreed that the Burschenschaft should henceforth be considered a forbidden association. From this time on the Giessen Blacks maintained no outward organization, but through the exertions of Follen the inner bond of sympathy, conviction, and common ideals was cemented between them more strongly than ever. In private they continued their propaganda for union and liberty in academic life.

THE WARTBURG FESTIVAL.

From Giessen and Jena the Burschenschaft movement spread rapidly until it had by this time found footing in sixteen different universities. Black-red-gold was adopted as the emblem and Arndt's well-known song, "Sind wir vereint zur guten Stunde," the hymn of the fraternity. For the twofold purpose of uniting the several Burschenschaften into one general organization and also of commemorating two great national events, the battle of Leipzig and the tercentenary of the

[1] "History of the Giessen Burschenschaft"—*Works,* I, 47f.

Reformation, plans were made for a great student festival at the Wartburg. This movement was set on foot in Jena, but according to Massmann, the historian of the event, the idea of the celebration originated among Follen's circle of Blacks, who had entered into close relations with the Jena Burschen.[1] The principles which the friends of freedom and unity advocated were embodied by the Jena students in a memorial[2] to be presented at the Wartburg meeting. This document consisted of thirty-five articles, of which the following declarations were the most pertinent:

"Germany is and shall remain a unit. The more the Germans are divided by different states, the more sacred is the duty of every German to strive for the maintenance of unity and fatherland. For this ideal the heroes of 1813 fell, and for this ideal all have fought and will fight. With this in view do we celebrate the 18th of October. Should the Germans forget this ideal they ought again to pass under the foreign yoke. The doctrine that there is a North and a South Germany is false and pernicious and has emanated from an evil spirit; the distinction is merely geographical. There is a North and a South Germany just as there is a right and left side of a man; but the man is one and has one mind and one heart, and Germany is one and shall have one mind and one heart. The doctrine that there is a protestant and a catholic Germany is false and unfortunate and has come from an evil enemy. Whether protestant or catholic, Germans are Germans and belong to one fatherland. Germans are brothers and shall be friends; hence a war between German states would be a crime. If one German state is attacked then all Germany is attacked. In war against a foreign enemy all Germans must unite for common defense; in peace all must unite to preserve

[1] Haupt, 36. According to Leo, *Meine Jugendzeit*, 151, the idea came from Jahn's circle in Berlin.

[2] Given in full by Herbst, *Ideale und Irrtümer des akademischen Lebens*, 184-205. These principles were discussed at the Wartburg meeting, but the document was not published for several years for fear that it would increase the suspicion against the Burschenschaft, which had been occasioned by the festival.

all that has made Germany great and to promote German nationality.

"Freedom and equality is the highest for which we strive and for which every honorable German can never cease to strive. But there is no freedom and equality except in and through the law. Without law there is no freedom, but dominion, caprice, and despotism; without law there is no equality, but violence, subjection, and slavery. Laws must proceed from those, or be acceptable to those, who must live under them. Through the formation of the German Confederation the princes have recognized that every state is a part of Germany, and that as a part must be subservient to the whole. But they have also recognized that the law and freedom shall not vanish before their sovereignty. The 13th article of the Acts of Confederation contains the solemn promise that caprice shall not rule in any German state. At present the Germans have no greater duty than to speak the truth, and so loud that it shall reach the ears of their rulers. This is incumbent until the 13th article shall go into effect. Free speech shall not be denied. Therefore do we resolve:

"To be true to these principles and propagate them; to be true to science, especially to those sciences which concern the national life, such as ethics, politics, and history; to prevent the division of the nation into factions at the universities; to settle all differences without resorting to duels; to promote gymnastics because this makes men strong for the defense of the fatherland; to call no section but Germany alone our fatherland; to shun all that is foreign."

Follen had, of course, no part in the drafting of this memorial, but the principles involved were the same as those which were being instilled into the hearts and minds of the academic youth throughout Germany, due in large measure to his influence as leader of the Giessen movement; hence this brief allusion to the Wartburg meeting seems pertinent to the general discussion.

On the appointed day over four hundred students from twelve universities assembled on the market place in Eisenach and then formed a line of march to the Wartburg where, in

the great Rittersaal, the exercises were held. After singing "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" one of the Jena Burschenschafter, who had won the iron-cross at Waterloo, made the main address, eulogizing the great deeds of Luther and Blücher, and exhorting his comrades through memory of the past to dedicate themselves to the holy cause of freedom and union. After the banquet, in which toasts were proposed in honor of Luther, the Grand Duke of Weimar, and the heroes of the war, the Burschen attended divine services in a body and then betook themselves in torchlight procession to the top of the Wartenberg where in a glare of bonfires the day closed with patriotic speeches and songs. Unfortunately, however, some of the more ardent spirits thought the occasion fitting for a demonstration, half serious, half farcical, against the reactionary tendency of the German governments. After the final proceedings several unpopular reactionary writings[1] were committed to the flames in imitation of Luther's burning of the papal bull. This was merely a harmless, juvenile escapade without premeditated malice, but the effect it produced upon the country was out of all proportion to its insignificance as we shall presently see. The second day was devoted to the discussion of the Burschenschaft organization. In these deliberations there arose again a sharp clash between the members of the Burschenschaften and Landsmannschaften, especially between the delegates of the two Giessen organizations. These differences were finally settled, all parties agreeing to the establishment of a general Burschenschaft.

Follen himself was unable to attend the festival, but with a few friends commemorated the event by partaking of the Lord's Supper, pledging themselves anew in this solemn way to a life of self-sacrificing devotion to the welfare of the country.

The Wartburg festival was the first great national demonstration against the weakness of the German Confederation and the first public expression of the necessity of a change in

[1] According to Wesselhöft, 16, and Leo, 102, the works themselves were not burned, but a number of old books provided by Massmann and his friends.

political affairs. It has become a famous historical episode not because of anything culpable in the enthusiastic boyish proceedings, but because of the effect that the spirit of the affair had upon the sovereigns of Europe. In some of the speeches it had indeed been declared that the rulers had not kept their promises to the people, but with the exception of the unfortunate act which marred the close of the first festal day the whole official program was carried out with dignity and moderation. On receipt of greatly exaggerated reports of what had occurred the Austrian and Prussian governments condemned the liberalism of the Grand Duke of Weimar and sent envoys to the "big Bursche," who after an investigation failed to find that the students had committed any grave offense. There was a current report that the Acts of Confederation of the German states were among the books supposed to have been burned, and in this Metternich saw a wide-spread conspiracy. The King of Prussia, too, became so alarmed that he ordered all clubs and associations in the Prussian universities to be dissolved and threatened to close these institutions rather than allow them to become centers of revolutionary intrigue.

In spite of this reactionary attitude the deliberations begun at the Wartburg were continued the following year in two conventions at Jena, resulting in the establishment of the "Allgemeine deutsche Burschenschaft." The purpose of this organization was, in a word, the unity, liberty, and equality of all German students as the first step to the unity of the German people, and the Christian German cultivation of every physical and spiritual power for the service of the fatherland. In tranquility, order, and respect for law student life began to show a marked improvement under the influence of this new order of things.[1] The picture of an ordinary Burschen meeting in Jena, as sketched by the Scotch traveler, John Russell,[2] shows a spirit which was typical of the Burschenschaft in all the other universities: "Every man, with his bonnet on his

[1] Rechtlieb Zeitgeist, *Demagogische Umtriebe*, II, 539.

[2] *A Tour in Germany*, I, 111.

head, a pot of beer in his hand, a pipe or segar in his mouth, and a song on his lips, never doubting but that he and his companions are training themselves to be regenerators of Europe, that they are the true representatives of the manliness and independence of the German character, and the only models of a free, generous, and high-minded youth. They lay their hands upon their jugs and vow the liberation of Germany; they stop a second pipe or light a second segar and swear that the Holy Alliance is an unclean thing."

The Burschenschaft not only served to restore and propagate the patriotic spirit, but became a symbol of the dignity and import of national life. This was an important step in raising the barriers of particularism, which had kept the Germans separated and had stood in the way of national development. Through the Burschenschaft the academic youth had before their eyes, on a small scale, the image of a larger national life; through it they began to take an interest in political problems and to prepare themselves thereby for the future political tasks of patriotic German citizens. Through this study they gained a larger conception of nationality and came to realize more fully that only by united action and consecration to common ideals could Teutonic civilization endure. Although the movement did not lead to any direct results the training which it had given in science and politics was not lost, for theoretically it had solved the problem. When these young patriots saw that national unity could not be attained at once they turned to the second part of their program, the establishment of constitutional freedom in the individual states as a means to the ultimate goal of their political ideal. Foremost in this movement for constitutional government was Karl Follen. The impressions which this struggle made upon the minds of these young men and the experience which it gave them remained with them for life; hence the Burschenschaft may be considered as a nursery in which were reared the leaders of the liberal movement of 1848, and in which was fostered the spirit that was absolutely necessary to make possible the establishment of the German Empire.

HIS REPUBLICANISM.

As a child Follen already displayed an intensely religious nature, a great reverence for the character of Christ, and a highly developed will to moral action. These characteristics not only account for his youthful Utopian scheme for the reformation of society, but form the psychological basis of his mature political views.

As already indicated, he had become interested in political questions prior to 1815, but not until after the Congress of Vienna did he enter the arena of political activity. This step was due in part to the failure of the German rulers to redeem their promise of constitutional government, and partly to the teachings of Gottlieb Welcker, whom the reactionary policy of the Metternich regime had driven into the ranks of the Republicans. As an instructor Welcker was very popular with the Giessen students, and at the request of the Blacks delivered a series of lectures on the great questions of the day during the winter of 1815-'16. His discussion of religion, morality, education, and public opinion were similar in their tendency to Fichte's Addresses and made a deep impression upon the members of Follen's circle.[1] He demanded constitutional government and declared that the social structure of Europe rested upon the estates, that the mystical idea of princely power was baneful in its effects, and that a neglect of duty on the part of the rulers would turn the nation toward republicanism.

That Follen was from this time growing dissatisfied with monarchic government and drifting rapidly toward republicanism is evident first of all by his effort to reorganize student life along democratic lines, upon the basis of freedom and equality. In his patriotic and revolutionary poetry, especially in the "Great Song," he brands the rulers as tyrants, traitors, and priests of Moloch, complains bitterly of the oppression of the people, and appeals to the latter to rise in their might against their oppressors and to organize a free-state. In his

[1] Haupt, 18.

political essays,[1] "Ueber die deutsche Inquisition" and "Ueber die revolutionäre Stimmung Deutschlands," he turns from his invective against individuals to the monarchic form of government itself as the evil to be opposed. He declares that the tyranny within is more odious than foreign domination, that instead of German unity there is only national dismemberment, instead of freedom only oppression and burdens, "suppression of intellectual freedom, embargoes on commerce, tolls, oppressive taxation, standing armies, high-handed justice, suppression of the freedom of the press, and capricious measures of all sorts."[2] He criticizes the Confederation because "without the cooperation of the people it put the supreme authority in the hands of an assembly of princely delegates, who are bound by the instructions of their governments, whereby the sovereigns of the several states as such are strengthened."[3] He objects to a government in which "the executive power assumes also the legislative and judicial functions,"[4] and denounces monarchism, "which like an evil worm is gnawing at every branch of political and civil life."[5] He further declares that "Germany has reached a state of civilization in which the history of the people is no longer identical with that of the governments; the decrees of the latter, even when made in opposition to public opinion, have no significance unless they are determined by it since real political self-activity exists only in the people."[6] And finally he states his position clearly when he says: "The different rulers have combined to uphold the monarchic principle and have thereby challenged all those who have hitherto sought a constitutional monarchy not to meet them half way, but to set principle over

[1] Written in 1819; extant in Wit's *Fragmente,* III, Sec. 1, 174-200.

[2] Wit's *Fragmente,* III, Sec. 1, 197.

[3] Ibid., 198.

[4] Ibid., 192.

[5] Ibid., 182.

[6] Ibid., 194.

against principle, that is, to substitute republicanism for monarchism." [1]

Follen's theories concerning the nature of the state were based upon the axiom of the French Revolution, that all men are free and equal. To the writings of Rousseau and especially of Fichte was due to a great extent his conversion to the principles of republican government. The main doctrines of these two writers concerning the nature of the civil state may, therefore, be briefly summed up as follows:

Rousseau,[2] it will be remembered believed that men enjoyed complete liberty and equality in the state of nature, which he considered as the golden age of mankind, and that the transition from the natural to the civil state was made by a social contract, entered into by individuals, who ceded their natural rights to a sovereign in return for certain civil rights. In the state of nature each individual was a sovereign in his own right, while the sovereignty resulting from the social contract is synonymous with the general will. Since sovereignty is, therefore, composed of the people as a whole it is absolute, inalienable, indivisible, and the source of all law. Rulers are merely agents without independent authority, chosen only to execute the general will.

In his early political writings [3] Fichte expressed the warmest enthusiasm for the French Revolution, admitting thereby his inclination toward republican principles. Rousseau accepts the original contracts as the basis of civil rights as a historical fact, while Fichte considers it merely as a theoretical foundation for civic association. According to Fichte's doctrine man has in the political state two kinds of rights, alienable and inalienable. The former have reference to modes of action which are permitted, but not enjoined, by the moral law. The most comprehensive of the latter is that of ethical

[1] Ibid., 199f.

[2] Cf. *Social Contract*, Bk. I, Chap. 6.

[3] These were two anonymous tracts: *Zurückforderung der Denkfreiheit von den Fürsten Europas* and *Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publikums über die französische Revolution*—published in 1799. *Sämtliche Werke*, VI.

freedom, including the right to free expression of opinion and to free communication of thought, for without such freedom no spiritual development is possible. The right to develop toward perfection, toward moral freedom, is then according to Fichte the fundamental principle upon which the state is founded. In substance this is a statement of the Social Contract in terms of Kant's ethical system. As Fichte viewed it, the state is an instrument for protecting and regulating man's right to property and to the free development of his moral nature.

With the exception of Rousseau, who looked into the past for the golden age of mankind, the dominant belief of thinking men in the last half of the 18th century was an abiding faith in the possibility of unlimited human progress. Follen seems to have accepted both views: With Rousseau he saw a state of human perfection in the past, but regarded the age in which he lived as utterly bad, and with Fichte his highest aim was to realize an ideal state of man in the future. In the past he saw human perfection embodied in Christ and set up this ideal as a model for the future, maintaining with Fichte that civic organization is for no other purpose than to aid humanity to develop toward a perfect life. "On the battlefield of Leipzig," he writes,[1] "there awoke a spirit which strives and will strive until all is accomplished, till in the people the ideal of humanity is glorified." With Rousseau he maintains that men are born free and equal, with certain inalienable rights; with Fichte that the destiny of man is free development toward divine perfection. It is these general principles that lie at the foundation of his political ideas.

The theories which Follen formulated at this time concerning the civil state were in later years embodied in his lectures on moral philosophy,[2] and from this source his whole

[1] The Giessen Burschenschaft—*Works,* I, 30.

[2] *Works,* III, Chap. 14. In his *Politische Ideen des Karl Follen* Pregizer seems not to have used this source, but instead relies on the political essay in Wit's *Fragmente,* III, Sec. 1, 331-344, which he atributes to Follen. In *Fragmente,* III, Sec. 1, p. 207, Wit claims to be the author of this essay, which purports to be an exposition of the political creed of Follen's Blacks. The fact that some of the statements in the

course of reasoning can be traced more in detail. According to his views every human being possesses by nature personal rights, which constitute him the absolute master of his own faculties of body and mind; the right to property; and social rights, which entitle him to enter into all kinds of relations with his fellow men. Only through the free exercise of these rights, he maintains, and by a thorough system of education can mankind develop toward infinite perfection. In order to develop freely it is necessary for every individual to conduct himself in a manner conducive to his own welfare and to that of others. But who is to formulate correct rules of civic conduct? It is evident, Follen replies, that since there is no exterior standard of truth and right; since there is no certainty that one person's opinion is better than that of his neighbor, men must come to this conclusion whenever their opinions disagree as to what is right and what are the most effective means of carrying it out, that many eyes generally see better and many arms hold faster than two. Who then shall be the rulers? The wealthiest, the wisest and best, or those who decend from certain families? It is self-evident that wisdom and goodness cannot be bought, nor is it certain that they are inherited; and as to the wisest and best, the question remains undecided who they are. Consequently the only measure of right which remains is the majority of opinions, a fallible standard, it is true, but the highest to be obtained. The majority have, therefore, according to Follen, a natural right to establish and enforce their views as a law over all, chiefly for two reasons: In the first place, whenever there is no standard of truth that of probability must decide, and according to this principle that opinion of right which satisfies most minds must be presumed to be the most correct view obtainable at the time. In the second place, in order to make a minority rule over a majority the equality of rights must be violated by giving to certain individuals, singled out in some way or other, greater freedom than the rest, whereas every individual may at any

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essay are identical with those in the lectures on moral philosophy shows plainly that it contains many of Follen's ideas even if it was not written by him.

time be in the majority without any special distinction. The main object of the state is then, according to Follen's view, the establishment of justice; and the principle means of realizing this purpose consists in a common legislation, by which the community declares what it considers the right rule of conduct, and a common administration, by which the decrees of the legislature are carried into effect. In the execution of these decrees force may be used only to compel the individual to do that which is necessary to the general welfare and to restrain him from doing that which is injurious to his fellow men.

It must not be supposed, Follen argues, that any one gives up his natural rights in becoming a member of the civil association, for if this were possible there is no one to whom he could resign them. He denies also the assertion of those who claim that the state itself, or the government, is a personality distinct from the individuals who are its subjects. Such personalities exist only in the imagination of certain priests of the law, who have peopled the civil world with a host of fabulous characters. What then is the state? It is an association of men, he replies, for no other purpose than to exercise their natural rights more fully and securely in common than each of them could do by himself; to unite their intellectual powers in order to ascertain that which is right, and their physical strength to carry this into effect. "A commonwealth, a republic," he explains, "is the only state worthy of man—not because it makes him better or happier, but because it is the most responsible condition of man in society and consequently most truly a moral state, in which every action, good or bad, must be ascribed to the whole people."[1]

Like Fichte Follen, too, believed that the second function of the state is the establishment of a thorough system of education to unfold and strengthen and refine the faculties of men;

[1] *Works*, III, 282. Follen seems to have in mind the ideal state described by Schiller in his Aesthetic Letters. According to Schiller the ideal state is the reflex of the united characters of its citizens; citizens whose characters are formed in accordance with the new ethical standards set up by Kant.

to aid them in the onward march toward perfection.[1] "Domestic and public education," he says, "are the two great elements which must operate in the development of man. Without domestic education man becomes a creature of the state, as in Sparta; whereas the state was made for man, and not man for the state. Without public education man hardly ever rises above the finite circle of knowledge and virtue, or the settled prejudices and selfish designs of his own family. He indeed loses his highest domestic privileges,—which is to think and feel and act as one of the great family of men."[2] The state has other important functions also, he adds, such as the promotion of religion, science, art, and commerce, but it should not engage in any of these pursuits.

From the foregoing it is evident that Follen was thoroughly imbued with the principles of democracy. The reactionary attitude of the German rulers caused him to repudiate monarchism completely and to demand a republican form of government based upon the principles of the freedom and equality of all. The main function of the state, as he conceives it, is to protect the liberty of all against the caprices of the individual, whereas in a monarchic form of society the will of the people is subservient to the caprice of the rulers.[3] This contradiction, he believed, not only justified but also demanded a revolution.

As indicated at the outset, Follen's republicanism was in a large measure due to his Christian faith, to his belief in human equality and in the dignity and immortality of the

[1] In his Addresses Fichte developed two general lines of thought: first, he discusses that element of German character which was to form the basis of the new national state; second, the means through which this was to be attained. In the original character, plasticity, and pictorial power of its language; in its philosophical and poetic bent of mind; in its religious depths and warmth; as well as in its pure unmixed blood the Teutonic race bears, according to his view, the stamp of genius; and in this free, original German spirit lies the possibility of a noble ethical life if it is left free to develop and is promoted by the new Pestalozzian system of education and by a union of all individuals in the service of one common end.

[2] *Works*, III, 291.

[3] Wit's *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 207.

human soul. "If men believed in the immortality of their souls," he declares,[1] "there would be no slavery in this world, for all unjust pretensions and cruel distinctions among men, every proud elevation and servile humiliation, must fall before the acknowledged equality of immortal spirits." The life and teachings of Christ were his standard and guide in politics and government. These principles were with him a living reality; he never wavered from them nor neglected any opportunity to advocate and to promote them.

From his Addresses to the German Nation it is evident that Fichte desired national unity in a republican form of government;[2] but after all it was spiritual rather than political unity that seemed to him of the most value. Spiritual unity for moral development, he believed, would lead to perfect democracy, and the government best adapted to attain this end, whether republic or monarchy, should be adopted.[3] Like Fichte Follen, too, considered the state as an organization for realizing the moral end of humanity,—a state of society ruled by brotherly love and held together in Christian unity. Like Fichte Follen believed that the ideal was to be realized by the German people through the German state, and in this he was thoroughly patriotic; but his patriotism like that[4] of Fichte was strongly cosmopolitan, for like him he was an idealist and his thinking tended toward the universal. But unlike Fichte Follen demanded for the attainment of this end a political national unity under republican government and set himself to the task of realizing this demand. Fichte speaks of the disadvantages[5] of a politically divided Germany and admits also that the totality of German life is enriched by the provincial

[1] Follen's Sermons, *Works,* II, 6f.

[2] Cf. Ninth Address. In the Sixth Address Fichte states expressly that Germany is the only modern European nation that has proved itself worthy of realizing republican government.

[3] Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat,* 111f.

[4] Ibid., 92f.

[5] Cf. Ninth and Eleventh Addresses.

culture peculiar to each state,[1] but he demands only a national spirit rather than a national state. Follen on the other hand was convinced that the greatest hindrance to the progressive development of the Teutonic race was provincial patriotism and the spirit of particularism, and believed this obstacle could be removed only by the subversion of the various monarchic states and by uniting the people under one allegiance in a German republic.

As a preliminary step to this end the Follen brothers and their circle of political friends outlined during the winter of 1817-'18 a plan for a national constitution based upon republican principles; it consisted of 34 articles[2] and was in a general way modeled after that of the French republic. That the attainment of German unity is the object in view is evident from the first three articles, which read as follows:

"Germans are one people, that is, men of like mental and physical make-up; in addition to that, of similar language, historical traditions, and religious faith; to the Germans belong: the Swiss, Alsatians, Friesians, etc.

"In addition to this complete similarity of the Germans are subordinate social differences: specific physical and mental traits and developments, such as dialects, tribal history, etc. For the preservation and progressive development of these national characteristics the various branches of the race are closely united forever into one whole: the German Empire. For the preservation and development of these differences, which are nurtured merely as an aid to unity, the country shall be divided into imperial provinces.[3]

"The empire is to be a union of all Germans so that in it and through it the progressive development of humanity shall

[1] Cf. Ninth Address.

[2] Given in full by Jarcke, *Carl Ludwig Sand und sein an Kotzebue verübter Mord*, 88ff.

[3] Believing that a greater leveling should take place Follen introduced here a radical amendment: "After further deliberations the empire shall be divided into districts without any regard to racial lines; these shall be done away with and the divisions made according to population and natural boundaries in order to simplify the administration of the government."

be realized, for Germans see in their nation their human ideal, in their fatherland their whole world."

This new free-state which Follen hoped to establish was to be, according to this constitution, Christian in character; was to realize national unity and cultivate German individuality. All power was to be placed in the hands of the people, with equal suffrage and majority rule. The state was to be divided into districts containing approximately an equal number of people and named after mountains, rivers, and great national events. This was intended to promote a closer national unity than divisions on lines according to Prussians, Saxons, Hessians, etc. The capitol was to be located in the center of the state and called "Aller Deutschen." The legislature was to consist of representatives chosen from the several districts, and these officials were to choose from their number a chairman, who should receive no special rank, title, or salary. All government officials were to receive equal compensation and to hold office simply as representatives of the sovereign people. Especial emphasis was to be laid upon the regulation of religion and education. There was to be only one German church with no other confession of faith than the teachings of Christ. The schools were to give special attention to agriculture and vocational training.

HIS REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA.

After the disbanding of the Giessen Burschenschaft in the summer of 1817 Follen's enthusiatic Teutonism developed rapidly into extreme political radicalism; and as the reactionary policy of the German rulers increased in severity after the Wartburg affair his cherished plans of political reform by peaceful, educational means seemed to be doomed, but with great tenacity of purpose he continued his propaganda on the athletic field and in private meetings, unfolding to his faithful Blacks his plans of action.

Believing that monarchic government not only was dwarfing the life of the individual but would also prevent the German nation from realizing its high destiny he proposed, there-

fore, to remedy this intolerable condition of German life by founding a Christian-German republic. With Rousseau he held that when a ruler usurps power to oppress the sovereign people the social contract is broken. This doctrine of popular sovereignty and of government by assent contained at once the condition and justification of a political revolution. Like Fichte he held that the state is founded upon the inherent right to moral development; but since the conditions necessary to this are constantly changing it follows that the original contract cannot be final, that constitutional forms must therefore be changed; hence the right to state reform, to revolution. His political writings abound in this doctrine, typical of which is the following statement attributed to him by Wit:[1] "The state commits treason when it acts contrary to its fundamental purpose, when it no longer protects the general freedom of all against the caprice of the monarch, but shirks its duties and assumes greater prerogatives. When this treason is committed against God and man then every individual takes a defensive attitude and a state of revolution exists."

Follen sought to justify the right to revolution not only from the standpoint of political science, but also on ethical grounds. "The purpose of human existence," says Fichte,[2] "is always to act freely according to reason," and in this Follen freely concurred both in theory and practice. He believed that everything which reason recognizes as good and beautiful and true may be realized by moral effort. Likewise in government: the state must be ordered according to the reason of its members; if it prevents its citizens from acting according to reason or conscience it must be overthrown.[3] The basis of Follen's system was, that everybody is in duty bound to convince himself through reason that he is right and then to follow his conviction without reference to the consequences to himself; he recognized no higher law than his own free

[1] *Fragmente,* III, Sec. 1, 173.

[2] "Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters," *Sämtliche Werke,* VII, 64.

[3] Wesselhöft, 70.

conviction. "If you are convinced," according to his argument,[1] "that your opinion is true you must seek to realize this truth; the means must not be considered when it is a question of a moral necessity. A moral necessity is not an aim, and the means to its attainment are of no import." The realization of freedom and equality through republican government was of course the object of Follen's propoganda; hence unconditional striving toward this object was the creed of his political circle.

From the foregoing Follen seems to have accepted the Jesuitical doctrine, that for the realization of a just end any means are justified even if they do run counter to accepted standards of morality. In the proceedings instituted against him later he stoutly denied that he held such doctrines, but this charge against him seems to have been sustained notwithstanding.[2] Concerning this question Wit[3] spoke as follows when he was still friendly to Follen: "We never directly avowed the principle, as the Prussian Minister, Bernstorf, accuses us in his circular letter, that the end sanctifies the means, but we were firmly convinced that if a Christian does anything in full conviction that he is acting for the welfare of the fatherland he is always in the right." Friedrich Münch observes[4] that as nearly as he can recollect Follen expressed himself thus: 'There are few men who under certain circumstances would not tell a fib, but on account of a certain awe, which is after all nothing but cowardice, refrain from bare-faced lying for a great principle. They would not hesitate to defend themselves against a highway robber by shooting him down, but they are afraid to draw the dagger against the great robbers and murderers of popular freedom. If men were only consistent all of us would have been free long ago.'

That Follen advocated political assassination as a means of subverting monarchic government cannot be denied. In incendiary pamphlets and songs current among the Giessen

[1] Ibid., 88.

[2] Cf. Pregizer, 67.

[3] *Fragmente,* III, Sec. 1, 172.

[4] "Aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit," *Gesammelte Schriften,* 59.

Blacks, and especially in the Great Song[1] written in part at least by Follen, this doctrine was expressed in such uncanny verses as the following:

> Freiheitsmesser gezückt!
> Hurrah! den Dolch durch die Kehle gedrückt!
> Mit Purpurgewändern,
> Mit Kronen und Bändern
> Zum Rachealtar steht das Opfer geschmückt!

'It is cowardly,' he declared, to quote again from Münch's dim recollection,[2] 'to speak of obtaining liberty through legitimate means, because nobody has the right to keep liberty from us; we must gain it through every means offered to us. The tyrants know how to protect themselves against legal acts, therefore they must learn to tremble before our daggers. Whoever resorts to these measures in the full conviction that he is sacrificing all that is dear to him for the welfare of the fatherland is morally all the nobler the harder he finds it to overcome his natural aversion to such deeds.' When he was asked by Wesselhöft[3] whether he thought he could put his system into practice without the shedding of blood and whether his feelings did not revolt against the destruction of men, who were probably good and just, merely because they ventured to think differently from him, he replied calmly: "No. If matters come to the worst all who are wavering in their opinions must be sacrificed; this is not a matter of feeling, but of necessity."

Follen's extreme political radicalism was only the result of his ardent patriotism developed to the point of fanaticism. So deeply concerned was he for the welfare of the nation that he advocated the employment of force for the attainment of political conditions that would foster and develop the genius

[1] Given in full in Wit's *Fragmente*, I, 430-448; extant also in Follen's *Works*, I, 585-593, but with some of the more radical passages omitted.

[2] *Gesammelte Schriften*, 49.

[3] *Teutsche Jugend*, 88.

of the Teutonic race. According to Fichte[1] mankind must be forcibly constrained to follow the upward path toward moral perfection; but since force employed in its own interests is tyranny it is the first duty of a ruling prince to educate the people toward freedom. In answer to the question whether the German rulers will do this, he replies that they are still too narrow to give up their own personal interests, and too selfish to sacrifice themselves to the larger ideals of Teutonic civilization, hence there should be one powerful leader to forcibly unite the German nation for the development of its great latent possibilities. When one considers then that even Fichte advocated a "Zwingherr zur Deutschheit" it is evident that he and Follen had in mind the same means to the same end, but differed only in their method of procedure.

Fully convinced that the abolition of tyranny was a moral necessity Follen used all of his eloquence and persuasion to convert his friends to his belief. He was a powerful athlete, a keen, logical thinker, and an impassioned speaker. Along with his love of liberty and his deep religious mysticism he possessed a highly developed self-confidence and an indomitable will, which could brook no opposition. Through these qualities of body and mind he completely dominated the hearts and minds of his companions, exerting upon them an almost irresistable influence. Those who listened to his arguments felt as if they were standing on the brink of a bottomless abyss and were ordered to plunge into its depth. Wesselhöft[2] observes that he exercised over his followers a control that was very galling to many of them, that the superiority of his mind and acquirements deterred even the strongest from adopting any independent choice of opinion or of following any original course of action, and that he possessed so great an acuteness and strength of intellect that few of his friends could detect the fantastic foundations of his youthful philosophy. Although it seemed impossible to evade his logic some of the Blacks, nevertheless, revolted against his maxim that tyranni-

[1] Cf. "Entwurf zu einer politischen Schrift, im Frühling 1813"—*Sämtliche Werke,* VII, 564f.

[2] *Teutsche Jugend,* 80.

cide is permissible in the service of freedom. In opposition to these "Moderates," as they were called, Follen arrayed his most devoted adherents under the name of the "Unconditionals," who adopted as their slogan, to quote Münch[1] again, the original ending of the so-called Great Song:

Nieder mit Kronen, Thronen, Frohnen, Drohnen und Baronen!
Sturm!

In order to organize his propaganda more thoroughly,[2] Follen planned a solemn Lord's Supper, at which the Unconditionals were to be united in an indissoluable covenant of "death brethren," consecrated to the holy cause of freedom. Owing to the alertness of the university authorities this project had to be abandoned, but its purpose was attained by a wide circulation of the revolutionary Great Song. It must not be supposed, however, that these incendiary songs and speeches were heard in public, but rather in the privacy of student lodgings and even in the depth of the forest under cover of darkness.

In the spring of 1818 Follen graduated from the university of Giessen as Doctor of both Civil and Canonical Law. He then began to lecture on jurisprudence in his alma mater and to practice law in the court over which his father presided as judge. In the midst of these labors he not only busied himself with his political propaganda, but found time also for the study of philosophy, especially the writings of Spinoza, the English Deists, and the French Encyclopædists, from which he emerged with his religious and philosophical views clarified and to some extent formulated into a definite system.

As a preliminary step to his ultimate aim he had planned as early as 1817 a campaign for the introduction of constitutional government into the several German states and he now set the movement on foot in his own land by drafting the first of that flood of petitions which afterwards induced the Hessian government to grant, at least in appearance, a representative constitution.[3] Through the notoriety thus gained and

[1] *Gesammelte Schriften*, 51.

[2] Ibid., 54.

[3] Haupt, 115f.

through his reputation as a skillful lawyer he was called upon to conduct the cause of the municipalities of Hesse against an arbitrary attempt of the ducal government to deprive them of their last remnant of political liberty.[1] For the sake of personal gain some of the counselors of the Grand Duke had prevailed upon the latter to establish a commission to administer the finances of the several communities. Seeing in this the destruction of their credit and independence, the latter united in sending to the government their earnest remonstrances, but this union was at once declared seditious and any lawyer who should dare to aid them was threatened with the loss of his office. Undaunted by this threat Follen responded to the appeal for aid and drew up a memorial setting forth the injustice of the decree both in regard to general principles and to the law of the land. This was presented directly to the Grand Duke before the commission could take preventive measures, and public opinion was so strong against the flagrant injustice of the decree that it was rescinded and the members of the commission removed from office. His successful prosecution of this just cause and his active participation in the growing movement for constitutional government laid the foundation of his ultimate ruin in his native land. Denounced by his enemies as a dangerous political agitator, he was from that time on the object of unrelenting persecution.

With little hope for a successful career at Giessen under the existing political conditions, Follen severed his connection with the university, and upon invitation of Professor Fries went to Jena in October, 1818, where he began a course of lectures on Roman law. From this more favorable location where his republican doctrine had already[2] gained a footing through the efforts of his friend, von Buri, he hoped to extend his influence to Berlin as a means of winning recruits for his propaganda. It seems that he and his brother had in mind about this time the fantastic idea[3] of calling a great mass-

[1] *Works*, I, 60ff.; Wit, III, Sec. 1, 169.

[2] Haupt, 126.

[3] Münch, 17; Braun, *Westermann's Monatshefte*, XXXV, 260.

meeting on the battle-field of Leipzig to proclaim the republic. The people were to be armed for the abolition of royalty, and then a parliament was to be convened to adopt the constitution which he and his Blacks had already drafted for the new government, but no attempt was made to carry out this scheme. From the outset he made a favorable impression upon the Jena students and his success as a teacher soon won him admission to the highest circles of society. Robert Wesselhöft, who was at that time considered as one of the leaders of the Jena Burschenschaft, describes his first meeting with Follen as follows:[1]

"He received us like old friends, with the simple familiar 'du.' He was candid, kind, and confiding, but there was in his whole appearance and bearing, in the tone of his voice, in his gestures and glances, something so noble, such calmness and strength, such determination and almost proud earnestness,—a something peculiar to himself, which imperceptibly inspired all who came in contact with him with a deep feeling of respect. He had a broad but delicately formed forehead; a well-shaped nose; deep, soulful eyes; a red, medium-sized mouth; a fair, rosy complexion; heavy, light-colored whiskers; and smooth, blonde hair, which was parted in the middle of his forehead and hung around his neck in wavy locks. Picture this head on a sound, powerful, well-formed body of middle stature, and clothe the figure in a blue German student's coat trimmed with pearl buttons, and you will have before you the image of Karl Follen. I can assure you that we have nowhere met his equal nor anybody who could be compared with him for purity and chastity of manners and morals. He seemed to concentrate all his energies upon one great aim,—the revolution. The death of the enemy and the freedom of the human mind not only lay at his heart, and his heart on his tongue, but his powerful fist might be seen convulsively clenched whenever he heard the clank of fetters and chains."

Finding the Jena Burschenschaft too tame and philistine to suit his high ideals, Follen united a few of the more radically

[1] *Teutsche Jugend*, 65.

inclined into a club[1] for discussing the practical working of his philosophical and political ideas. Especially was the question debated, as Follen himself notes,[2] whether an outer code of morals is necessary, or whether man's most inner conviction alone can justify and condemn him before God; further, whether there are rights which one can claim under all circumstances and never renounce. Follen sought to win his new friends over to his doctrine of conviction, unconditionality, and republicanism, as he had done in Giessen, but although they seemed to yield to his bold conceptions they could not so readily adopt them. Under the guidance of the most learned and broad-minded men in all the different professions the Jena students had acquired the habit of strict criticism and independent philosophical thought. Although they cherished the deepest respect for Follen's sincerity and self-conviction, as Wesselhöft records,[3] they felt that he was wrong and sought to convert him through the aid of Fries, their professor of philosophy. To effect this the whole club gathered weekly around the latter and discussed the subject warmly.[4] Fries and Follen each had his own system and neither could convert the other, but their adherents gained much valuable knowledge and arrived at decided opinions of their own. The question of conviction and the manner of making it of practical value in life was often discussed. Fries made a distinction between conviction arrived at from the conscience and that arrived at from scientific study, that is, the conviction of the masses cannot be taken as a guide unless supported by the conclusions of scholars; further, that conviction must not lead to action by unlawful, violent deeds. This was of course directly opposed to Follen's democratic conception of popular conviction and to his doctrine of unconditionality. Since Fries was prevented after a short time from attending the meetings the club was

[1] Leo, 176.

[2] "Ueber die deutsche Inquisition"—Wit's *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 187.

[3] *Teutsche Jugend*, 87ff.

[4] *Works*, I, 186; Leo, 187; Pregizer, 64.

left alone under Follen's influence, but when the latter tried to force his views upon all, maintaining that cowardice and weakness alone prevented their adoption and application as the rule of life, a decisive rupture took place. The club suddenly broke up in March, 1819, leaving Follen with a few followers. He saw that much labor was yet necessary on his part to raise even the most cultivated and susceptible youth to his high ideals, and realized, doubtless, that his object could be more easily attained by gradually habituating others to his views than by violently opposing himself to the spirit then prevalent in Jena. An event occurred, however, which not only completed the ruin of his prospects, but served to stifle the liberal aspirations of the German youth as well.

On March 23rd, 1819, the reactionary writer, Kotzebue, whom the liberals suspected of being a spy in the service of the Russian government, was assassinated by Karl Sand, one of Follen's intimate friends at Jena; and on the 1st of July a murderous assault was made upon the Hessian minister of state, von Ibell, by Karl Löhning, an associate of some of the Giessen Blacks. To the Holy Alliance these atrocious deeds seemed to be a manifestation of the same spirit that had inaugurated the Wartburg meeting, and the Burschenschaft a revival of the ancient "Vehmgericht," with the ultimate object of overthrowing all monarchic institutions. The freedom of the press was now abolished; the formation of societies among students prohibited; the universities placed under immediate government control; a strict police system established; and scores of young men suspected of even the mildest liberal views were arrested and thrown into prison. Follen himself was twice arrested as an accomplice to Sand, but was fully acquitted of the charge.

HIS REVOLUTIONARY POETRY.

The members of Follen's circle gave expression to their republican ideals not only in political tracts, but also in songs and poems, the most radical of which was the anonymous Great Song, a joint product of the Follen brothers. A num-

ber of these revolutionary songs together with poems by such writers as Körner, Arndt, Uhland, and Schenkendorf were collected under the title of "Freye Stimmen frischer Jugend,"[1] one of the most pleasing and important documents of the Burschenschaft movement. The selection may be grouped under five heads: Turnlieder, Freiheitslieder, Reichskleinode, Kriegsgesänge, and Heldenlieder, all of which are variations of the same general theme,—love of liberty and fatherland. As a patriotic appeal to revolution for the attainment of civic freedom and national unity, the Burschenschaft songs supplement in a measure the patriotic lyrics of Körner and Arndt, who summon the nation to unite against foreign oppression. The collection is introduced by Follen's soul-stirring dedicatory poem, "Turnstaat," which is not only one of the gems of German political poetry, but strikes the keynote of the whole revolutionary program,—freedom, unity, equality, through the overthrow of monarchism and the establishment of a Christian-German Republic:

Schalle, du Freiheitssang! Walle wie Wogendrang
Aus Felsenbrust!
Feig bebt der Knechte Schwarm; uns schlägt das Herz so warm,
Uns zuckt der Jünglingsarm voll Tatenlust.

Gott Vater! Dir zu Ruhm flammt deutsches Rittertum
In uns aufs neu;
Neu wird das alte Band, wachsend wie Feuerbrand:
Gott, Freiheit, Vaterland, altteutsche Treu.

Einfach und gläubig sei, kräftig und keusch and frei,
Hermanns Geschlecht!
Zwingherrnmacht, Knechtewitz malmt Gottes Racheblitz:
Euch sei der Königsitz; Freiheit und Recht!

Freiheit! in uns erwacht ist deine Geistesmacht,
Dein Reich genaht:
Glühend nach Wissenschaft, blühend in Ritterkraft
Sei, teutsche Turnerschaft, ein Bruderstaat.

[1] Copies of this little volume are so rare that passages from some of the representative songs will be quoted here.

Sause, du Freiheitssang, brause wie Donnerklang
Aus Wolkenbrust!
Ein Herz, ein Leben ganz stehen wir, ein Sternenkranz
Um einer Sonne Glanz, voll Himmelslust.

Allusion has already been made to the great rôle which the gymnastic movement played in the Burschenschaft and to the high esteem in which its founder was held by Follen and his circle. Just as gymnastics had under Jahn's direction become a powerful means of preparing the nation for the great struggle against Napoleon, it now became in the hands of the liberals an integral part of their national and revolutionary propaganda. Believing that greater tasks were yet to be accomplished the gymnasts formulated their program in verses such as the following, in which they sing with joyous enthusiasm of the revival of ancient knighthood and of the new crusade against injustice and tyranny:

Wir ziehen zum fröhlichen Werke, hinaus auf die grüne Heid';
Erturnen Kraft und Stärke zu manchem kühnen Streit,
Mit Schwertern und mit Lanzen erproben wir den Arm:
Und unser rasches Tanzen macht Mut und Blut so warm.

Wir wollen wieder schaffen die gute alte Art:
Den kühnen Mut der Waffen mit frommem Sinn gepaart;
Wir wollen wie die Ritter, mit blankem Männerschwerd
Im Sturm und Schlachtgewitter verfechten Hof und Herd.[1]

Das Vaterland vor Ketten zu schirmen für und für,
Und, ist's umgarnt, zu retten; nur darum sterben wir.
Seht! Düstere Nebel trüben noch Teutschlands Morgenrot;
Das Vaterland, ihr Lieben, bedarf noch manchen Tod.

Wir wollen uns vorbereiten zu Opfern fromm und treu,
Dass riesengrossen Zeiten das Herz gewachsen sei.
Drum sind wir hier beisammen, drum ist uns hier so warm;
Wir schüren Geistesflammen, wir stählen unsern Arm.[2]

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[1] *Freye Stimmen*, No. 2 (by Ch. Sartorius).

[2] Ibid., No. 3 (anonymous).

Wir mühen uns nicht um goldnen Tand, Herrschtum und Sklavenehre:
Wir ringen, dass ins Vaterland die stolze Freiheit kehre.
So hegen wir ein freies Reich: an Rang und Stand sind alle gleich;
Freies Reich! Alle gleich! Heisa juchei! [1]

Follen himself begins with a short panegyric on old "Turnvater" Jahn and then summons the gymnastic youth to draw the sword against all enemies whatsoever of the sovereign people:

Als der Turnmeister, der alte Jahn
Für des Volkes urheilige Rechte
Vortrat zu der Freiheit Rennlaufbahn:
Da folgt' ihm ein wehrlich Geschlechte.
Hei! wie schwungen sich die Jungen, frisch, froh, fromm, frei!
Hei! wie sungen da die Jungen: juchei.
Ueberall nah, überall da,
Sind deine Feinde, Volksgemeinde!
Teutsche Gemeinde, dein Hermann ist da!
Da, hurrah!
Schwerter geschwungen! die Freiheit gerungen!
Juchei, ihr Alten und Jungen. [2]

Auf, Jubeldonner und Liedersturm!
Der Begeisterung Blitz hat gezündet;
Der Mannheit Eiche, der Teutschheit Turm
Ist in Teutschland wieder gezündet:
Der Freiheit Wiege, dein Sarg, Drängerei!
Wird gezimmert aus dem Baum der Turnerei.

Auf, du Turner! Du Teutscher wohlan!
Auf, ehrliche, wehrliche Jugend!
Noch ficht mit der Wahrheit gekrönter Wahn,
Noch kämpft mit dem Teufel die Tugend.
Schwertstahl aus dem Rost! aus dem Schlauch, junger Most!
Durch die Dunstluft, Nordost! grüner Mai, aus dem Frost! [3]

[1] Ibid., No. 13 (by Karl Hoffmann).

[2] Ibid., No. 15 (by Follen brothers).

[3] Ibid., No. 14 (by Karl Follen).

Among the Freiheitslieder is Follen's famous "Bundeslied auf dem Rütli,"[1] which is a direct challenge to the tyrants, a call to revolution, and the prophecy of a brighter day in the political life of the nation. The following strophes will serve to indicate the general tone and spirit of the whole:

Ja, bei Gott und Vaterland! verderben
Woll'n wir der Gewaltherrn letzte Spur:
Gern für Recht und Freiheit sterben, bleibt für Volk die Freiheit nur!
Gott, hör' unsern Bundesschwur! Hör' an! hör' an! hör' an!

Steig' aus uns'res Blutes Morgenglanze
Glüh'nde Volkssonn' in alter Pracht!
In des Reiches Sternenkranze steig aus uns'res Todes Nacht,
Freistaat Volkes, Gottesmacht! Empor! empor! empor!

Freiheitsbund, vortrage deinem Volke,
Deiner Zeit das Freiheitsbanner kühn!
Aus dir, freie Donnerwolke, soll das Siegkreuz Gottes glüh'n,
Soll ein neues Reich erblüh'n! Hinan! hinan! hinan!

The celebrated Great Song embodies the whole creed of the radicals: the subversion of monarchic government, the establishment of the Christian Republic, and a martyr's death if necessary for the attainment of this end. Its ardent love of liberty, its glowing patriotism, its praise of popular sovereignty, and especially its fierce invective against the despotic rulers, which ring out from beginning to end, are the final and most powerful summons to political revolution. The poem is both lyric and epic in character and is composed of a number of single songs joined together into a unified whole by their passionate revolutionary sentiment. It seems quite probable that the lyric poetry which is contained in Klopstock's patriotic dramas, "Hermann und die Fürsten" and "Hermanns Tod," and which shows great similarity in composition to the Great Song, furnished the model for this poem. In sublime images taken from the Voluspa of the older Edda the song opens with

[1] Ibid., No. 21.

a grand overture, which portrays the conflagration of the world and the birth of freedom:

Horcht auf, ihr Fürsten! Du, Volk, horch auf!
Freiheit und Rache in vollem Lauf,
Gottes Wetter ziehen blutig herauf!
    Auf, dass in Weltbrands Stunden
    Ihr nicht müssig werdet gefunden!
Reiss' aus dem Schlummer dich, träges Gewürme,
Am Himmel schau auf, in Gewitterpracht
Hell aufgegagngen dein Todesgestirne!
        Es erwacht,
        Es erwacht,
Tief aus der sonnenschwangeren Nacht,
In blutflammender Morgenwonne,
        Der Sonnen Sonne,
        Die Volkesmacht!
Spruch des Herrn, du bist gesprochen,
Volksblut, Freiheitsblut, du wirst gerochen,
Götzendämm'rung, du bist angebrochen.

After this prelude the revolutionary procession passes in review singing in solos and choruses the various parts of the Great Song. As the representative of the older generation of patriots, who had resigned themselves in hopeless despair to the gloomy political outlook of the country, appears an aged man chanting a solemn dirge over the death of freedom, but his mournful strains are soon lost amid the din of a stirring war song as the sturdy German youth come marching along:

        Doch es sungen
        Die Jungen
Frisch, fröhlich und frei,
Die mutigen Söhne der Turnerei;
Sternaugen funkeln, Schwerter sind bloss,
Laut schallet der Freiheit Trompetenstoss!
        Schmettr' heraus
        Aus der Brust
        Jugendbraus,
        Schwertgesaus,
        Freiheitslust!

At the close of the song the leader of this youthful band addresses himself directly to the spectators, appealing to them to arise in their might and join in the movement for liberty:

Der Völker Volk liegt nieder in Angst und Schweiss,
Seinen Hunger nährend in stummem Fleiss.
Du armes Volk, Dir ist so heiss,
Du bist so elend, so herzenskrank,
Beut keiner Dir einen Labetrank?

Menschenmenge, grosse Menschenwüste,[1]
Die umsonst der Geistesfrühling grüsste,
Reisse, krache endlich, altes Eis!
Stürz' in starken stolzen Meeresstrudeln
Hin auf Knecht und Zwingherrn, die Dich hudeln,
Sei ein Volk, ein Freistaat, werde heiss!

After the passionate harangue of this revolutionary leader the people are wrought up to such a pitch of excitement that they answer in one loud acclaim:

Brüder, so kann's nicht gehn,[2]
Lasst uns zusammen stehn,
Duldet's nicht mehr!
Freiheit, dein Baum fault ab,
Jeder am Bettelstab,
Beisst bald ins Hungergrab;
Volk ins Gewehr!

[1] According to Wit *(Fragmente,* I, 59f.) that part of the song beginning with this strophe had come into the possession of some of the Jena students in the summer of 1818; somebody secretly printed 6,000 copies and scattered them broadcast over the country under the title "Dreissig oder drei und dreissig, gleich viel," meaning that they could put their 33 rulers out of the way as easily as the Greeks got rid of their 30 tyrants.

[2] This portion of the song was widely disseminated in the Odenwald and had a great influence on the peasant uprising of that region in 1819. It afterward became known as the Odenwälder Bauernlied; cf. Haupt, 133f.

Brüder in Gold und Seid',
Brüder in Bauernkleid,
Reicht Euch die Hand!
Allen ruft Deutschlands Not,
Allen des Herrn Gebot,
Schlagt Eure Plager tot,
Rettet das Land!

Dann wird's, dann bleibt's nur gut,
Wenn Du an Gut und Blut
Wagst Blut und Gut;
Wenn Du Gewehr und Axt,
Schlachtbeil und Sense packst,
Zwingherrn den Kopf abhackst,
Brenn', alte Wut!

And now the spirit of revolt is abroad in the land. In order to begin the work of organization the youthful revolutionists first join in one indissoluble bond of death-brethren and betake themselves to the depth of the forest where, at the pensive hour of midnight, they kneel in prayer and then partake of the Lord's Supper, consecrating themselves in this solemn manner to the holy cause of freedom:

Es zieht eine Schaar von Männern sich
Herab zum dunkeln Haine,
Beim dämmernden Fackelscheine.

Und dort, wo die Tannen und Eichen im Rund'
Zum erhabenen Dome sich türmen,
Gottes Orgel brauset im Stürmen,
Wie ein Altar aufsteiget der Felsengrund,
Dort trat man zusammen zu Mitternachtstund'.

Und die Todbrüder treten zum Altar hin,
Zu empfahn in heiliger Entflammung,
Was uns Heil bringt oder Verdammung.
Mit dem König der Märt'rer ein Blut und ein Sinn,
So nehmen die Märtyrerweihe sie hin,
Und weih'n sich der ew'gen Erbarmung
Mit Opfergesang und Umarmung.

At the close of this solemn ceremony the death-brethren unite in singing a communion hymn, which is characterized by a deep religious mysticism combined with a spirit of the sternest political fanaticism. The revolutionists were first and above all zealous Christians. They considered Christ, however, not so much a divine mediator, but rather the highest type of manhood, the ideal Republican, and it was his loving self-sacrifice for the cause of humanity, his loyalty to a conviction for which he boldly and joyously faced death, that appealed to them so powerfully:

O Jesu, Liebster mein!
In Fleisch und Blut und Leben,
Im höchsten Geistesstreben
Bin ich nur ewig dein.

Dir bist du, Mensch, entflohen,
Ein Christus sollst du werden,
Wie du ein Kind der Erden,
War auch des Menschen Sohn.

From the spirit of Christian love proceeds their love of fatherland. All aglow with Christian patriotic zeal the death-brethren, again seized by the revolutionary spirit, vow to become martyrs for the sake of freedom and implore divine aid for their solemn task. Then in the "Chorus of free Christians" rings out loud and clear the final call to arms that is to set the revolutionary forces in motion.

Ihr, die mit mir zugleich
Den Glaubenstrank genossen,
Der Tugend Bund geschlossen
Für Kreuz und Schwert und Eich',
Ein Herz, Ein Arm, Ein Blut sind wir geworden
Der ew'gen Freiheit heil'ger Märt'rerorden.

Der Du am Brandaltar
Elias Ruf erhörtest,
Baals Thron und Frohn zerstörtest,
Zu Dir fleht uns're Schaar.

Ihr Geister der Freien und Frommen,
Wir kommen, wir kommen, wir kommen,
Eine Menschheit zu retten aus Knechtschaft und Wahn,
Zur Blutbühn' zum Rabenstein führt uns're Bahn.

Fort Zwingherrn-, Adel- und Pfaffenbrut,
Soldaten und Pöbel zur Höllenglut!
Ein Reich freier Bürger,
Ein Gott, ein Volk, ein Wille soll sein,
Doch die Menschheit im Volke nur schafft den Verein.

Hurrah! Deutschlands Sterne flammen,
Deutschland krönt Ein Heil'genglanz!
Herzen, Hände schlagt zusammen,
Zwingherrschaft fahr' in die Flammen,
Freiheit aus der Flammen Kranz.

Zu den Waffen! stürme, türme
Berg auf Berg von Knecht und Herrn!
Riesin Deutschland, brich die Klammer,
Alter Freiheit Donnerhammer
Wettre, schmettre nah und fern!

Deutscher Hiebe Kraft zerstiebe
Schlangengift und Tigerwut,
Schwerterblau wird Morgenröte,
Schwerterblitz fahr' aus und tödte
Dich im Meere, Zwingherrnbrut!

How this incipient revolution was nipped in the bud by the monarchic powers has already been alluded to. When Follen became convinced that the times were not ripe for his republican program he sought consolation for his overwhelming disappointment by eulogizing in one last solemn hymn [1] the great German patriots of the past. The first strophe, sung in chorus by the revolutionary party, indicates the theme and the general tone of the whole poem:

Lasst die toten Brüder leben!
Brecht den Schmerz der Gegenwart,
Lasst uns Preis den Teuren geben,
So im Volksdienst ausgeharrt!
Einen soll uns jeder sagen,
Der ihm füllt die treue Brust;
Manch ein Herz hat euch geschlagen:
Volkesschmerz und Freiheitslust.

[1] *Freye Stimmen*, No. 56 (by Follen brothers).

Accordingly this introductory chorus is followed by a number of solos, the first of which recalls the memorable deeds of Hermann in the Teutoburger Forest. Then we are introduced to the heroes of the great mediæval epics; to such heroic characters as Karl the Hammer, the great emperors, Heinrich, Otto, and Rudolph, to the famous knights of chivalry and the crusades, and to the patriots Tell and Winkelried, men who made the world ring with the renown of their mighty deeds. After these praises of the middle ages comes a panegyric on Luther and the Reformation, followed by eulogies on the poets and heroes of the wars of liberation. After recalling to memory Germany's glorious past, the individual singers all join again in chorus in a lament over the desolate present and the hopeless outlook for the future of the fatherland:

Ja, es stieg manch' helle Sonne, Vaterland, aus deinem Schoos,
Träumtest hohe Mutterwonne, und nun wächst du freudenlos—
Was dies letzte Glas bedeute, sag' es, treu Germanenherz!
Klingt!—es klingt wie Grabgeläute—:
Unsrer Sehnsucht tiefer Schmerz.

It would be time lost to enter into a discussion of these revolutionary songs for the purpose of pointing out their literary defects or merits. Although some of them do strike the true poetic note, it may as well be confessed at the outset that a great deal of this lyric effusion, especially the Great Song, is for the most part mere rhetorical pathos showing an uncontrolled imagination spurred on by animal vitality, which makes much of it bizarre and some of it even repulsive. Admitting then the crudeness of these songs as literature, one must seek elsewhere than in the field of æsthetics for their importance, if they possess any at all.

At the beginning of the 19th century German literature had very little connection with the actual, contemporary life of the nation, but drew its inspiration from the German past and concerned itself mostly with æsthetic questions. It became the task of the younger generation, therefore, to arouse the nation from its one-sided literary culture to a sense of the

importance of public affairs; hence the poets of the wars of liberation and their successors performed the important service of bringing poetry and reality, literature and life, art and politics into contact and mutual relation. Writers began now to descend into the turmoil and passions of the actual world, entering into the feelings and desires, the hopes and longings of the people. As the times gradually became predominantly political, poetry as a result entered the service of politics and the practical development of modern life; as a mirror of political conditions it became a critique of the national life and hence a part of the national existence. It mattered not so much what the poet wrote as to what party he belonged,—how he asserted and developed his moral character in practical affairs. Unlike the Classicists and Romanticists the poet's personality now became more prized than his literary productions; hence the political poetry of the early decades of the century had as its chief task to evaluate moral motives, becoming thereby influential as a moral force for the guidance of the nation to a higher standard of life. What the national literature of Germany was lacking in its best productions was to be gained not from abstract theory, but from reality; not from books, but from deeds; hence political literature served to point the way from the past to the future. Herein lay whatever value there was in the poetry of Follen's circle.

The political poets of the wars of liberation embodied in verse the patriotic sentiment, becoming thus a great moral force in the national uprising against Napoleon. The poets of the Burschenschaft movement went still farther, seeking not only to inspire love of fatherland, but demanding civic freedom and national unity; hurling defiance at the old regime on the one hand and aiming at national reconstruction on the other. They comprehended the task of the age, presenting in their poetry the great principles of popular life, such as freedom, nationality, and self-rule, thus not only voicing the sentiment and convictions of the people, but becoming also the prophets of the political revolts of later years. These young enthusiasts, bound by no considerations, gave themselves up unreservedly to the spirit of the times. Their cry

for freedom was the cry of the nation, of humanity. Their enthusiasm for nationality and their wrath against despotism, along with their joyous rush into revolution,—revolution for the emancipation of the people, gave to their songs a new element in German political poetry, making them thereby the forerunners of the political writers of the '30s and '40s, such as Freiligrath and Herwegh.

In the passion of their storm and stress the members of Follen's circle were political in their hearts rather than in their heads. Most of the political wisdom of their poetry was contained in a few catch-words which served to arouse patriotic sentiment, but which was not sufficient to solve practical political problems. Although it was juvenile and immature it served to keep alive the patriotic sentiment, not so much among the masses, however, as among the academic youth, who, trained in this early school of patriotic, revolutionary sentiment, were to become the future political leaders. The Burschenschaft poetry was then, in a word, prophetic. Its aims lay in the future; its important function was tentatively to point out with great emphasis the distant goal to be gained. Passionate and bombastic it had to be to make any impression. The way had to be prepared, and if some of the utterances of these juvenile revolutionists were too radical they were nevertheless of value in preparing the soil for the great harvest that was to follow—the unification of Germany on a democratic basis.

In regard to the Great Song still one word more seems necessary: When carefully considered, without prejudice, Follen's virulent attack upon the tyrants seems too verbose to be criminal or even dangerous. It is always easier to condemn than to seek to understand. The language of this song cannot be correctly interpreted by those who have not sometime in their life been moved by a passionate longing for freedom, or whose hearts have not been powerfully touched by the sight of gross injustice and tyranny. Follen was only a youth of twenty-two years, an ardent patriot who was not only filled with righteous indignation against the tyranny of his own times, but who sympathized with the martyrs of liberty in all ages. Earnest, courageous, yet inexperienced, he longed to

seize the avenging sword and with one blow destroy the firmly established and ancient institution of absolute monarchism, but in his impetuosity and impatience with the slow means of redress he neither weighed his words nor counted the cost of acts to which he felt prompted only by the most generous impulses. Judging him from this viewpoint with the knowledge, too, that he possessed the most noble and tender heart, one ought, it seems, to interpret the defying tones and the vehement indignation of the Great Song as nothing more than the natural utterances of intense all-sacrificing devotion to the rights, dignity, and happiness of mankind.

THE ASSASSINATION OF KOTZEBUE.

The crushing effect which the assassination of Kotzebue by Karl Sand had upon the patriotic hopes and aspirations of Follen and his circle has already been indicated in the discussion of his revolutionary propaganda. Was Follen implicated, either directly or indirectly, in the assassination of Kotzebue? This question has been frequently discussed, and answered in various ways. In all probability no new evidence will ever be forthcoming to throw new light upon this mystery; hence the present discussion must of necessity be of a purely analytical nature. It presents a resumé of the various arguments thus far advanced in the case, and aims at a solution both from a historical and a psychological point of view.

When Sand was still a mere child he displayed extraordinary courage, will power, and above all a sort of morbid desire to perform some great deed. As he grew older he became intensely partiotic and expressed his willingness to sacrifice his life for the fatherland. Various entries in his diary [1] throw light upon his character and are thus important in the psychological explanation of his deed. At one time when he heard that Napoleon was to pass through his home town he felt, according to an entry in the diary, that he could not refrain from making a "deadly assault upon the oppressor of

[1] A number of these entries are given by Jarcke—*Karl Ludwig Sand und sein an Kotzebue verübter Mord,* 150ff.; cf. also Biedermann, *25 Jahre deutscher Geschichte,* I, 186ff.

his fatherland should he meet him face to face."[1] After the war he took a leading part in founding a branch of the Burschenschaft at Erlangen and noted in his diary that "the spirit of the organization consists in a burning hatred of the internal as well as the external enemies of the fatherland."[2] His patriotism was accompanied by an ardent religious exaltation, and gradually he became visionary, manifesting an inclination toward the exceptional and the fantastic. In April 1816 while taking the sacrament with his parents he noted in his diary: "O, if only I could die this very moment for some noble purpose."[3] At times he became taciturn, then peevish, and again overbearing. All these traits indicate already an abnormal psychology. For the Wartburg meeting he wrote a paper with such passages as the following:[4] "We will be free in the fatherland or die with it if God commands it;" "In open conflict the individual must oppose evil of his own free will and on his own responsibility so that others will not be implicated in his action;" and again, "the rejuvenation of the fatherland by a few enlightened youths of noble nature." Sand seems to have known little about Kotzebue until the Wartburg meeting. After this celebration he entered the University of Jena and on the 19th of November, 1817, made the following entry[5] in his diary: "Kotzebue's new insults have been proclaimed in the market-place. Oh, how he hates us patriotic students." From this time on he cherished a growing dislike for Kotzebue and this aversion was inflamed by Luden's disclosure in the "Nemesis" that Kotzebue was a spy in the service of the Russian government. His hatred of Kotzebue now became so intense that he wrote[6] in May, 1818: "When I consider the matter I think somebody ought to have courage enough to

[1] Biedermann, I, 187.

[2] Ibid., 188.

[3] Ibid., 190.

[4] Ibid., 189.

[5] Jarcke, 150.

[6] Ibid.

thrust his sword through the body of Kotzebue or of any other such traitor." On November 2, 1818, he wrote as follows:[1] "From self-conviction, with unqualified will, except which nothing in this world is of value to me in the eyes of God; to defend the people's God-given rights against all man-made laws at the risk of one's life; to work to introduce a pure humanity among the German people by preaching and dying; that seems to me quite different than to renounce life and the people. What boundless strength, what a benediction do I feel in my will! I tremble no longer! This is the condition of true likeness to God." On December 4th: "O the momentous hour when I decided to live unconditionally for my country, when I broke the thousand bonds which restrained me from dying for my fatherland. Through my will I decide unconditionally, oh eternal holy God, for thy kingdom, for freedom! Not to decide to live from conviction, not to die for it, is sinful; it is the sin of millions."[2]

From the foregoing it seems quite certain that the assassination of Kotzebue had become a fixed idea in the mind of Sand nearly a year before he ever met Follen, with whom he could not have become intimately acquainted until the end of October, 1818, since Follen did not leave Giessen until the early part of that month.[3] Sand was a pensive dreamer, longing to commit some notorious deed and brooding in secret over the question whether he himself should take vengeance on Kotzebue or not. In this state of mind he came under the influence of Follen's teachings, and it seems very plausible that his purpose might have been strengthened by them as the diary entries of November 2d and December 4th indicate. That Sand had fully decided the question before the end of the year is evident from a note written in the diary on December 31st, as follows:[4] "I am spending the last day of this year, 1818, in a solemn mood, and I am resolved that the

[1] Biedermann, I, 190.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *Works*, I, 67.

[4] Jarcke, 150.

Christmas which I have just celebrated will have been my last. If anything is to come of our efforts; if the cause of humanity is to prevail in our fatherland; if in this momentous time enthusiasm is to revive again in our country and everything not be forgotten again, then the traitor and seducer of youth, A. v. K., must fall—this I fully recognize." Even if Follen's doctrine of political assassination did serve to confirm Sand in his resolution it can hardly be assumed that the acquaintance between them at this time had become intimate enough to permit him to suggest to Sand the commission of any special act even if he himself did have such a project in mind, which is highly improbable.

For a time Sand seemed to waver in his resolution, "praying that God would save him from this act," as he testified at his trial,[1] "and hoping that somebody else would commit the deed;" but after meditating again upon the sad condition of the country he finally wrote in his diary: "Ye princes, why do you force me to this act," and then renewed his resolve, considering it "a call from God, which I dare not disregard." Before leaving Jena to carry out his project against Kotzebue, who was then living in Mannheim, Sand wrote a long letter to his Jena friends, informing them of his intentions and exonerating them from all suspicion. This letter along with another document, "Todesstoss Kotzebues," enclosed in one package and addressed to the Burschenschaft, was found in Sand's unlocked desk after the crime had been committed. Whether he left this package in his desk or whether he gave it to someone else to place there after the commission of the crime could not be determined. In addition to this he left behind a second package containing a letter to his parents and also three letters addressed to three different newspapers; these three letters contained copies of the "Todesstoss" and a justification of his contemplated crime. Sand spent two weeks on the journey to Mannheim, and the fact that the letter to his parents was posted at Jena and reached its destination after the commission of the crime

[1] Biedermann, I, 200.

proves that it had been entrusted to some friend to mail. A number of Sand's friends were arrested as accomplices, among them Follen, who was tried first in Weimar in May and in the following October at Mannheim, but in the long trying examination, in which he was confronted by Sand, no legal evidence was found against him. Sand stoutly maintained that he had no accomplice or confidant, that he had planned and carried out the deed without the aid or knowledge of any individual or any secret organization. When called upon to explain how the letter to his parents had been sent from Jena after he had departed from there he replied that he had left it in the care of his friend, Friedrich Asmis. With tears in his eyes the latter protested his innocence, whereupon Sand finally admitted that he had turned the package over to Follen to deliver to Asmis. This in turn was stubbornly denied by Follen. If it be granted for the sake of argument that Sand did actually entrust Follen with the posting of this letter at a given date it does not necessarily follow, as Hausenstein[1] points out, that the latter had any knowledge of Sand's intentions. If Sand did leave the first package in his open desk it could easily have been discovered and delivered to the Burschenschaft in time to prevent him from carrying out his project. Therefore it seems more reasonable to suppose that, if he was discreet, he entrusted it to some friend with instructions to place it in his desk after a given time. Even if it be assumed that this friend was Follen it does not prove that he was Sand's confidant. The trial established the fact also that Follen had loaned Sand the money for his journey, but this likewise does not by any means indicate that he had the least knowledge of Sand's project or even of his eventual destination.

After the facts brought out by the foregoing discussion the testimony of some of Follen's and Sand's associates must next be examined. Not long after Sand had paid the penalty for his crime Johannes Wit, whom Follen had befriended in many ways in Jena, published a pamphlet in which he pro-

[1] *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, 1906, II, 200.

fessed to disclose the schemes of the liberal party, branding Follen especially as a dangerous revolutionist and as the instigator of the Kotzebue murder. Wit had professed the greatest devotion to Follen, but when he saw that he had attached himself to a failing cause he went over to the side of its enemies in order to save himself from danger. Wit was a political renegade of the first rank, and even such historians as Treitschke [1] admit that little credence can be given to his statements. Although the Jena students found Wit an agreeable companion they considered him so unreliable, as Leo reports,[2] that they did not take him into their confidence concerning their private matters, although he considered himself the chief actor in all that took place. According to Rechtlieb Zeitgeist [3] many of them regarded him as a spy in the service of his uncle, Baron Eckstein, who was at that time Inspector General of the French police. However this may be it may safely be assumed that Follen was too discreet to disclose to such a notably unstable character as Wit plans of various assassinations, as the latter asserts,[4] had he entertained such thoughts.

To Wit's attack upon Follen Wesselhöft replied in his *Teutsche Jugend,* admitting that Follen advocated political assassination in theory, but denying that he was actively engaged in an attempt to put the doctrine into actual practice. Treitschke[5] calls Wesselhöft's defense of Follen nothing but a cleverly written misleading lawyer's plea. Wesselhöft was indeed a friend and admirer of Follen and belonged to his circle of Jena friends, but by no means countenanced his Jesuitical principles and his doctrine of unconditionality.[6] If he had

[1] Cf. *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert,* II, 522.

[2] *Meine Jugendzeit,* 179.

[3] *Demagogische Umtriebe,* II, 691.

[4] *Fragmente,* I, 29ff.

[5] *Deutsche Geschichte,* II, 522.

[6] *Teutsche Jugend,* 88f.: "We took a hearty interest in Follen and remained his friends even after we felt called upon to say to him: From henceforth we are against you.—His whole being and thinking

actually subscribed to them Treitschke's unfavorable comment on his defense of Follen would carry more weight than it otherwise does.

Probably the most thorough and non-partisan discussion of Sand's deed is Jarcke's psychologic-criminalistic analysis [1] published in 1824. Jarcke holds that Sand's life fully proves that the crime had its origin in the intellectual life then prevalent at the universities, and not merely in a narrow circle. Not all who embraced the movement were as radical as Sand or would have countenanced assassination to realize their political aims. Many started from the same premises as Sand, but the latter was carried along irresistably by the intellecual current. It is, however, a wrong conception, Jarcke maintains, to believe that those false political maxims had their origin in certain individuals, or that the evil could be overcome by getting rid of these false teachers. To be sure individuals could appear as the representatives of the intellectual tendency and could contribute to it, but the source of the erroneous thoughts lies deeper. What seems like the evil will of individuals in an erroneous, suddenly appearing intellectual movement is merely, as Jarcke explains it, the product of a long chain of circumstances which are independent of individual, human plans and aims. Thus the revolutionary movement must be distinguished carefully from a mere dissatisfaction with rulers and political conditions. Jarcke believes that it was the necessary product of that intellectual movement that placed the human Ego in the foreground and made human reason the law of the free man, for this conception of life places authority not in God, but in the reason—the reason of

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was penetrated by a moral conviction which was in perfect unity with itself, which had become truth and certainty to him, without which he could not be what he is, could not become and remain good and noble. —He would willingly have attained in a peaceful manner what he deemed indispensably necessary for his country and people if there had been the slightest chance of his succeeding, but he held himself prepared for war as soon as peace was broken. Never, however, did he act in defiance of lawful organizations. He denied only the justice of police authority, which he looked upon as a misuse of power, an invasion of the existing legal constitution and of civil liberty."

[1] *Karl Ludwig Sand und sein an Kotzebue verübter Mord.* 262ff.

the individual, or the collective reason of the people. This atheistic system, as he calls it, leads to a republic, and is, in his opinion, the national enemy of the Christian-German conception of law and state. From this standpoint, then, it is an error to consider the movement of Sand and his companions a momentary aberration of a few eccentric young people; it is on the contrary a phenomenon which of historical necessity had to come forth from deep spiritual motives. But it would be just as erroneous to treat these religious and political errors, according to Jarcke, as a personal malignity of those who cherished them, or to misunderstand the sad truth that during that period many of the best heads and noblest hearts in the German universities were drawn into the magic circle of the revolutionary movement. The fact can and must not be passed over in silence that many of the best youths who at that time cherished the false theories became afterwards the noblest and best men. When one considers how widely that movement was disseminated it is certain, in Jarcke's judgment, that Sand received from all his companions of like persuasion countless outer suggestions and impulses to his crime. By the nature of the case it must, however, remain inscrutable as to who perhaps involuntarily stimulated him, who perhaps instigated him unintentionally against the victim of his fanaticism, what unintentional assertion hastened him on the path he had chosen. "And so in my opinion," Jarcke concludes,[1] "the main cause of the crime was Sand's desire to do some striking deed that would astonish the nation and at the same time would serve as a shining example to his friends and companions; the second and more remote cause was his religious political system, and it lay rather in accidental circumstances that his longed-for great deed was the assassination of Kotzebue."

The report of the Central Investigation Commission at Mainz, which was appointed to inquire into the whole revolutionary movement, and also the investigation instituted by the Prussian government, showed conclusively that Sand's deed

[1] Ibid., 150.

was not the result of any secret propaganda. This verdict was accepted as final until Friedrich Münch's[1] disclosures again opened up the controversy. In 1873, more than half a century after the event, Münch, who had taken at least some part in the Giessen Burschenschaft movement, felt constrained to reveal what he alleges to be a true version of the affair. According to his account[2] the murder of Kotzebue was not merely the deed of a fanatic who felt himself divinely appointed to rid the land of tyrants, but that it was the result of a plan coolly concocted by Follen and his friends. He asserts further[3] that Follen's younger brother, Paul, had a

[1] Friedrich Münch (1799-1881) was associated with Paul Follen in organizing the Giessen Emigration Society and came to Warren County, Mo., in 1834, where he spent the remainder of his life.

[2] "Erinnerungen": *Gesammelte Schriften*, 56f.: "Eine Revolution direkt zu machen, ging nicht an. Aber einen allgemein als Verräter an der deutschen Ehre und Freiheit gebrandmarkten Menschen in der möglichst auffallenden Weise zu strafen und aus dem Wege zu schaffen, dadurch die ganze Nation zum Gefühl ihrer Schmach mächtig aufzuregen, Tausende anzufeuern, dass sie, dem gegebenen Beispiel folgend, auch ihre Dolche blitzen liessen, wonach dann *das Volk zu den Waffen greifen* und *alle seine Plager totschlagen würde* (italics are mine)—das schien erreichbar und tunlich.—Das Falsche in der Berechnung rührt daher, dass Follen bei aller sonstigen Einsicht doch die Masse des Volkes, seine Stimmung und Anschauung nicht kannte. Und warum verrichtete Follen die Tat nicht selbst? Aus reiner Oekonomie; denn der Gedanke der Selbstaufopferung war ihm in der Tat einer der liebsten. Ihm war aber eine höhere Aufgabe gestellt, seiner konnte die künftige Revolution als ihres Führers nicht entbehren, — er musste für das Schwerere, das noch kommen sollte, sich erhalten. Hätte er dies sich nicht selbst gesagt, so sagte Sand es ihm jedenfalls, und er musste die Tat dem Freunde überlassen, der eben dafür und nicht für noch Bedeutenderes sich befähigt hielt."

[3] Ibid., 96ff.: "Wie Karl Follen der Tat Sands nicht ferne gestanden hatte, so stand Paul dem Attentat von Löhning wohl auch näher. War Sands Tat von Jena ausgegangen, so musste die zweite der Ordnung gemäss von Giessen aus erfolgen. — So sassen denn in dem Hinterstübchen einer Dorfschenke an der Grenze von Hessen und Nassau in nächtlicher Beratung drei Männer zusammen, einer aus Giessen — derjenige, welcher dort Karl Follen's Geist am meisten vertrat — dann Pfarrer F. aus der Wetterau und der Apothekergehülfe Löhning, welcher erst seit Kurzem aus innerem Drange die Bekanntschaft der Vaterlandsfreunde gesucht und sich ihnen angeschlossen hatte. Man einigte sich darüber, dass Ibell fallen müsse und wollte das Loos darüber entscheiden lassen, welcher von den Dreien das Urteil vollstrecken sollte. Es fiel auf den ersten der drei Genannten, aber Löhning führte überzeugend aus, dass mit Recht ihm, dem näheren Landsmann Ibells, die Rolle des Rächers zukomme, und forderte die Tat für sich."

hand in planning the assassination of von Ibell. Following Münch's statements, upon which he relies unreservedly, Treitschke paints a very sinister portrait [1] of Follen, condemning him first of all on purely circumstantial evidence; although he admits that guilt in the strict judicial sense cannot be proved, he accepts Münch's verdict [2] to the contrary. It is well known that Treitschke was one of the strongest champions of the monarchic principle, that he denied the right of the people to self-government, and that he was the sworn enemy of republicanism; therefore it is not surprising to find his account of Follen colored by political prejudice. Without doubt his condemnation of Follen is too severe, as Haupt [3] observes, and this is the more to be regretted since the statements of such a recognized authority carries great weight.

It now remains to examine the testimony of Münch, first in regard to specific statements and then concerning its general credibility.

[1] *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert,* II, 522: "Sicherlich hat der unselige Mensch (Sand) geglaubt, dass er seinen Entschluss in voller Freiheit gefasst habe, denn nur die aus eigener Ueberzeugung entspringende Tat liess er entgelten; es ist aber psychologisch unmöglich, dass der menschenkundige Karl Follen, der mit seinem Basiliskenblick den wehrlosen Schwachkopf vollkommen beherrschte und in dieser dürftigen Seele wie in einem offenen Buche las, den Mordplan nicht bemerkt und befördert haben sollte. So gewiss die Aehre dem Saatkorn entspriesst, eben so gewiss erscheint der Prediger des politischen Mordes vor dem sittlichen Urteil der Geschichte als der Urheber der Ermordung Kotzebues. Ein Mitwisser des gefassten Entschlusses war er unzweifelhaft; er verschaffte das Reisegeld für die Wanderfahrt nach Mannheim; unterrichtete seine Getreuen in allen Schlichen und Kniffen des Kriminalprozesses und belehrte sie sorgsam über ihr Verhalten vor dem Untersuchungsrichter."

[2] Ibid., II, 522: "Diese Tatsachen mussten unglaubhaft erscheinen, so lange sie nur durch die Denkwürdigkeiten des elenden Denunzianten Wit von Döring, bezeugt waren; heute lassen sie sich nicht mehr bezweifeln, seit ein vertrauter Freund der Gebrüder Follen, Friedrich Münch, sie wiederholt auf das Bestimmteste zugegeben hat. Münch beruft sich auf vertrauliche Mitteilungen seines Freundes, Paul Follen; er ist ein Mann von anerkannter Rechtschaffenheit und ich sehe nicht ein, warum die nachdrücklichen Versicherungen der ehrlichen Radikalen, die ohnehin nichts Unwahrscheinliches enthalten, unglaubhaft sein sollen. Das zur Verteidigung Karl Follen's geschriebene anonyme Büchlein *Teutschlands Jugend in weiland Burschenschaften und Turngemeinden* (by R. Wesselhöft) ist nichts weiter als eine gewandte unaufrichtige Advokatenschrift."

[3] *Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen,* 24.

Münch states explicitly that Follen instigated the Kotzebue murder not only to get rid of a hated traitor, but also to arouse "das Volk zu den Waffen greifen und alle seine Plager totschlagen." The striking resemblance of this phraseology to that of the stanza of the Great Song where the poet exclaims: "Volk, ins Gewehr!" Schlagt eure Plager tot!" causes one to wonder whether Münch is not constructing a hypothetical case out of Follen's revolutionary utterances rather than stating an actual fact. His statement, too, that Paul Follen and others cast lots to determine who should murder von Ibell, and that in accordance with a definite plan this deed was to proceed from Giessen and Sand's from Jena, should be accepted with caution. "As Karl Follen was closely connected with Sand's deed, Paul was probably (wohl) more closely connected with that of Löhning." It seems strange that Münch should begin his account of the assault on von Ibell with such a hypothetical statement and close it with the most positive assertions. Stern observes [1] that after Kotzebue was murdered wild rumors sprang up over the whole country to the effect that the students were casting lots to determine which university should choose an assassin for Kotzebue, Stourdza, Schmalz, etc.; and in view of the fact that Münch's story is identical with these rumors, which were proved groundless, one is tempted to conclude that his recollections are somewhat clouded or that his story is, as Biedermann [2] suggests, a myth altogether.

Although Wit was Follen's chief accuser he confesses [3] that the latter was by no means cruel or blood-thirsty by nature, that he was in no way connected with the attempt against von Ibell's life, that he cared nothing about so unimportant a man as Kotzebue, that he was at that time strongly opposed

[1] *Geschichte Europas,* I, 557.

[2] *25 Jahre deutscher Geschichte,* I, 206.

[3] *Fragmente,* I, 37ff.: "One would do him a great injustice to regard the projected murder of von Ibell as his work. This was due without question to the hatred of the Unconditionals against the distinguished statesman, who was considered responsible for the dismissal of criminal judge, Wm. Snell." Snell was also a revolutionist and closely connected with the Giessen Blacks.

to assassination because he knew well that the people would thereby turn against the cause in whose interest it was committed, and that if he did in spite of that send Sand to murder Kotzebue it was done to see how the people would regard it. Wit supplements this statement by another to the effect that one of Sand's friends sought in 1820 to borrow money from Follen in order to go to Baden to assassinate the Grand Duke out of revenge for Sand's execution, but that Follen with great difficulty dissuaded him from his purpose.

As further evidence against Münch's statements Wolfgang Menzel, who was well acquainted with Follen in Jena, but did not share his views, testified as follows [1] a few years after Münch's disclosures were published: "People have slandered the Unconditionals by saying that they cast lots to see who should murder Kotzebue, but those young men were not so depraved as that. Sand made the resolve of his own accord after he had strengthened his stoical courage in Follen's club, but in no way had he received any instruction regarding any definite act.—Sand was capable of such a decision of his own accord; it was the result of his religious enthusiasm. Had anybody sought to persuade him to do what he did not feel impelled to do spontaneously he would have refused." [2]

A few years after Menzel's account appeared Heinrich Leo published his memoirs, which also place Münch's statements in a doubtful light. It should be borne in mind that Wesselhöft, Menzel, and Leo actually associated with Follen and Sand in Jena and speak from first-hand knowledge, while Münch was at that time in Giessen 125 miles away; and the fact that these men did not agree with Follen in his radical doctrines would tend to remove any suspicion that their testimony was biased in his favor. Leo lived in the same house with Sand and was most intimately acquainted with him. Contrary to Wit, who says that himself, Follen and Sand were the only bona fide Unconditionals in Jena, Leo asserts [3] that

[1] *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 129.

[2] Cf. Sand's own statement in his diary entry for Nov. 2, 1818.

[3] *Meine Jugendzeit*, 186.

there were still others, that while Sand was an Unconditional, as his deed proves, he was never a member of Follen's narrower circle, but dawdled around in a certain dilletantism of Teutonism and free thought without having any fixed theory; hence he was not relied upon by his friends for any practical end. Leo states emphatically that the questions of unconditionality and of political assassination were discussed not only in Follen's club, but in other circles all over Jena, and expresses his belief that Sand was induced by these discussions to determine by experiment whether the people would approve of such violent revolutionary measures or not. Upon hearing the remark of a certain Jena professor, that some enthusiast or other would take vengeance on Kotzebue for his traitorous conduct Sand replied to Leo,[1] that it would certainly be a good opportunity to test the question as to what sort of impression a political murder would make. According to Leo[2] Wit's story[3] concerning Follen's alleged plan to assassinate the Czar of Russia was due to a farcical discussion of that subject to test the courage of a few who seemed to be wavering in their conviction. Wit was one of the innocent victims of this mock debate. Leo relates further[4] that on the day Sand's deed was reported in Jena the town was so excited that it would have been easy to find dozens of men to commit a like act. The fact that all these dozens of men did not belong to Follen's circle, that political assassination was discussed outside of Follen's circle, would indicate plainly that there were other sources besides Follen from which Sand could have been influenced. Leo's final verdict[5] is that Sand had no confidant, and was aided only in an indirect way.

Now as to the general reliability of Münch's testimony: The value of any historical source depends not only upon the capability and the good will of the writer to tell the truth, but

[1] Ibid., 220.

[2] Ibid., 180f.

[3] *Fragmente*, I, 29ff.

[4] *Meine Jugendzeit*, 188.

[5] Ibid., 188.

also upon the relative demonstrability of the truth of what he recounts. If the truth cannot be positively demonstrated then probability or even possibility must be taken as the criterion. But one condition is necessary before a source can be recognized as original, that is, it must bear the stamp of independence. There seems to be no reason for doubting Münch's honesty, but the same cannot be said concerning his ability. And why? In the first place, he was not on the scene of action; the story he tells is hear-say evidence related to him years after the events themselves; while his publication of it to the world was made still many more years later, after his memory had become clouded as he several times admits in the course of his narrative. As to the truth of his report it cannot be demonstrated; it is possible, but in view of the evidence already introduced it seems improbable. Münch claims [1] that his account of Follen's European career is original and independent: "Of no part of my life," to use his own words, "do I have such a keen recollection as of that which I spent with my youthful companions. Therein I possess for this sketch such a rich and trustworthy source as few biographers have at their disposal. Besides, I have lived long enough and experienced enough to enable me to form an independent judgment of circumstances and persons." Whether this statement actually squares with Münch's narrative is a question which J. Hermann has thoroughly discussed in his "Kritik der Nachrichten über die Attentate von 1819." [2]

For that part of his account which deals with Follen's American career Münch had of necessity to depend wholly upon the biography of Mrs. Follen. Concerning Follen's personal appearance, his moral character, and his philosophical principles he quotes Wesselhöft verbatim, admitting[3] in a footnote that he is "compelled to quote from an English translation." The fact that there was no other translation of Wesselhöft's work than the extracts given in Mrs. Follen's biography

[1] *Gesammelte Schriften*, 40.

[2] Cf. *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII, 573-592.

[3] *Gesammelte Schriften*, 60.

shows that Münch made use of this biography also as a source for his account of Follen's European career. Taking this as his first clew Hermann carefully analyses Münch's account, comparing many passages side by side with extracts from Wesselhöft's and Mrs. Follen's narratives. This comparison shows that Münch has contributed nothing except the alleged new information concerning the assassination of Kotzebue and von Ibell and a few minor matters connected with the Giessen movement, some of which either from lack of first-hand knowledge or from faulty memory are inaccurately portrayed. The rest of his account consists for the most part in translation direct from Mrs. Follen and Wesselhöft, or in paraphrases with certain expressions retained which betray their origin. This proves, according to Hermann,[1] that Münch's account of Follen's life in Germany is in the main taken from Mrs. Follen, and cannot therefore, contrary to Münch's own claims, be regarded as an original and independent source; hence his version of Sand's deed must be considered at least as improbable. Hausenstein [2] is of the opinion that Hermann is hypercritical and hence unjust, but admits that he himself is surprised at Münch's omission of all details of the Kotzebue assassination and at his surprising generalizations. Jastrow,[3] on the other hand, believes that Hermann's "searching critique" has rendered Münch's testimony wholly inadmissible.

In conclusion, one more argument may be brought forward for consideration: Most of those who have argued for or against the probability of Follen's implication in the Kotzebue affair have been guided wholly by their knowledge of his European career only. Those who believe that he cherished bloody designs against the German rulers base their arguments for the most part on his radical revolutionary doctrine. He did indeed advocate the overthrow of despotism through assassination if necessary, but it is quite probable, as already suggested, that many of his rabid utterances were for

[1] *Forschungen*, XXIII, 579.

[2] *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, 1906, II, 199.

[3] *Geschichte des deutschen Einheitstraumes*, 330.

the most part "harmless braggadocia," to quote the words of Jarcke.[1] An analysis of his whole life and character speaks eloquently against the assumption that he ever seriously countenanced the practical application of his stern theory. Treitschke states that it was "psychologically impossible for him not to have promoted Sand's murderous scheme." Indirectly? Possibly. Using Treitschke's own argument it is only fair to insist that it was psychologically impossible for Follen to have intentionally and knowingly brought about Kotzebue's death. In the first place he was too shrewd to run the risk of committing an act which would be sure to crush the revolutionary movement, as Sand's deed really did; in the second place, his whole nature would have cried out against such a useless shedding of blood. Not only Follen's youthful companions, but especially his American friends unanimously agree that he was one of the kindliest, purest, and noblest characters they had ever known. Both from the standpoint of his ethical system and from the bottom of his heart he reverenced human life above all things; he would even step out of his path to avoid crushing the ugliest worm, believing that it too was a spark of the divine life. Had his hands been stained with human blood, especially with that of so harmless a man as Kotzebue, he could hardly have passed through life as a teacher of Christlike perfection without betraying at some time in some way his duplicity,[2] for "his heart was always on his tongue," as Wesselhöft expresses it, and all are agreed that hypocrisy was foreign to his nature.

In view therefore of all the foregoing considerations it seems safe to assume that Follen was innocent until better proof than that which Münch and Treitschke have given can be adduced to the contrary.[3] But however that may be, one

[1] *Karl Ludwig Sand*, Chap. 3.

[2] After completing this chapter I found this conclusion corroborated by Max Lenz in his *Geschichte der Universität Berlin*, II, 49ff., Berlin, 1910.

[3] This statement, too, I later found corroborated by Charles Seignobos in his *Political History of Europe since 1814*, p. 385, N. Y., 1900. He says: "Treitschke, deceived by the false account given by Münch, believed there was a revolutionary conspiracy."

thing is certain: Even if his head was not level on the subject of political theory, even if his tongue was at times unruly, his heart was always in the right place; and the irrepressible enthusiasm of this tempestuous struggle of his youth was followed by a career of the serenest virtue.

IN POLITICAL EXILE.

Owing to the notoriety occasioned by his supposed connection with the assassination of Kotzebue Follen was removed from his position in the University of Jena in the autumn of 1819. As an object of suspicion to many he now returned to Giessen, but was from this time on under constant police surveillance. In view of the hopeless political outlook, and convinced too that he was no longer safe in Germany, he now conceived the idea of emigrating to the United States to continue there his efforts on behalf of political reform in his native land. To this end he entered into communication with a few of his faithful political friends who had associated with him in the Giessen Burschenschaft movement, discussing with them plans, which he had already sketched, for the founding of a German republic in America.

The main argument [1] of this memorial [2] was, that since all efforts to meliorate the intolerable political conditions under which Germany was languishing had failed the only alternative left to the friends of liberty was to found a German state in America to serve as an asylum for political refugees and as a base from which to continue the propaganda for unity and democracy in the mother country. Follen believed that the highest task of the American commonwealth was to realize the ideal of freedom in its purest form, but expressed the belief that "the deeper spiritual import of freedom, which alone can lay the foundation of America's world-supremacy, must proceed from Germany, the center of all modern culture." As a part of his comprehensive program a German educational

[1] Cf. Haupt, 146.

[2] The document itself, entitled, *Denkschrift über die deutsche Bildungsanstalt in Nordamerika,* is preserved only in the government archives at Berlin.

institution embracing all branches of knowledge was to be erected in this proposed free-state for the purpose of strengthening the German-Americans' love for their native language, manners and customs, and of maintaining and developing German national culture in general. The faculty of this seminary was to be selected from Follen's circle of political friends, especially from those university professors who had been dismissed on account of their liberal political views,—men such as Fries, Oken, DeWette, Fr. Forster and the Snell brothers. "In this manner," says Follen in his memorial, "the Germans of North America can be successfully organized into a state to be represented in Congress, which shall become a model for the mother country and in many respects render it an important service in freeing it from the shackles of tyranny."

Through the activity of the government in arresting as political agitators a number of Follen's most active confederates his American project had to be abandoned for the time being, but it resulted ultimately in the formation of the Giessen Emigration Society, which sent a large colony to Warren County, Missouri, under the direction of Follen's younger brother in 1833. This was one of the earliest and most ambitious of those many unsuccessful attempts[1] to found German colonies in this country during the 30's and 40's of the past century.

While Follen was engaged in maturing his new plans his elder brother and his friend, Ludwig Snell, were suddenly arrested on suspicion of promoting revolutionary propaganda. Learning that a copy of his memorial had been found in Snell's possession and that he himself was to be arrested on the charge of being its author, he took hasty leave of his family and fled across the French frontier in the early part of January, 1820. The following verses,[2] written by one of his small group of Blacks, or possibly by himself, may well express his emotions

[1] Cf. T. S. Baker's account of these projects,—*Americana Germanica,* I, 62ff. Baker makes no mention of Karl Follen as the originator of this colonization movement.

[2] Cited by Haupt, 148.

as he departed from his home, henceforth to wander, a martyr to the cause of liberty and an exile from his native land:

> Ich selbst ich will die Freiheit mir bewahren,
> An ihrem heiligen Flammenlicht mich weiden,
> Mit diesen Armen, diesen Sehnen streiten,
> Nicht brache liegen in der Jugend Jahren.
> O, wahrlich, mir thuts weh von Euch zu scheiden,
> Die lieben Berg und Thäler fern zu missen,
> Der alten Väter heilig Grab zu meiden.
> Mit Schmerz und Thränen bin ich losgerissen.
>
> Ein neues Vaterland geh ich zu finden,
> Wo Vater Franklins frische Seele baute,
> Die mündige Welt der eigenen Kraft vertraute,
> Der Freiheit junges Licht sich will entzünden!
> Da drüben wächst sie auf zur jungen Eiche.
> Wir bringen Zunder zu den regen Flammen,
> Zum neuen Kreuzzug zum gelobten Reiche!
> Rom ist, wo freie Römer steh'n zusammen.

After spending a few days in Strassburg Follen proceeded to Paris where he soon made the acquaintance of such men as Lafayette, D'Argenson, Cousin, Constant, and Grégoire. His association with these noted liberals served first of all to dispel his hatred of the French, which had been inspired in the German youth by Arndt, broadened his conceptions of the brotherhood of mankind, and confirmed him in his republican principles. According to Wit,[1] who met him in Paris at this time, his intimate association with members of the French Comité Directeur led him to begin preparations for a similar organization in Germany to cooperate with the French liberals; but his sojourn in France was of short duration, for the assassination of the Duke of Berry on the 13th of February, led to the expulsion of all foreigners who had no fixed occupation. Believing that he might still be able to promote the liberal movement, he went to Switzerland where he found refuge with the Countess of Benzal-Sternau, who had followed with deep interest his public career in Germany.

[1] *Fragmente*, I, 55.

In the autumn of this same year Follen secured a position as teacher of Latin and history in the Cantonal school of Chur, where his talent and genial nature won him the highest regard of his pupils and colleagues. In his lectures on history it was but natural that he should give occasional expression to his radical views on politics and religion, namely, the principles of freedom as he interpreted them from the life of Christ. This led to two momentous results. In the first place his ideas of political freedom were again reported to the rulers of Germany; consequently a demand was made by the Holy Alliance, assembled in council at Troppau, that he and all others engaged in revolutionary agitation be handed over to a tribunal of inquisition, a demand to which the Swiss government refused to accede. In the second place his religious views brought him into conflict with the Calvinistic clergy. Without entering into controversial theology he had endeavored in his lectures simply to trace the growth of Christianity and the great spiritual revolution effected by Christ's teachings of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This interpretation seemed a bit heretical to the orthodox party, who accordingly accused him of denying the divinity of Christ, the doctrine of original sin, and the total depravity of man. When he learned that the Council of Education was instituting a secret inquiry among his pupils he requested of the assembled evangelical synod a public hearing to defend the principles he had advanced. This request was cleverly evaded by a hasty adjournment of the synod, whereupon he forthwith resigned his position in the school.

Follen's reputation as a scholar and the highly complimentary recommendation [1] of the school board of Chur secured for him an appointment as lecturer on jurisprudence and metaphysics in the newly reorganized university of Basel whither he went in the autumn of 1821. Among the professors there he found several of his compatriots, who like himself had for political reasons been obliged to flee from Germany. In close communion with these kindred spirits he spent three busy

[1] Cf. *Works,* I, 110.

happy years, and his engagement to Anna de Lassaux[1] added a new charm to life. In addition to his academic duties he took part in the publication of DeWette's journal,[2] and in private proclaimed his gospel of freedom, seeking to instill into the hearts and minds of his students the doctrine of the natural rights of man. But this period of buoyant hope and joyous promise was soon to end, for Karl Follen was a proscribed man.

Switzerland was at that time the only free state on the continent, and from that stronghold of liberty he again took up his propaganda for the establishment of freedom and union in his native land. In conjunction with a few of his friends, as it seems,[3] he founded a new political society and sent von Sprewitz, one of the Jena Burschenschafter, who was traveling in Switzerland, to organize branches in Germany. Although this so-called "Jünglingsbund" made little headway its existence was dicovered by the police in 1823. Arrested in the spring of 1824 as one of its promoters, Wit[4] turned state's evidence, declaring that Follen was the instigator of the new movement. Whether this was true or not the Prussian government, in order to stifle the growing spirit of freedom, not only forbade its subjects to attend the university of Basel, but in August, 1824, the Holy Alliance demanded again that Follen and others be handed over to the tribunal of Köpenick to answer to the charge of conspiring to subvert the monarchic status of Prussia. For a time the Swiss government refused to comply with this demand, but when the intimidating order was repeated it was thought more expedient to sacrifice individuals than to endanger the welfare of the whole state. Accordingly Follen was requested to leave the canton, which

[1] Cf. Follen-Briefe—*Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois,* XIV, 5.

[2] *Zeitschrift der wissenschaftlichen Religion;* to this Follen contributed two treatises, Ueber die Bestimmung des Menschen, and Ueber Spinoza's Lehre.

[3] Haupt, 149.

[4] *Fragmente,* II, 12ff. Rechtlieb Zeitgeist, II, 556ff., denies that Follen set this movement on foot.

he refused to do without a legal trial. If he had committed any offense he had the right, he contended, to be tried by a tribunal of the state to which he belonged. Inasmuch as he had become a citizen of the Republic and had never owed allegiance to the Holy Alliance, he maintained that the Swiss government was neither obliged nor entitled to deliver him up to the inquisition of Köpenick. He knew very well that the Holy Alliance wished to make an example of him in order to deter others from following his teachings, and that imprisonment or even death awaited him should he be arrested. On a previous visit to Paris his friend, Lafayette, had urged him to go to America, but he refused on the ground that a voluntary withdrawal from Basel would be construed as a tacit admission of guilt. When he learned, however, that his arrest had actually been ordered and that his safety lay only in flight he decided to seek refuge in the new world. Before leaving he requested of the university a public statement concerning his conduct in Switzerland; this was granted, and the certified copy[1] which was later sent to him shows that he was held in the highest esteem, not only as an ideal teacher by his pupils and colleagues, but by the magistrates of the Republic as a model citizen.

Through the aid of friends Follen secretly left Basel and made his escape in safety to Paris where he met a small party of German political fugitives among whom was his friend, Karl Beck. Convinced that men of liberal opinions were no longer safe even in Switzerland they decided to cast their lot with Follen in seeking freedom and happiness across the seas. In Paris Follen met his betrothed,[2] arranging with her to join him in America after adequate means of support could be found, and as a farewell expression both of his devotion to her and of his deep love of freedom addressed to her the following lines:

[1] Given in *Works*, I, 119f.

[2] Yielding to her father's wishes she soon after broke off the engagement; cf. Follen-Briefe, No. 13.

Hast du mich lieb, o so gib mir die Hand;
Lass uns wandern, lass uns ziehen
Mit der Sonne nach Westen hin;
Dort an des Meeres andrem Strand,
Dort ist der Freiheit, dort der Menschheit Vaterland.

Follen and Beck reached Havre on the 1st of November and immediately went aboard the Cadmus, the same ship in which Lafayette had taken passage to America a few months earlier. It was with a mingled feeling of joy and sadness that Follen departed from all that was dear to him to begin life anew in a foreign land. As the shores of Europe gradually receded in the distance his long-cherished hopes for the freedom of his country vanished like a dream, but with undaunted courage he faced the unknown future that lay before him. Under the soothing, exalting influence of the boundless sea his dejection soon gave way to new hopes and aspirations, and his youthful dreams again seemed possible of realization. The wild music of wind and waves seemed to awaken in his soul a new sense of life, and in the joyous contemplation of his ideals his love of freedom again came to expression in the following lines,[1] the last poem he ever wrote in his native tongue:

Auch auf dem hölzernen Fische,
Hier mitten im Wassergezische,
    Schwingt das Herz,
    Frei von Schmerz,
Frei wie die Lerche sich himmelwärts.

Stürmt nur, ihr wilden Gewässer,
Wir werden nicht röter, nicht blässer,
    Meergebraus,
    Sturmgesaus,
Ist für die Tapfern ein Ohrenschmaus.

Wenngleich mit wildem Gelüsten
Am Mast die Wasser sich küssten,
    Freiheitsmut,
    Liebesglut,
Brennt auch in Sturm und in Wasserflut.

[1] *Works*, I, 127.

During the voyage Follen and Beck studied a German work on the Constitution of the United States and sought also to acquire some knowledge of the English language. On Sunday, the 19th of December, 1824, the Cadmus arrived at New York. As the ship approached the harbor Follen stood on deck, peering through the dense fog to catch his first glimpse of the promised land. From the distance came the sound of the Sabbath bells; then through a rift in the clouds the sun burst forth, lighting up the glittering spires of the city. So great was his joy and anxiety that he almost feared the splendid vision might vanish before he could set foot on shore; but when he finally found himself standing upon American soil he wished, as he afterwards stated,[1] to kneel upon the ground, and kiss it, and cling to it with his hands, lest it should even then escape his grasp.

PART TWO.

FOLLEN IN AMERICA.

After remaining about three weeks in New York Follen and Beck went to Philadelphia, acting upon the advice of Lafayette, who was at that time a guest of Congress in Washington and with whom Follen had begun a correspondence immediately after landing. Through the recommendation of Lafayette they soon received a visit[2] from Professor George Ticknor, on whom they made a most favorable impression. When Ticknor asked them for a written statement of their history and acquirements they confessed their inability to write well in English, but upon his suggestion produced the required documents written in correct and fluent Latin. Through Ticknor's influence Beck secured an immediate appointment as teacher of Latin and gymnastics in the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts. He remained there until 1829, and about two years later became professor of Latin in Harvard College.

[1] Ibid., I, 139.

[2] Cf. *Life, Letters and Journals of Ticknor*, I. 352.

Follen remained in Philadelphia nearly a year, devoting himself to the study of the language, manners and customs of the United States. The diary [1] which he kept at that time shows that he was a keen observer in matters pertaining to politics, religion, society, industry, art and literature. He was so pleased with the outlook of American democracy that he made immediate application for citizenship. It is most interesting to learn from the first letter [2] written to his parents shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia the impressions which the new country and its democratic institutions made upon this former revolutionist:

"The government interferes scarcely at all," he writes, "but acts merely as a defense against breaches of the law; and there is certainly no country where one lives more securely without passports, police officers, and soldiers than here. Almshouses and prisons are more perfect here than elsewhere. In education they make rapid progress. For the rest they let men alone; and thus everything is much better done than when it is accomplished by direction of the authorities. There are scarcely any taxes, for the government of the whole United States does not cost so much as that of one of our principalities. Any man can call together, by a public announcement, in the open squares an assembly of several thousand, in which petitions to the government may be discussed and its measures criticized; but as yet there has been no disorder or disturbance of the public peace in consequence. The government does not concern itself with the exercise of religion, speech, or the press except in so far as the rights of any might thereby be impaired. * * * Politics are here everyone's concern. There are here no state secrets; but the opinion is prevalent that the welfare of all is the concern of the so-called common man. * * * God be praised that we have here so much to do and that we find so rich an enjoyment in this glorious liberty."

[1] *Works,* I, 133ff., 153ff.

[2] Cf. Follen-Briefe, No. 9—*Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois,* XIV, 16; given in abridged form in *Works,* I, 144.

In view of this encouraging prospect Follen wisely gave no further thought to his earlier fantastic scheme of Germanizing America by founding a German state here, but unlike some of his compatriots dedicated himself without reserve to the interests and welfare of his adopted country. At first he was unable to decide upon any definite course of action. Through the recommendation of Lafayette he soon became acquainted with the distinguished jurist, Du Ponceau,[1] who introduced him to the leading men of Philadelphia and also suggested him to Jefferson as a suitable teacher of Roman law for the University of Virginia; on account of his imperfect knowledge of English and his unwillingness to live in a slave state he made no effort to secure this position. For a time he thought seriously of joining his former Giessen friend, Christian Sartorius, in Mexico; but thanks to the influence of his Philadelphia friends his great talents were fortunately retained in the service of American culture. In July he paid Beck a visit in Northampton and somewhat later spent a short time in New York where he made the acquaintance of Miss Sedgwick,[2] whose novel, "Redwood," had been his first textbook in the English language. After six months' residence in this country he had made such rapid progress in his studies that he began to write in English a course of lectures on civil law, which he hoped to deliver in Philadelphia; and this although he could, according to the statement of his wife, not utter a correct English sentence when he landed in New York. These lectures were ready to be delivered in October, and from a letter[3] written to Beck at this time it may be inferred that Follen was seriously contemplating law as a permanent profession. If this decision had been made he would doubtless have won both fortune and reputation as a distinguished jurist, or even as a remarkable statesman; but about this time

[1] Peter Stephen Du Ponceau (1760-1844), a Frenchman by birth, who came to Philadelphia at the close of the Revolutionary war.

[2] Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789-1867), writer of novels and stories depicting local customs and manners in New England. "Redwood" appeared in 1824.

[3] *Works*, I, 156.

Ticknor offered him through Du Ponceau an instructorship in German at Harvard, assuring him also that his lectures on law would be highly appreciated in Boston. His acceptance of this position enabled him to enter upon a career in which he probably exerted a much greater influence in contributing to American intellectual life than would have been possible had he chosen the profession of law.

In December, 1825, Follen arrived at Cambridge, entering at once upon the duties of his new position. Besides his regular teaching he began to prepare text-books for his classes and endeavored above all to acquire a more perfect command of the English language. Meanwhile he attracted attention and interest in various quarters, introducing gymnastics in Boston and lecturing there also on civil law to an audience composed mostly of lawyers. Through Miss Sedgwick he became acquainted in the following year with Miss Eliza Cabot, the daughter of one of the best New England families and also a talented member of a brilliant literary circle. This acquaintance soon ripened into a warm friendship, culminating some two years later in marriage. Through Miss Cabot's influence Follen was admitted to her circle of literary friends, and through her he also made the acquaintance of Dr. Channing, which was the beginning of a life-long intimate friendship between these two men.

After a year's residence in Cambridge he again wrote to his parents the following significant lines,[1] which show the inner change that the new surroundings had produced in him and at the same time speak eloquently of his devotion to his adopted country: "I am well and my position here becomes every day more firm and agreeable in proportion as my new countrymen are assured that I am not one of the many adventurers and imposters, through whom the name of a foreigner has become suspected by the natives. They are convinced that my new country has always been the country of my principles; that I know how to respect the peculiarities of

[1] Follen-Briefe, No. 14—*Jahrbuch D. A. H. G.*, XIV, 36ff.; letter given in abridged form in *Works*, I, 164.

others, and that I attach myself cordially to good men, and particularly to affectionate family circles. It is now seven years since I left home, and I have not during this time, my seven years' private war against the great powers, been permitted to enter my father's house. But you know, dear father, that the principles on account of which I, together with others, have been persecuted, and which with many of my fellow-sufferers may have been opinions taken on trust, or mere freaks of an ill-regulated imagination,—that these principles have been with me matters of conscience and the result of laborious thought and study. Hence there is in this country, where law alone governs, no more quiet citizen than I. I should have lost my self-respect and deserved the contempt of my enemies had I acted according to their principles. Hence in the storms of misfortune the infallible magnet in my breast has never wavered, but remained fixed as the pole-star, to which it points. * * *

"I would remark that since I became a citizen here I have publicly renounced, under oath, all further connection with foreign governments. Therefore I am as to Europe politically dead and continue to live only for my family. The hatred against the governments on the other side, which I brought on board ship, has changed into entire indifference; and I only wish that my persecutors would allow me the blessing of their forgetfulness."

In the summer of 1828 Follen entered the Unitarian ministry and for several years thereafter preached as a substitute in various churches in and around Boston. About this same time he made known to Dr. Bowditch, President of the Corporation, his intentions to seek a regular pastorate since his salary of five hundred dollars from the College was insufficient to maintain a home. Both Bowditch and Higginson strongly opposed this, assuring him that the College could not dispense with his services and that adequate provision would be made for him; accordingly he was given in addition to his regular work in German an instructorship in ethics and history in the Divinity School. He was induced to accept this offer, accord-

ing to his wife's statement,[1] from the assurance that a full professorship would soon be given him. This appointment imposed upon him the heavy task of instructing in two more subjects; but still he was able to work on his text-books, to continue his preaching, and to devote some time also to purely literary endeavor, contributing to various literary magazines such as the Christian Examiner and the American Quarterly Review.

From the year 1829 we possess a long letter [2] written to his father, giving an intimate view of his life at Harvard and breathing the contentment of one whose dreams of freedom seemed to have been realized, in which he makes the following observation: "You see by this, dear father, that I have not departed from your ways in regard to laboring in my profession. You must know that

> Im Klötzespalten werd' ich stets dir weichen;
> Im Sägen aber such' ich meinesgleichen.

I owe to this, my constant occupation, my firm health, and, as you see, a certain facility and skill in doggerel and double rhymes. For the rest I produce more realities here than poems,—probably because my boldest European poems are here realities." In this same letter he again speaks about his growing love for America, as follows: "I am so happy in the midst of my dear family. The time will come, I hope, when the governments on the other side will believe that I do not wish to meddle in their affairs, which concern me not at all; and then I shall hope, when they can promise me a safe protection, to find time to visit you. I pray you yet again, dear father, if it is too narrow for you there to come with my mother to me and to your American daughter. My income, though small, is sufficient for us. And then I root myself daily more deeply in this native soil of freedom and truth, and I am now as good as certain that I shall wish you joy,

[1] *Works*, I, 253; cf. also Dr. Peabody's *Harvard Reminiscences*, 122.

[2] Follen-Briefe, No. 16, *Jahrbuch D. A. H. G.*, XIV, 42ff.; given in abridged form in *Works*, I, 263.

next April, over your first-born American grandson. The 18th of January is a festival for me. I become then a citizen of the United States."

In March, 1830, Follen was admitted to all the rights and privileges of an American citizen. How deeply this event, to which he had looked forward for five years, impressed him may be seen from the following account[1] of his wife: "He brought me the certificate, that he was an American citizen, with a glow of joy in his face and declared the naturalized foreigner alone had a right to boast of his citizenship, for with him it was choice. When not long afterwards, on the 11th of April, his son was born, he said: 'Now I am an American.' For a long time he had been unwilling to be called a foreigner. There was none of the feeling of the foreigner in his heart."

In the summer of the same year he learned that the professorship in ethics, which had been promised him, was to be given to Dr. John Palfrey in consequence of a reorganization of the Divinity School, whereupon he informed the Corporation that he would accept any advantageous position offered him elsewhere unless more suitable provisions were made for him in the College, since his four-fold occupation of preaching, and teaching in three different branches intellectually quartered him. Unwilling to lose so valuable an instructor from their teaching staff the Corporation thereupon offered him a professorship in the Department of Latin, but he declined the offer from the conviction that this was not his proper calling. Upon invitation from the Unitarian Society of Newburyport he supplied their pulpit during the summer vacation, receiving at the end of his engagement a proposal to become their permanent pastor, but at the same time he was notified by the Corporation that a professorship of German literature had been established at Harvard for a period of five years, and that he would be appointed to fill the position in case he cared to return. Although he preferred to devote himself to the field of ethics, or exclusively to the ministry,

[1] *Works*, I, 267.

he accepted the call from Harvard, believing that this new sphere of activity would give him an enlarged opportunity to contribute to the intellectual life of New England by opening up to it more effectively than had hitherto been done the treasures of German culture.

With this in view Follen now entered with great zeal into the teaching of German literature in the autumn of 1830. In addition to his regular academic instruction he gave public lectures also on German literature and philosophy in Boston, and accepted frequent invitations to preach in various churches. In the autumn of 1832 he was called upon to deliver the funeral oration [1] on Dr. Spurzheim, the celebrated German phrenologist, who had died in Boston while engaged on a lecturing tour in this country; and two years later he made before the workingmen of Boston an address [2] introductory to the fourth course of Franklin lectures. It was at this time also that he espoused the cause of antislavery, becoming one of the most active leaders in the Garrisonian Abolition movement. Concerning these years between 1830 and 1835 his wife notes [3] in her biography that it was his custom to work until after midnight, with the cradle of his infant son by his side. Many of his best lectures were written in this way; through all his various trials he had always been hopeful, but now his soul seemed overflowing with joy.[4] He felt certain that his professorship would be renewed at the end of the five years or that some other satisfactory position would be offered him. All his old love of academic life revived, and it was his one purpose and desire to be a truly useful servant to the institution in which he was employed. Not only his attachment to the university, but also his loyalty to his new country grew stronger as indicated by the follow-

[1] Given in full in *Works,* V, 153ff.

[2] Ibid., V, 288ff.

[3] *Works,* I, 301.

[4] In his *Harvard Reminiscences,* 122, Dr. Peabody remarks that the Follen home was at this time one of the first social centers in Harvard University life, and that the Harvard students regarded their frequent visits there as among the greatest of their social privileges.

ing passage of a letter[1] written to his father in May, 1832: "My attachment to this glorious country increases daily, although my love for my old fatherland does not grow cold. Many glorious productions flourish and increase in Europe, but man, who is there only a hot-house plant, finds here a native soil."

But Follen's hope of a permanent position of service and usefulness in Harvard was not to be realized. At the end of the period for which it had been endowed his professorship was discontinued, whereupon he severed his connection with the College and sought employment elsewhere. From this time on he was variously employed. At first he became private tutor to the two young sons of James Perkins, a position which for several reasons he resigned at the end of a year's successful service. In the summer of 1836 he and his family made a western journey with a number of friends including Miss Harriet Martineau, the distinguished English writer. The party intended to descend the Ohio river in order to visit Paul Follen's German colony in Missouri, but on account of the proslavery animosity against Miss Martineau this visit was abandoned; consequently the party took a more northerly route, traveling by way of Niagara falls and the great lakes as far as Chicago. In this city Follen was asked to address a small body of Unitarians, who were desirous of founding a church. His powerful preaching impressed them so well that they raised a subscription of twenty thousand dollars to build a meeting-house and extended to him an urgent invitation to become their pastor, which, however, he did not accept. After returning to Boston Follen took up his residence in Stockbridge where for want of other occupation he gave lessons in German, wrote for several literary magazines, and began also a treatise on psychology, a Science of the Soul as he called it,—a book which he had long wished to write and for which he had collected abundant material even before coming to America. From this time on he devoted all his leisure to this project, but death overtook him before the work

[1] *Works*, I, 300.

was completed; only the introductory chapters [1] were put into final form.

In the autumn of 1836 Follen was called to occupy the pulpit of the First Unitarian Church in New York City. This was the beginning of one of the most happy and active periods of his life. Besides his regular pastoral duties he still wrote for various journals, gave public lectures on literary, religious and sociological subjects, and continued his active service in the antislavery propaganda. For a time he was seriously considering the founding a new periodical to be called "All Sides," which was to be a non-partisan paper, a medium of independent thought, devoted to the spreading of the gospel of liberty. The plan [2] drawn up by him grouped the subjects to be treated under three heads: religion, morals and education, law and politics; but for want of financial support he was unable to carry out his project. The success with which he met in his pastorate caused him to believe that he had at last found his proper and most useful sphere of activity, but when after a year and a half of devoted service to the cause of religion and philanthropy in New York his congregation became displeased with his bold and fearless attitude toward the slavery question he resigned his position and returned with his family to Boston in the spring of 1838.

For the next two years, the remainder of his life, Follen managed through the strictest economy to eke out a living by dint of teaching private classes, giving public lectures, and filling various pulpits. His influential friend, Dr. Channing, seems to have been unable to help him to a suitable pastorate.[3] Under these discouraging circumstances his heart turned again with such longing toward the old home and the old friends across the sea that he made preparations in the summer of 1839 for a visit to Switzerland, but before final arrangements for the

[1] Given in *Works*, III, 323ff.

[2] Ibid., I, 634ff.

[3] Dr. Peabody says in his *Harvard Reminiscences*, 123, that Follen's zeal in the antislavery cause probably prevented his permanent settlement in one of the Boston churches in which he was a favorite preacher.

journey were made he received an invitation from the Unitarian Society of East Lexington to become their pastor. Although the salary was only six hundred dollars Follen accepted the offer and moved his family at once to his new parish where he designed and personally supervised the construction of a new house of worship. Again it seemed that his longing for a permanent field of useful service to his fellow-men was to be realized, but fate would not have it so. In response to a call to deliver a course of lectures on German literature before the Merchants' Library Association in New York, an invitation extended only to distinguished lecturers, Follen accompanied by his family went to that city the latter part of December. He had promised to return to Lexington in time for the dedication of the new church, which was set for the 15th of January, but a sudden indisposition of his wife while in New York rendered it inadvisable to make the return trip until a later date. Under these circumstances he requested that the dedication be postponed a few days until his wife would be able to make the journey. Since his parish would not make this concession he decided to leave his family in New York and to make the trip alone rather than to fail in the fulfillment of his promise. On the 13th of January, 1840, he boarded the steamboat, Lexington, for Boston; but on that dark winter night the steamer caught fire on Long Island Sound, and Karl Follen along with nearly all on board found a watery grave.

CHAPTER I.

HIS PROMOTION OF GERMAN STUDIES IN NEW ENGLAND.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

That the higher intellectual life of the English settlers of this country was dependent chiefly upon the cultural traditions of the mother country seems natural despite the fact that England did practically nothing to promote it. The colonial colleges, especially those of New England, were not only modeled after the English plan, but the character of their methods of

instruction was essentially that which prevailed at Oxford and Cambridge. Soon after the War of Independence we notice, however, a growing dissatisfaction with English cultural ideas. The most interesting proof of this is furnished by the plan[1] of a national university, devised by Dr. Benjamin Rush in 1788. This eminent scientist, who had traveled in Europe, advocates in his plan the founding of a federal institution to train the American youth, not along the traditional English lines, but in the branches of learning best calculated to prepare young men for all the private and public duties of American citizens. Among the subjects of instruction he names are: government, history, agriculture and commerce, natural philosophy, athletics, philosophy and foreign languages. These branches, he says, should be taught by way of lectures, which was of course the method employed in the German universities. Concerning philology and modern languages he expresses himself as follows: "Instruction in this branch of literature will become the more necessary in America, as our intercourse must soon cease with the bar, the stage, and the pulpits of Great Britain from whence we received our knowledge of the pronunciation of the English language. Even modern English books should cease to be the models of style in the United States. The present is the age of simplicity of writing in America. The turgid style of Johnson—the purple glare of Gibbon—and even the studied and thick-set metaphors of Junius are equally unnatural and should not be admitted into our country .. .. .. The German and French languages should be taught in this university. The many excellent books which are written in both these languages, upon all subjects, more especially upon those which relate to the advancement of national improvement of all kinds, will render a knowledge of them an essential part of the education of a legislator of the United States."

It is not improbable that the ideas of Dr. Rush influenced Washington's later plan of a national university.

While neither of these plans was realized the idea of aca'emic reform was taken up in the second and third decades

[1] *American Museum,* IV, 442ff. (1788).

of the 19th century, which marks a new era both in the material and spiritual history of the United States. This "era of good feeling" following the War of 1812 was characterized by an enlarged national consciousness and by a rapid increase in commerce and industry, culminating not only in great material prosperity, but also in a spontaneous outburst of a larger, freer, intellectual life. This showed itself in various ways, especially in the rising demand for a national literature. In his excellent "Remarks on National Literature," written in 1823, W. E. Channing not only denied the general assumption that English literature was sufficient, but insisted on the need of a national American literature and also of the best thought of Continental Europe in order to nurture it. "Our reading" he thinks,[1] "is confined too much to English books. .... In this we err. We ought to know the different modes of viewing and discussing great subjects in different nations. . . We fear, however, that at the present moment English books want much which we need. The intellect of that nation is turned now to what is called practical and useful subjects. . . We find little profound or fervid thinking expressed in the higher forms of its literature. . . . . We see an almost total indifference to intellectual and moral science. In England there is a great want of philosophy in the true sense of that word."

The center of culture which had hitherto been in Philadelphia and afterwards in New York now shifted to Boston. Through its constantly broadening mental horizon New England awoke to the consciousness that other nations besides England and France possessed standards and achievements worthy of emulation; hence it threw open its doors to the potent influence of German philosophy and literature. "The influences brought to bear on New England," says Barrett Wendell,[2] were almost innumerable. The most important was, probably, German thought at a time when German philosophy was most metaphysical and German literature most romantic."

[1] Channing's *Works*, 137.

[2] *Literary History of America*, 295f.

It is well known that the attention of New England was first called to Germany by Mme. de Staël's famous work, "De l'Allemagne," an English translation of which was published in New York in 1814. Through the author's statements [1] that all the North of Germany was filled with the most learned universities of Europe, that the literary glory of Germany depended upon these institutions, and that in no other country, not even in England, did the people have so many means of bringing their faculties to perfection, a wholly new world was opened up to New England. The many pertinent observations on German education made a deep impression upon young Americans, who in consequence decided to study at German universities. There can be no doubt that Mme. de Staël's book was a great factor in turning the tide of American students from England to the German seats of learning.

The first New England students who visited Germany were George Ticknor, Edward Everett, and George Bancroft. It is a most interesting fact that these pioneers of the new movement not only brought back with them an increased amount of knowledge and a new conception of culture and scholarship, but also the greatest enthusiasm for German educational ideas, which they now were eager to transplant upon American soil. This is shown by Ticknor's introduction of radical reforms at Harvard, of which Thomas W. Higginson could truly say: [2] "They laid the foundation of non-English training, not only in Boston, but in America, by taking the whole American educational system away from English traditions and substituting the German method." The influence of the German university idea as developed by W. von Humboldt, Fichte, and Schleiermacher is evident also in Edward Everett's address on the "Objects of a University Education." [3] How deeply George Bancroft was impressed with the German educational system may finally be seen by his founding of the

[1] Cf. Chapter VIII.

[2] *Atlantic Monthly,* LXXIX, 490.

[3] Everett's *Orations and Speeches,* II, 493ff.

Round Hill School[1] after the model of the German Gymnasium.

Finally there was, perhaps most potent of all, the direct influence of native Germans who, on account of political persecution, had been compelled to seek refuge in the new world. Many of these exiles sought positions as teachers in American schools and colleges, becoming in this way the early pioneers in spreading a knowledge of their literary, philosophical and educational ideals. Among those German scholars who first paved the way for an appreciation of German culture in this country were Karl Beck, Franz Lieber, and above all, Karl Follen.

When George Ticknor became professor of modern languages at Harvard in 1819 only French and Spanish were taught in his department, but thoroughly imbued with the German spirit he desired to add German also to the course of study. While on a visit to Washington in the spring of 1825 he chanced to make the acquaintance of Lafayette, who as has already been stated called his attention to Beck and Follen. Desirous of securing a teacher of German and believing, too, that a foreign language should be taught by a native, he secured the services of Follen, who thus became the first official instructor of German at Harvard College. When Follen began his instruction he found himself greatly hampered by the lack of suitable text-books. "There are two things," he writes[2] to his friend Beck, "on which I should like to have your opinion. I want a German Reader. Professor Ticknor is of the same opinion as I, that we two should make a German Chrestomathy, which might at the same time serve as a sketch of the history of German literature. Professor Ticknor possesses a very rich library. If we add to this what we might obtain in other places we might furnish something useful. Ask Mr. Bancroft for his opinion. The book must be such that it may be introduced into other institutions, and thus at least pay its expenses. The second point is a German Gram-

[1] Founded by Bancroft and Cogswell at Northampton, Mass., in 1823.

[2] *Works*, I, 160.

mar in English. The Grammar of Rowbotham seems to me more useful than that of Noehden, but even that is capable of great improvement, I know we have before this spoken of this subject, and you thought to prepare a Grammar. I know not whether you have done anything about it. At any rate note everything that occurs to you. I will do the same and communicate my observations to you."

To supply this first want Follen began at once to prepare a reader [1] for use in his classes. According to the preface the two-fold purpose of this book was to furnish the teacher with reading matter from recognized German masterpieces for the illustration of the rules and peculiarities of the language and to give the pupils a foretaste and some conception of classical German literature. As an introduction to the period from which the reading selections are taken the author gives in a nutshell an excellent sketch of the history of German literature, showing his intimate acquaintance with the subject and indicating at the same time the historical method which he pursued in his teaching. He divides German literature into three periods: the Mediaeval, the Reformation, and the Modern. He characterizes the first period as the romantic age from the fact that it produced a great mass of epics and lyrics whose chief content was faith, honor, and love, which gave them, in his opinion, their peculiar romantic stamp. The chief causes conducive of this golden age of the minnesong and epics of chivalry, he explains, were the influence of Provençal and ancient Scandinavian poetry, the institution of knighthood, and the encouragement of the art-loving Hohenstaufens. Through the breaking up of the feudal system the romantic spirit gradually degenerated during the 14th and 15th centuries into mere affectation and insipidity. In the 16th century, however, the revival of classical learning and the Reformation gave German culture a new direction. While the romantic age was characterized by products of creative genius, the protestant period was distinguished by the promotion of the exact sciences through thorough and unbiased investigation in theology, philosophy,

[1] *Deutsches Lesebuch für Anfänger*, Cambridge, 1826, pp. 252.

jurisprudence, and medicine; but although Luther's translation of the Bible was of the highest importance for the development of the German language, no poetry was produced that could vie with that of the middle ages. Gradually German literature degenerated into a weak imitation of the French through the influence of the Silesian Schools. In spite of the opposition of the Swiss School of critics the trend was further promoted by Gottsched until in the middle of the 18th century Lessing's keen and many-sided criticism finally shattered the idols of French taste, awakening that spirit of freedom and that aspiration for perfection which breathes through the masterpieces of modern German literature. Follen explains that Lessing accomplished for German literature what Luther did for the German Church. Just as Kant blazed a new way in philosophy, and the protestant spirit replaced protestant dogmatism, likewise appeared in the field of literature writers of independent spirit, who turned to antiquity for inspiration. The treasures of ancient Greek and German literature and art were now brought to light, becoming models for the best modern works, from which are taken the selections for this reader.

This attractive preface was well adapted to arouse the keenest interest of the student in this hitherto unexplored fairyland of German literature. The selections of the reader consist of about 150 pages of prose and 20 of poetry taken from about 20 of the most famous writers from Lessing to Körner. In his choice of material the author had naturally to choose comparatively simple pieces adapted to the needs of beginners rather than to present typical examples of the most finished literary productions, but at the same time he aimed especially to introduce his students into the spirit of German literature. This is shown clearly by the nature of the selections from both the classic and romantic writers of Germany. He begins with some of Lessing's early "Fabeln," which are followed by several of Krammacher's "Parabeln" and some of Herder's beautiful "Paramythien." Then Schiller is introduced with characteristic extracts from the "Geisterseher" and the "Abfall der Niederlande," Novalis with a significant passage from "Heinrich von Ofterdingen," and Wachenroder with

a chapter from the "Herzensergiessungen eines Kunstliebenden Klosterbruders." Goethe is represented by interesting fragments from his "Italienische Reise" and "Wilhelm Meister," Wieland by a chapter from his "Abderiten," Jean Paul by extracts from various novels, and A. W. Schlegel by a lecture on Shakespeare's "Macbeth." The specimens of German poetry in the second part of the book show an equally refined taste and comprehensive knowledge of German literature.

This reader was the first American school edition of German classics, hence a landmark in the early college curriculum. From this simple book, which was still used at Harvard during the sixties of the past century, many of the great leaders of American thought drew their inspiration for German literature and philosophy. It is doubtful whether a single one of the many German readers which have appeared since, and which have been constructed according to the latest "methods," can boast of similar results. Critical notices [1] from various liter-

[1] *U. S. Lit. Gazette*, Sept., 1826, 458: "Such an introduction to the study of the German language as is furnished by the work before us, was much needed. An acquaintance with this language is becoming daily more important to every man who wishes to keep pace with the progress of knowledge. In all its departments, German students are the most assiduous labourers, and, as a body, furnish the largest contributions to its stock. The literary treasures of this nation are vast, varied, and rapidly multiplying, and demand the attentive study of every one who desires to excel in any branch of intellectual labour. The metaphysician will find it the very home of profound speculation, the native land of intellectual, as truly as of physical gymnastics. For the lover of natural science, the patient research of the German character has accumulated a rich storehouse of facts. The classical scholar has been long familiar with its massy erudition, and, more lately, with its deep investigation into the spirit of antiquity. The professional man, the student of law, physic, or theology, may satisfy the keenest appetite with the fruits of German toil. The lover of belles lettres will here meet with a fresh and beautiful literature, formed by, and breathing the spirit of the age, exulting in the consciousness of vigour and progress, not made up of beautiful relics, but of the finished productions of modern art, equally splendid, and better suited to the wants and the taste of the times. Now, rich, and rapidly increasing, it opens a wide and important field to the scholar of every nation, more especially to nations of German origin. The English and their American descendants find in it much that is akin to their old modes of expression, of thought, and of feeling. Their domestic manners, language, and religion all tend to assimilate them with the German character, rather than with that of the South of Europe. The attentive study which the Germans have bestowed upon English literature, and the

ary magazines of the time indicate that it was considered a most valuable and acceptable book.

In the preface to the reader the author promises to supplement the collection, in case the book should find favor, by another containing pieces better adapted to advanced study. In 1833 there appeared in Cambridge a small volume[1] containing "Maria Stuart," "Tasso" and "Egmont" without any critical matter; it was printed by Charles Folsom, the university printer, and the "advertisement" merely states that the text is well adapted to follow Follen's "Lesebuch," and is designed for students of Harvard. This was the first of Schiller's and Goethe's dramas prepared for advanced classes in American schools. In view of the fact that Follen had promised something of this sort, and was also in this same year engaged in editing Carlyle's "Life of Schiller," it seems very probable that he was the compiler of this work also.

After completing his Reader Follen began at once the preparation of a German Grammar.[2] The preface of this work

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copious infusion of its spirit into their own, increase its interest to men whose taste has been formed upon the classics of England.

"Esteeming the literature of Germany, as we do, we are glad to see the study of it becoming more and more common among our countrymen. The book before us is valuable to beginners, supplying a deficiency which has been hitherto much felt, the want of a proper collection of reading-lessons. The few German books within the reach of the greater part of young students here, afford them little opportunity of selecting those most suited to their wants, or of learning the various powers of the language. They needed a work of this kind, consisting of extracts from distinguished authors, arranged according to their relative difficulty, and exhibiting speciments of their different merits."

North Am. Review, Jan., 1827, XXIV, 251: "This is one of the pleasantest and best selections we are acquainted with for the purpose of introducing the beginner to the knowledge of a foreign literature. This object is well attained; and although a task of no very formidable nature, yet it is one not unworthy of the attention of the learned scholar, who has prepared the book, and to whom we are indebted for contributing his efforts to increase the means of cultivating one of the most useful and important languages of the present day."

[1] Cf. *Americana Germanica*, New Series, III, No. 4, 125.

[2] *A Practical Grammar of the German Language* by Dr. Charles Follen, Instructor in the German language at Harvard College, Boston, 1828.

opens with a short discussion of the history and actual present state of the German language, followed by some general observations on the main German grammarians from Gottsched to Grimm. Gottsched's merits, he says, cannot be denied, but they are far surpassed by those of Adelung. Grimm's historical grammar is characterized as a profound inquiry into the general foundation of the language; the work of Harnisch as a metaphysical investigation abounding in deep ingenious remarks which sometimes run into a sort of philological mysticism; and that of Heinsius is valuable chiefly on account of its practical nature. The main body of the work is based upon the grammars[1] of Noehden and Rowbotham and is divided into three main parts: Elements, Syntax, and Prosody. The Elements are divided into orthography and parts of speech. In his classification of consonants Follen deviated from general usage by ranking *d, t, l* and *n* with the palatals and *r* with the linguals. In dealing with the parts of speech he begins with the article and treats successively nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions. Similar to Heinsius' scheme of declension, he groups the nouns into three classes: all feminines; all masculines having the genitive singular in *n* or *en;* and all masculines and neuters whose genitive singular ends in *s* (s, es, us, eus). In dealing with the verb the primary tenses, then the secondary, are treated; but instead of adopting the new term "weak" and "strong," as introduced by Grimm, those of "regular" and "irregular" are retained. The treatise on prosody, based for the most part on the opinions of Voss and Schlegel, was introduced "in order to contribute to the pleasure of those lovers of poetry," who were becoming interested more and more in the polite literature of Germany.

Although Follen was no philologian in the strict sense of the word he was familiar with the history of grammar in Germany and especially with the works of the Grimm brothers as

[1] These were the grammars commonly used in England and were derived from German grammars, especially that of Adelung. Follen characterizes them as weak in many respects, but endeavors to embody the most valuable parts of them in his own work.

indicated by his remarks [1] on the relationship between the German and English languages. His historical grasp of the subject eminently qualified him for a work of this kind. The grammar is, therefore, not only a thorough scientific treatise; but the fact that it passed through many revised editions [2] indicates also that it was extensively used. It was the first grammar of the German language [3] that came into general use in American schools, and in its day was considered one of the best in this country.

In the preface to the third edition of the grammar Follen speaks as follows about another text-book for the study of German: "I am now preparing for the press the Gospel of St. John in German, with a literal interlinear translation for beginners, on a plan somewhat different from the Hamiltonian method.[4] I hope that this book, together with the Grammar and Reader, will form a sufficient preparatory course to enable the faithful student to enter upon a thorough and extensive study of German literature." This book appeared in Boston in 1835 as indicated by a short notice in the American Quarterly Register,[5] which speaks of it as "a welcome present to all beginners in the German language."

Concerning this first attempt to introduce German instruction into Harvard Dr. A. P. Peabody gives the following interesting account:[6] "German had never been taught in Harvard College before; and it was with no little difficulty that a volunteer class of eight was found desirous, or at least willing, to

[1] Cf. Inaugural Address, *Works,* V.

[2] A comparison of the first three editions shows that the revisions consist of expansions and additions, contractions and omissions, and different arrangement of material, but these changes affected rather the manner of presentation than the material itself. Each had approximately 280 pages. The 21st revised edition appeared in Boston in 1859.

[3] The first German grammar in English in America was a reprint of the London edition of Bachmair's grammar, Phila., 1772. *A German Grammar* appeared also in Phila., 1788. Cf. Circular of Infor., No. 3, 106, U. S. Bureau of Ed., 1913.

[4] For an account of this new method, cf. *Westminster Review,* 1829, X, 284ff.

[5] Vol. IX, 77.

[6] *Harvard Reminiscences,* 117ff.

avail themselves of his (Follen's) services. I was one of that class. We were looked upon with very much the amazement with which a class in some obscure tribal dialect of the remotest Orient would be now regarded. We knew of but two or three persons in New England who could read German; though there were probably many more of whom we did not know. There were no German books in the book-stores. A friend gave me a copy of Schiller's "Wallenstein," which I read as soon as I was able to do so, and then passed it from hand to hand among those who could obtain nothing else to read. There was no attainable class-book that could be used as a Reader. A few copies of Noehden's Grammar were imported, and a few copies I forget of whose Pocket Dictionary, fortunately too copious for an Anglo-Saxon pocket, and suggesting the generous amplitude of the Low Dutch costume, as described in Irving's mythical 'History of New York.' The German Reader for Beginners, compiled by our teacher, was furnished to the class in single sheets as it was needed, and was printed in Roman type, there being no German type within easy reach.[1] There could not have been a happier introduction to German literature than this little volume. It contained choice extracts in prose, all from writers that still hold an unchallenged place in the hierarchy of genius, and poems from Schiller, Goethe, Herder, and several poets of kindred, if inferior, fame. But in the entire volume Dr. Follen rejoiced especially in several battle-pieces from Körner, the soldier and martyr of liberty, whom we then supposed to be our teacher's fellow-soldier, though, in fact, he fell in battle when Dr. Follen was just entering the University. I never have heard recitations which have inspired me so strongly as the reading of these pieces by Dr. Follen, who would put into them all of the heart and soul that had made him too much a lover of his country to be suffered to dwell in it. He appended to the other poems in the first edition of the Reader, anonymously, a death song[2] in memory of Körner, which we all

[1] A second edition in German type was printed in 1831.

[2] This elegy was first published in the *Freye Stimmen*, No. 36. Follen considered this poem as one of his best productions.

knew to be his own, and which we read so often and so feelingly that it sank indelibly into permanent memory; and I find that after an interval of sixty years it is as fresh in my recollection as the hymns that I learned in my childhood.

"Dr. Follen was the best of teachers. Under him we learned the grammar of the language, in great part, *in situ*,—forms and constructions, except the most elementary, being explained to us as we met them in our reading lessons, and explained with a clearness and emphasis that made it hard to forget them. At the same time he pointed out all that was specially noteworthy in our lessons, and gave us, in English much better than ours, his own translations of passages of peculiar interest or beauty. He bestowed great pains in bringing our untried organs into use in the more difficult details of pronunciation, particularly in the o, the u, the r, and the ch, on which he took us each separately in hand."

In regard to the library facilities for work in German at that time there are many conflicting statements. In 1817 Harvard possessed scarcely 20,000 volumes all told. In that year Edward Everett brought from Germany a number of books which laid the foundation of a German library. To these were added about the same time a large number of scientific works on American geography and history, purchased by Mr. I. Thorndike from Prof. Ebeling's library [1] in Hamburg, and this collection was increased in 1819 by a thirty-volume set of Goethe's works.[2] It is quite probable, however, that no literary works besides Goethe's were accessible to the public, hence we may conclude that Peabody's statement represents pretty nearly the true status of affairs. Ticknor's private

[1] Cf. *American Monthly Review*, March, 1832.

[2] These books were presented to the library by Goethe himself. The gift was accompanied by a letter now extant only in translation, as follows: "The above poetical and scientific works are presented to the library of the university of Cambridge in New England as a mark of deep interest in its high literary character and in the successful zeal it has displayed through so long a course of years for the promotion of solid and elegant learning." Cf. Viereck, *Report of Com. of Ed.*, 1907, 552.

library contained a good collection of German books according to one of Follen's letters to Beck.[1] The coming of Follen to Harvard did much to increase enthusiasm for things German[2] and from this time on the number of German books increased rapidly in Boston. According to its Catalogue the Boston Athenæum already possessed in 1827 a few translations from such writers as Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and the Schlegels. To these were added at this time the works in the original of Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Lessing, Jacobi, Wieland, Novalis, Tieck, Uhland, Richter, A. W. and Fr. Schlegel. By 1831 the Harvard library contained in addition to the works above named those of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Schleiermacher.

That Follen at once made a good impression at Harvard is attested by Professor Ticknor, who wrote to a friend in 1826 as follows:[3] "Our German teacher, Dr. Follen, a young man who left his country for political reasons, is a fine fellow, an excellent scholar, and teaches German admirably. He is a modest, thorough, faithful German scholar, who will do good among us and be worth your knowing." Follen possessed the rare gift of winning the love and esteem of all who came into his presence. The powerful influence which he exerted upon his friends was due as much to the magic of his personality as to his broad scholarship;; and he accomplished as much for his pupils through the enthusiasm and inspiration which he aroused in them as through the knowledge which he imparted. These qualities made him one of the most popular and successful teachers at Harvard. From the very outset he was admitted into the circle of Boston's most distinguished men and women, and was always a welcome guest at their social gatherings, reading circles, and educational meetings. Numerous entries in the diary[4] which he kept for a few months during the winter of 1827-'28, show that the conversation of these gatherings often turned to topics of German art, literature, and

[1] *Works,* I, 161.

[2] Cf. Miss Peabody's *Reminiscences of Channing,* 339.

[3] *Life, Letters and Journal,* I, 351.

[4] *Works,* I, 182ff.

philosophy,—subjects in which he became a guide and interpreter to Boston's intellectual circles at a time when the study and appreciation of German culture was beginning to be awakened in New England. For example, at one of these meetings he spent the evening discussing with his friends the history and character of German art and literature in general. Several evenings he entertained the company by reading and explaining portions of Gower's translation of "Faust," thus arousing their interest in the study of Goethe. So effective was his reading and interpretation that his delighted audience had to admit that none but Shakespeare had written with the power displayed by the great German. On other occasions he gave descriptions of German student life and discussed the works of such writers as Herder, Kant, and Jean Paul. By means of correspondence with some of the most scholarly men of the country Follen was able to enlarge the sphere of his influence in extending a knowledge of German culture to still wider circles. With J. Q. Adams, who was a connoisseur and admirer of German literature, he carried on an intimate correspondence, in which he acted in the capacity of guide and critic, answering many questions and giving much information in general pertaining to German writers. To Mr. Tracy, the translator of Fouque's "Undine" he gave encouragement and much practical assistance not only through his critical annotations of the text, but also by his explanation of many obscure allusions and difficult passages.

Follen not only acted as interpreter of German literature, but had many valuable ideas also concerning German educational methods. Miss Elizabeth Peabody, who was at that time a teacher in Boston and later became the pioneer of the Kindergarten movement in this country, profited greatly no doubt by her conversations with him on educational matters. She relates [1] that in the autumn of 1827 began a series of informal meetings, sometimes at Dr. Channing's and sometimes at the home of Jonathan Phillips, for discussing the general subject of the education of children. Among those who at-

[1] *Reminiscences of Channing,* 250.

tended the meetings were Dr. and Mrs. Channing, Mr. Phillips, Dr. Follen, the two Peabody sisters, and occasionally Mr. G. F. Thayer and Mr. Wm. Russell, editor of the Journal of Education. The conversation ranged over every department of education, inquiring into the comparative study of languages, ancient and modern, and into science, history, fiction, and poetry as means of education. Miss Peabody adds that three minds so harmoniously yet so utterly different in their discipline, so entirely self-determined and so independent as Channing's, Follen's, and Phillips' made these discussions very rich. Miss Peabody relates further [1] that in all educational discussions Follen earnestly maintained that the child should be handled not with reference to his future, but to his present perfection; that the father of the man is the perfect *child* in the balance of childish beauty, and not the child prematurely developed into a man; that education which does the latter both destroys the child and dwarfs the man. Froebel's principles were thus suggested, says Miss Peabody, and one of the questions discussed among them was how to employ in their childish pleasures the faculties, mechanical, imaginative, and scientific without taking the children out of the child-life of love and joy.

According to Miss Peabody,[2] Follen as well as Channing and Phillips advocated the development of the child's faculties for personal investigation, whether in nature or in language, before burdening the memory with other men's words. All three aimed at moral and intellectual freedom. Channing argued [3] for the study of the ancient languages on the ground that language is the first creation of the human mind and, if taught by what he called the reasonable method, that is, by comparing the new idiom with the vernacular as is done in translating, with which he thought language study should begin, puts the mind into possession of itself. Follen on the other hand, who had his fill of Greek and Latin in his German

[1] Ibid., 256.

[2] Ibid., 264.

[3] Ibid., 251.

education, did not deny the value of the classic languages, but advocated[1] the study of them in a later stage of education. He maintained that the study of the mother tongue together with the colloquial use of modern languages, especially of the German, which is so homogeneous and vegetative in its formations, could be so alternated with the study of nature as to secure the liberalizing end sought; accordingly he advocated strongly the study of the natural sciences in early education, and described the process of mind in its investigation of natural objects, which he thought involved a still greater play of the imagination than language-study, leading to direct knowledge of the Infinite Mind, that states itself purely as laws of nature, while language phenomena are so largely exponents of the disorderly play of the human faculties. He believed that the universal attraction of the young mind to the analysis of natural objects, and the health of the body incidental to studying them, not in scientific treatises but in living nature, suggests that the early part of a child's education should be of this cast rather than the other.

The foregoing will serve to show how thus early Follen was advocating the new German methods of education as originated by Pestalozzi and developed by Froebel. When writing her Reminiscences in 1877, Miss Peabody observes[2] that everything she heard about what was called the New Education only recalled Follen's discussions of these same methods a half century earlier.

As instructor at Harvard Follen was required to teach six hours per day three days in the week. That his efforts and influence were beginning to bear fruit is shown by a letter[3] written to his father in 1829: "The study of the German language and literature is steadily increasing. Many young Americans, particularly theological students, who have finished their studies here, are travelling in Germany, in order to begin there anew and then to make the dead riches of German learn-

[1] Ibid., 257ff.

[2] *Reminiscences of Channing*, 257.

[3] *Works*, I, 265.

ing live here anew in this free air." During the five years of his instructorship he had been laying the foundation for the larger program which he hoped to carry out as soon as the soil should be sufficiently prepared. So diligently had he labored to arouse an interest in German that by 1830 an average of about sixty students, a quarter of the total number enrolled in the college, were attending his classes each year, German books in native type were issuing from the university press, German works were being added constantly to the public and private libraries, German books and teachers of German were to be found in nearly every important town in New England.[1] In Boston a number of people were already able to speak the language and many more could read it. As a result the treasures of German literature were rapidly gaining intelligent interest and universal acceptance.

During this period there existed also at Harvard a German Society organized by a number of the scholarly men of Cambridge and Boston, presumably for the purpose of acquiring and imparting a broader knowledge of things German than had hitherto been possible. It seems that the only available information concerning this organization is to be found on the paper covers of an old German book[2] printed in 1829. On the one cover of this book is pasted a printed list of bylaws governing the association, and on the other another printed sheet with the heading, "German Society, 1828," following by this list of names: C. Follen, S. A. Eliot, G. Ticknor, S. H. Perkins, Wm. T. Andrews, F. C. Gray, J. Pickering, N. S. Bowditch, E. Wiggelsworth, F. Lieber, Mr. Miesegalo, T. Searle, J. M. Robinson. From the fact that the list of original members is headed by Follen it may be safely assumed that he was the guiding spirit of the Society.

In 1830 a full professorship of the German language and literature was established at Harvard, and through the generosity of Follen's friends, Mr. Cabot, Colonel Perkins and Mr. J. Phillips, it was endowed for a period of five years,

[1] *Works*, V, 132.

[2] Discovered a few years ago among a lot of old books in a Boston book store by L. L. Mackall; cf. *Harvard Graduate Magazine*, XI, 492.

with the understanding[1] that it should be continued by the Corporation at the end of that time in case public sentiment favored it. This afforded Follen his long coveted opportunity to put into operation his larger plans for the promoting of German studies in America. In the autumn of 1831 he was formally inaugurated into his new position, and the message which he proclaimed in his address on German literature, delivered on this occasion, was of such vital importance and far-reaching influence that it not only aroused the keenest interest of the learned men of the country, but called forth most favorable comment from some of the best literary journals of the day, and highly complimentary letters from such men as J. Q. Adams and Edward Livingston, James Marsh and others.

This address is not only a lucid and correct interpretation of the German spirit, but it contains also the program of German study in America, which remains essentially the same today after the lapse of almost a century. Follen's chief aim is to emphasize the importance of the study of the German language and literature and to acquaint the American student with those German authors who seem best fitted to excite their attention and to reward it by their enlightening and inspiring influence. At the outset he points out the essential difference between the French and German genius as manifested in the literary productions in the last half of the 18th century: in the French an immoderate respect for finish, neatness and ease, with an excessive abhorrence for all inelegance, unrefined simplicity, obscurity, and mystery,—in short, a certain worship of the outside of things; in the German a comparative indifference to finite and external things, but an all-absorbing interest in the boundlessness of every intellectual pursuit and a tendency to embody the grave, profound, and sublime in unfinished, obscure, or indefinite forms. The degeneracy of German literature in the 17th and first half of the 18th century, which had been brought about by a slavish imitation of French taste and manners, was the main cause of the French



[1] *Works,* I, 344.

contempt for German works prior to the 19th century, but through the influence of Mme. de Staël's book on Germany France was aroused from a vain idolatry of its own greatness to an enlarged conception and appreciation of foreign merit; and from an object of common disregard German literature and philosophy began to gain general interest and esteem in that country. Through the translation of poor works, such as the plays of Kotzebue, and poor translations of good works, the eye of English criticism also had been blinded to the true character of the poetic literature of Germany. Just as a profusion of heavy or overwrought ornament in the parts, with a lack of simplicity in the conception of the whole, was wrongly supposed to be the characteristics of Gothic architecture, likewise were works characterized by an extravagant sentiment and diction, by a visionary philosophy or an accumulation of useless details, pointed out as specimens of German literary style and taste; but through better translations these first unfavorable impressions were gradually corrected until German literature and philosophy gained faithful and impartial study in England.

After this general introduction Follen discusses some of the special branches of learning cultivated by the German scholars, beginning with a short characterization of German philosophy and theology. Among the other sciences that have received special attention he mentions mathematics, astronomy, medicine, law, and history. In jurisprudence, as he points out, untiring historical research has been made by such jurists as Hugo and Savigny; the knowledge of civil law vastly promoted by Niebur's discovery of the ancient Roman commentaries of Caius; and great progress made in the study of penal legislation and of the nature and punishment of crime. The works of Grotius on international law and his doctrine of the natural rights of man, a science advanced successively by Pufendorf, Thomasius, Kant, and Fichte, were a most valuable contribution to this department of learning. In the domain of history, too, literary Germany deserves the highest praise. Niebur's monumental work on ancient Rome is the greatest of its kind; while the works of J. von Müller

and of Heering are in universal use as college text-books. German editions of the classic literature of Greece and Rome, together with dictionaries, grammars and commentaries are found wherever the ancient classics are studied. Ancient literature has found its most faithful interpreters in Germany; and everything from the smallest details to the sublimest ideas embodied in its greatest works has been searched out by the matchless perseverance and critical acumen of German philologists.

But the most national of all her intellectual products,—the one which every native must fondly cherish, is the poetic literature of Germany. This is divided into two golden ages, designated as the mediæval and the modern. Among the first fruits of the early German muse were the great epics and lyrics of the middle ages: The Song of the Nibelungen is an epic inferior to the Iliad in poetic finish, but superior to it in the great design of the whole; the heroic character of the chivalrous Burgundians in unequal contest with Attila's hosts, and the tragic conflict between courage, truth, honor, fidelity, and the powers of darkness are portrayed with a dramatic energy equaled only by Shakespeare. The love lyrics of the knightly minnesingers are a beautiful tribute to the divine and prophetic element which Tacitus said the ancient Germans recognized in the soul of woman. The theme of this poetry is that reverence for womanly excellence, which is designated as one of the finest traits of the German national character. It seeks to represent the beau ideal of womanhood in all its simple grace and nature, surrounded by all the romantic glamor with which the spirit of chivalry loved to adorn the object of its affection. This early period of especial achievement was followed by centuries of decadence; but the liberation of man's higher interests from the tyranny of presumptious self-constituted authority in the 16th century and the revival of classical learning in the 17th combined to awaken a new intellectual life from which arose in the 18th century the modern period of German literature. Through the independent genius of Lessing this young national literature was freed from its self-imposed bondage to foreign taste and man-

ners, not in order to exchange it for a vain self-complacency in exalting the peculiarities of German life and character, but to get wisdom from every teacher, foreign or native, ancient or modern; from reason and passion, prudence and enthusiasm;—to learn from all, but to imitate none; and through the pursuit of such ideals by such illustrious men as Lessing, Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Goethe and Schiller was ushered in the second golden age of German poetry.

After setting forth these main excellences which entitle German literature to the perusal and general attention of Americans, Follen concludes his discourse with some special reasons why the study of the German language and literature is of the greatest importance to the English-speaking race: In the first place the ancient German language is the mother of the English. Innumerable words and modes of expression in which a nation signifies its first, simplest, and deepest conceptions and wants,—those home-words, which constitute alike the elements of every-day conversation and the language of poetry, remain to this day essentially the same in both languages and show that the ancestors of both nations must have been united, not merely under the same military leader, but in daily life, under the same roof, at the same fireside. Then, too, the treasures of folk-lore, such as the wonders of Red Riding Hood and Cinderella, handed down for centuries from mother to child, lead the American child as well as the English back to the old Saxon nursery in the German fatherland; and many proverbs and golden sayings, the good old family furniture and family jewels of the nation, are still used widely enough to remind all whose mother-tongue is either English or German of the common ancestors from whom they are inherited. There is a relationship not only between the languages and literatures of these nations but also in the very mode of perceiving and feeling them; hence those of English education are better prepared than any other foreigners to understand and enjoy the strength and beauty of the German classics; and the further they advance the more they can perceive that the study of German is valuable as an aid to a more comprehensive understanding of their own language and lit-

erature. Through their profound understanding of Shakespeare and through the flexibility and copious vocabulary of their language, which has words for the most various shades of thought and feeling, the Germans have been able to make such a perfect translation of his dramas that he has become to them, as it were, a native-poet,—a fact sufficient in itself to show that those works which come from English genius find also in Germany a kindred mind and an understanding heart.

Such was the message of the German spirit which Follen brought to the students of Harvard; such was the wealth of German culture which he hoped to make accessible to the American public through his professorial position. By means of his address, which was published and sent in various directions, he not only opened the public eye to the treasures of one of the greatest literatures of modern Europe, but at the same time sought to dispel some of the delusions concerning it which were current in academic circles. In a clear and convincing manner he exonerated German philosophy from the charge of obscure reasoning and irreverent tendencies, and German theology from the charge of skepticism. In like manner he not only corrected the erroneous idea that the German language is especially difficult and that German poetry is given to mysticism, wild rhapsody and empty bombast, but gave positive reasons why these are in their very nature of permanent interest to those whose mother-tongue is English and why their study is of the highest cultural value.

From this time on Follen gave in addition to his instruction in the language a regular course of lectures on German literature, which was well attended and highly appreciated by the students of Harvard. In order to bring his message to a still wider public he wrote a series of lectures on the life and works of Schiller, which he delivered in Boston during the winter of 1831-'32 and again a few years later upon two occasions to a large, appreciative audience in New York. Prior to 1817 Schiller was known in America mainly through mutilated translations of his early dramas, especially "The Robbers"; and the mere fact that he wrote for the stage was

in itself sufficient to condemn him in the opinion of puritanical New England where the theater was regarded almost as an institution of the devil. Even as late as 1834 the American Quarterly Observer [1] lamented the fact that a man of Schiller's great talent had "devoted all his powers to an amusement which is at war with good taste and good morals," and asserted that a man to whose desires and feelings the scriptural expression "beauty of holiness" [2] could be applied would not have dedicated the greater part of his life to adorn and dignify the stage. In the same year so eminent a scholar as F. H. Hedge regretted [3] "that a writer of Schiller's standing in this age of the world should have devoted the principal part of his life to a department of art so questionable in its tendency and so surely destined to decay as the drama." But after the return of the Göttingen men [4] the North American Review and several other prominent magazines threw the weight of their influence on the side of German literature and from that time on Schiller began to grow in favor and to receive intelligent appreciation by our most scholarly men.

In 1833 the first American reprint of Carlyle's "Life of Schiller" appeared in Boston, with a general preface by Park Benjamin and an introduction by Professor Follen. This book along with the excellent reviews which it called forth gave Schiller an assured standing in America. Although the editors and reviewers note the unusual ability of the English biographer they do not mention Carlyle by name,—a fact which seems to indicate, strangely enough, that they were uncertain at least concerning the authorship of the distinguished work.[5] In view of the fact that Carlyle's book met with little success in Germany at the time and that its value has been

[1] II, 173f.

[2] An experession applied to Schiller's morality by Follen.

[3] *Christian Examiner*, XVI, 391.

[4] The first American students who entered the University of Göttingen.

[5] Cf. *North American Review*, Vol. 39 (New Series, Vol. 30), p. 1ff., July, 1834.

appreciated by German scholars only of late, it is all the more significant that Follen should have been one of the first to recognize its importance.[1] With keen critical insight Follen praises the work as a biography in the true sense of the word; not merely a recital of events or a description of the peculiarities and gradual unfolding of Schiller's character, but chiefly a critical analysis of his works, in which the main part of such a life consists. He points out further that the English biographer not only possesses that philosophic universality of perception and interest, which is necessary for a just estimation of foreign merit, but that he has also a peculiar aptness for appreciating the characteristic excellence of Schiller. By a comparison with the original Follen points out several misinterpretations and incorrect translations in the English edition and corrects them in the American reprint. He characterizes the work, on the whole as one of the best specimens of English criticism. These pertinent remarks by Follen, who was considered by his contemporaries as the best authority on German literature in this country, elicited favorable editorial comment from the literary magazines and aroused general interest in this anonymous work on Schiller.

The most valuable part of this introduction is Follen's deeply appreciative characterization of Schiller's poetry, which is important enough to be quoted here in full: "Schiller's poetry is distinguished by its moral character. But its morality is not that of the philosopher who insists on an entire separation of the moral principle from all natural desires; nor that of the theologian who maintains that holiness consists in denying and crucifying the natural affections. It is a morality that flows from the heart freely and bountifully, receiving and merging in its wide and deep channel all natural desires and affections. It is the morality of nature, the beauty of holiness, the quickening spirit of love and happiness; which breathes in all his works and sheds a saint-like glory upon his life and sufferings. His whole life was spent in communing with the Spirit of Truth that had revealed itself to him in the bright raiment of poetry, and in delivering to his

[1] Cf. Albert Ludwig, *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt*, 185ff.

countrymen his poetic mission. At a time when patriotic enthusiasm and poet-worship had extolled his merit above what is attained by mere human effort, he alone seemed ignorant of the eminence upon which he stood because he measured his attainments not by what lay behind him and below but by what he saw before him and above. Of him whose image found an altar in every heart, of him it may well be said that while all rejoiced in the light of his countenace he himself 'wist not that his face shone.'"

The only portion of Follen's lectures on German literature preserved complete is that relating to Schiller. Although a few copies of Carlyle's work had probably been imported before 1832, it was Follen who gave the first comprehensive account of Schiller's life and works to any considerable number of Americans. These lectures open with an interesting biographical sketch followed by a detailed account of each of the nine complete dramas, interspersed with translations of representative passages along with a running commentary on the same. Through his broad knowledge of men and his deep insight into human nature Follen was able to present in the main an accurate and appreciative analysis of Schiller's chief dramatic characters; and for the most part his critical observations differ from those of Carlyle only in a few minor details.

Since it is mainly through the "Robbers" that Schiller was known to the American public, and chiefly by the crudities of this play that his character as a poet was judged, Follen entered into a thorough discussion of this drama. He saw in this first dramatic production of Schiller all the moral and spiritual elements of the author's character, especially his reverence for religion, truth and freedom, which are exhibited here as coming in conflict not only with the decrees of fate, as in the ancient drama, but rather with the unnatural institutions of society, the authority of priests and princes, customs and fashions,—in short, with the united despotism of the sword, the pen, and the money-bag. Follen had a deeply sympathetic appreciation of this tragic conflict, for he, too, like the main character, Karl Moor, had suffered from his over-

zealous attempt to promote the welfare of society. He thought that not only the enemies but also the friends which Schiller gained by his bold attack upon tyranny frequently overlooked what he calls the "sublime moral" of the play,—the tragic results that accrue to him who of his own free will cannot yield obedience to the moral law. This was the very struggle through which Follen himself had passed, and it was his victory over self that had saved him from the fate that overtook Karl Moor.

As a student of psychology and ethics Follen was deeply interested also in the character of Franz Moor. Schlegel calls Franz a mere copy of Richard III. without any of those ennobling qualities which arouse both abhorrence and admiration for the latter; and Carlyle also characterizes him as an amplified but distorted image of Iago and Richard without the least air of reality. Follen on the other hand sees in Franz "a villain of an original and highly interesting cast." By a careful comparison of Franz and Richard he shows that the points of difference between them are of more importance than the resemblances and that "although there exists between them a certain family likeness, yet they differ essentially in those nice features of dramatic portraiture which constitute the individuality of the picture." Follen denies that Richard possesses any ennobling traits except great ingenuity and astonishing bravery. Franz, he asserts, possesses also these qualities, "but his bravery is displayed in another field; his heroism and tactics are exhibited in fighting the enemy within, sometimes by boldly giving battle, sometimes by wisely avoiding it." As for the air of reality Follen does not claim that "such a beau-ideal of an atheist-tyrant is to be found in reality, chiefly perhaps because the restraints of society prevent men of this disposition from acting out their whole nature; but all the elements of such a character certainly exist among men and the disjecta membra of this monster may be easily pointed out, from which the poet has formed one self-consistent individual." To Carlyle's criticism that "so reflective a miscreant as Franz could not exist because his calculations would lead him to honesty, if merely because it was the best policy," Follen

replies that "the philosophy of Franz is not employed, like that of Paley, in finding what sort of enjoyment will in the long run afford the greatest pleasure and in choosing, accordingly, the means to the end sought; it has nothing to do with the ends of existence, but simply with the infinite variety of means. The great end and aim of all his action is set, not by his reasoning powers, but by the uncontrolled impulse of his sensual nature, which craves absolute dominion. The end being given his mind delights in overlooking the whole range of means and in choosing them, good or bad, according to his desires,"—an excellent characterization of the villain Franz Moor.

By this careful analysis and criticism of the play Follen aims to show that in spite of the youthful excesses of an exuberant and unbridled fancy this drama contains all the nobler elements of human nature, and that "the author's design is to indicate that even the most ardent love of justice and freedom and heroic resistance to every kind of oppression must lead to error and crime if it does not induce us first to dethrone the selfish passions and establish the perfect law of liberty in our own souls." He points out further that this play is merely the first fruit of a youthful dramatic genius; that its originality and power is only a crude indication of what is to follow in Schiller's mature works of art.

In like manner Follen treats the remainder of Schiller's dramas, making many original and highly pertinent observations and occasionally taking issue with the criticisms of Schlegel and Carlyle.

The last lecture is devoted to a brief sketch of Schiller's dramatic fragments, followed by a short account of Goethe's literary activity and closing with a general characterization of Schiller's poetic nature. In this delineation Follen begins with Goethe's well-known expression that "Schiller preached the gospel of freedom," explaining that the word freedom is to be taken in the sense of Kant's philosophy, as synonymous with the moral nature of man. He explains that Schiller's enthusiasm for freedom is the living spring and the life-blood of all his poetry; that in the dramas of his Storm and Stress period,

which may be called the heroic age of his literary activity, this spirit appears in the form of a Hercules going about to free the earth from tyrants and monsters; that it is the instinct of liberty warring against the tyranny of circumstances and arbitrary institutions. This love of liberty, Follen adds, is with Schiller not a negative or destructive principle, but a striving after freedom from oppression,—from all kinds of unnatural and unreasonable restraints so that the spiritual principle of human nature may unfold itself fully in the individual and in society; it is only a manifestation of his pure delight in perfection, his love of nature, of man, and of God. Schiller loved nature for herself in all her various shapes and moods, but he loved best those things in nature which call forth most effectively the energies, the strong and tender emotions and high aspirations of the soul; all that reminds man of his high destiny and that aids him to attain it. His dramas are, therefore, as Follen conceives them, a revelation of moral beauty; a revelation of his faith that man alone is able to form his own character, and capable of infinite advancement. Since the moral freedom of man is the native soil of Schiller's poetry, as Follen concludes, every good principle loves to grow in it, and for this very reason it does not appear as a forced product of rigid self-control, but as springing up from the abundance of the heart with ideal beauty.

These lectures on Schiller, published in 1841, supplemented the good work which the North American Review had begun. Carlyle's book was adapted rather to the needs of the student, and the pro-German magazines educated the academic public to the point where it would understand and appreciate this work; but Follen's lectures appealed also to the layman and were designed to make Schiller's name popular among the people; hence it is safe to say that with the exception of Carlyle Follen did more than any other critic to introduce and interpret Schiller to the American public.[1] To those stupid

[1] In his excellent monograph *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt,* Albert Ludwig says: "We must not forget that Karl Follen, the man who as no other won the hearts of his fellow students through the magic power of his personality, became in his new home beyond the sea an enthusiastic prophet of our national poet by means of his lectures and addresses."

criticisms against Schiller's devotion to the dramatic art Follen replied in Schiller's own words,[1] that the stage is an infallible key to the secret recesses of the human heart, hence the only place where one can hear what one rarely or never hears—truth, and see what one rarely or never sees—man. "The theater is," he maintains, "a school of practical wisdom, a moral institution, hence one of the most powerful instruments to elevate and refine the character of a nation."

PHILOSOPHY.

As professor of German literature Follen desired to promote the study of German philosophy also, which he, as a representative of contemporary German Idealism, considered "the system of fundamental and regulative principles of all the various branches of learning and knowledge, a department in which German literature is especially rich." [2] Soon after his arrival at Harvard he began to discuss [3] with Channing and other intellectual leaders of Boston German philosophical thought, about which little was then known in New England.

In the autumn of 1828, he was elected to an instructorship in ethics and ecclesiastical history in the Harvard Divinity School, and began at once a systematic course of instruction in those subjects.[4] Ethics was a branch of learning in which he was especially interested and all his early training had fitted him for such a position. His biographer says [5] that his method of instruction was to give his class a subject, upon which each member was to write his views and then hand them in for him to criticise. After carefully reading these themes and pointing out to the writer all that he found ob-

[1] Cf. *Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet,* Säkular-Ausgabe, XI, 89ff.

[2] *Works,* V, 134.

[3] Cf. Diary, *Works,* I, 182ff.

[4] In his *Harvard Reminiscences,* 123, Peabody says that "Follen's lectures were of unsurpassed excellence both on the score of scientific knowledge of the ground which they covered, and for the elevated tone of feeling which pervaded them."

[5] *Works,* I, 260.

jectionable in style, reasoning, or judgment, as well as freely praising all that he found excellent, he took up the subject himself and treated it in the most comprehensive and masterly manner that he was capable of. In giving his own views he was always careful to avoid dogmatism and to show that on those great questions he considered himself still a learner with his pupils. According to a letter[1] to his parents in August, 1829, he lectured on history in the College and on ethics in the Theological School three days in the week. Friday evenings he had an exercise with the theological students in extempore preaching, and on Saturdays and Sunday evenings attended with the other members of the theological faculty the regular exercise in preaching. Each of the theological students of the two upper classes preached in turn and after the service each member of the faculty made his remarks upon the exercises, which he, as the youngest of the faculty, had to begin.

Follen desired to devote his whole time to the field of ethics, but when Dr. Palfrey was made professor of that branch in the autumn of 1830 Follen resigned his instructorship in the Divinity School and gave his whole attention to the duties of his professorship of German literature. Desirous, however, of contributing further to a general knowledge of German philosophy he prepared a series of popular lectures on "Moral Philosophy," which he delivered to a large and appreciative audience in Boston in the winter of 1830-'31. These lectures form the third volume of his published works and contain the subject matter which he discussed with his classes in the Divinity School. In these as in his other lectures Follen uses the historical method, beginning with fundamental principles, carefully laying his foundation and then building upon it with the utmost fidelity. After giving a short exposition of the meaning and scope of ethics he proceeds with a brief sketch of the various systems of antiquity, including the New Testament, followed by a discussion of Spinoza and Kant. These discussions along with his running commentary and criticisms show that he was very much at home in the

[1] *Works*, I, 262.

field of philosophical thought. After laying his historical background he takes up the subject of ethics itself discussing: (1) the foundation of morals and religion in human nature; (2) the development of these principles by education; (3) their establishment in society, chiefly by the institutions of church and state.

Ethics, or morality, as he conceives it, refers to human conduct as right or wrong, that is, as conforming or opposed to the dictates of conscience; it is the duties of man enjoined by reason whether prescribed or not by the laws of society, or by what is conceived as the will of God. Thus he distinguishes not only between religion and morality but employs the word morality in the scientific sense of ethics. His ethical system may be summed up in short as follows: Every individual must ascertain by the use of his reason in what his duty consists; by the exercise of his reason he can deduce the moral law. His action to be ethical must proceed from choice or free will, and from a desire for happiness. Since happiness increases as one advances toward perfection, then the ultimate object of ethical conduct is human perfection. In his pursuit of perfection man has certain duties to self, to society, and to God. His social duties consist in promoting the welfare of his fellow man, and out of these duties arises the necessity of civil government, whose only purpose is to secure equal rights and justice to all. From man's religious nature and his obligations growing out of his relations to God arises the necessity of religious institutions.

From Kant and Fichte Follen accepts the view that the moral law is the utterance of reason; with Schiller he rejects Kant's doctrine that an act loses its moral character if it is performed for the sake of happiness or pleasure; with Fries he agrees that moral action should spring from conviction through reason, but disagrees with his demand that the conviction of the individual should coincide with that of cultured men. On some points he disagrees with Kant, but characterizes his system as the product of unprecedented intellectual endeavor, as a system which must always exert a profound

influence on those who study it, causing them to stand on higher ground than before.

It is not necessary here to enter into any further discussion of Follen's ethical system. Let is suffice to say that in these lectures he gave in all probability the first public discussion in this country of German philosophical thought, especially that of Kant.[1]

President James Marsh of the University of Vermont was one of the earliest pioneers in planting the seeds of German theological learning in this country. As early as 1821 he was studying German with the aid of Professor Moses Stuart at Andover, and soon after gave some attention to German philosophy. His biographer, J. Torrey, records [2] that "with the aid of Coleridge and Mme. de Staël he began to consult Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, then a perfect terra incognita to American scholars." In 1829 Marsh republished in this country Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection" with an introduction, in which he sums up the principal points of Coleridge's system of philosophical and religious thought. In a letter to Coleridge the same year he wrote: [3] "The German philosophers, Kant and his followers, are very little known in this country; and our young men who have visited Germany have paid little attention to that department of study while there. I cannot boast of being wiser than others in this respect; for though I have read a part of the works of Kant, it was under many disadvantages, so that I am indebted to your writings for the ability to understand what I have read of his works, and am waiting with some impatience for that part of your works,

[1] Prior to this time Kant was scarcely more than a name in America. In his Century Discourse (1801) President Dwight of Yale alluded to Kant as a subverter of morals, and two years later Samuel Miller in his Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century gave a distorted account of Kant's philosophy based upon a London review of an English translation of the original. In his American Philosophy, 512, Riley states that Kant's system found its first sympathetic interpreters in the United States in certain Pennsylvania Germans such as F. A. Rauch in his Psychology of 1840 and S. S. Schmucker in his Mental Philosophy of 1842.—Follen's lectures, however, antedate these works by ten years.

[2] *Memoirs and Remains of Rev. Dr. Marsh*, 43.

[3] Ibid., 137.

which will aid more directly in the study of those subjects of which he treats. * * * "

Shortly after publishing his Inaugural Address Follen received from Marsh a letter of inquiry concerning German philosophy and books pertaining thereto. Follen replied in a long letter,[1] in which he recommended the Anthropology of Kant, the psychologies of Carus and Fries, Tennemann's History of Philosophy, Schulze's and Tasche's works on logic, the latter of which was compiled from notes taken on Kant's lectures. His letter closes thus: "If these books should be of any service to you, I should be happy to lend them to you, and will send them in any way you may point out. There are many other topics on which I wish to communicate with you, particularly the plan of our mutual friend, Mr. Henry, to publish a philosophical journal, which seems to me a very desirable object. I hope this summer will not pass away without bringing me the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you. At any rate I earnestly hope for a frequent exchange of thought with you upon subjects of such deep interest to us both."

This letter contains the only information that the writer of this treatise has been able to find concerning the relations between Follen and Marsh; but it is sufficient to prove, at least, that Follen's influence as an authority on German philosophical thought was making itself felt in various directions.

GYMNASTICS.

The year 1825 is not only a landmark in the history of German instruction in the United States, but marks also the beginning of gymnastic training in American schools as a part of a liberal education and as a means to complete harmonious development of the whole man. The impulse which led to the espousal of physical education in the 19th century came from Germany and was distinctly humanitarian in its nature. The pioneers of this movement in America were Follen, Beck, and Lieber, disciples of that rugged old German patriot, "Turnvater" Jahn, whose ideal was to create a strong, bold race of

[1] Ibid., 153.

men, vigorous and independent in body as well as in mind. As early as 1772 this ideal had found expression by J. B. Michaelis in a poetic letter to Uz entitled "Unsere Bestimmung," in which the author asserted that in order to attain the lost "Gesundheit meines Volkes" physical culture was as necessary as the education of the mind. The movement thus started culminated in the endeavors of Jahn, the father of German gymnastics.

Brooding over the humiliation of Germany by Napoleon, Jahn conceived the idea of restoring the spirit of his countrymen by the development of their physical and moral powers through the practice of gymnastics. His object was to produce a manly character in the German youth by means of a thorough physical education and thus to prepare them for a successful struggle against the conqueror. He began by opening up a Turnplatz at Berlin in 1811, where he taught the young gymnasts to regard themselves as members of a guild for the emancipation of the fatherland. Rousseau, Basedow, Guts Muths, and Pestalozzi had done much for the education of the youth, but Jahn could be satisfied with nothing less than the education of the whole people. From this idea arose his "Teutsches Volksthum" (1810), in which he drew with a masterly hand all the features of the purest, noblest humanity as it had manifested itself in the strong and tender character of the German people at all times, and pointed out physical training as the means for the maintenance and further development of this character. His idea was to awaken the Germans from their slumber and to teach them that only through the harmonious cultivation of all their powers could they prepare themselves to rise in defense of their liberties. His ideas of national education were given to the public through the medium of his "Teutsche Turnkunst," which soon gave to gymnastics a national character. In the many gymnasiums which now sprung up all over the country the German youth acquired for the most part the strength and self-reliance upon which depended the issue of that life and death struggle for freedom and fatherland in 1813. How closely Jahn's work is connected

with the development of universal military service in Germany, the so-called Volksheer, is evident.

Such were the ideas, such the system which Follen and other promoters of German culture sought to introduce into American educational institutions.

Prior to 1825 physical training in its proper sense had no recognition or standing in the curriculum of American schools and colleges except in the West Point Military Academy, but under the direct influence of the Germans physical education became a subject of the greatest interest in New England, especially in and around Boston, and Follen was one of the main leaders of the movement. It seems quite probable that the Round Hill School was the first institution in the United States to make physical training a part of the regular instruction. A prospectus descriptive of the new school informed the public that it was designed also "to encourage activity of body as the means of promoting firmness of constitution and vigor of mind, and to appropriate regularly a portion of each day to healthful sports and gymnastic exercises." This part of the program was intrusted to the care of Follen's friend, Karl Beck, under whose supervision the Round Hill Gymnasium was established in 1825. Concerning the nature of this first American gymnasium only meagre information has come down to us.[1] A descriptive circular[2] issued in the spring of 1826 shows with what serious purpose physical training was introduced in the school. In 1828 Beck made Jahn's "Teutsche Turnkunst" accessible to the public through an English translation, in the preface of which he explains that physical training is of the greatest importance not only for the individual but also for the national safety and welfare. Several writers[3] note that Follen also was connected with Round Hill in 1825, but this is evidently an error; however he visited Beck twice

[1] Cf. Ellis, Recollections of Round Hill, *Educational Review,* I, 33ff.; also Hartwell, *Circular of Infor.,* No. 5, p. 23, U. S. Bureau of Ed., 1885.

[2] Cf. Leonard's article in *Mind and Body,* XII, 221f.

[3] Ellis, Hartwell, and Faust in his *German Element in the U. S.,* II, 214, 388.

during the summer of that year, and since he was so closely connected with him in personal friendship and educational ideals this allusion to the beginning of gymnastics in the Round Hill School is made here.

As a trained gymnast and an enthusiastic admirer of Jahn Follen was well qualified to become the father of gymnastic training in American university life. As soon as he reached Cambridge he began gymnastic exercises with the students at Harvard and soon opened up the first college gymnasium in America. About three months after his arrival he wrote [1] to Beck as follows concerning his progress: "I have commenced gymnastic exercises with the students. The College furnishes the implements and will give us a place. At present I use one of the dining halls. All show much zeal. In Boston a gymnasium is soon to be established. The matter will lead further probably than most at present anticipate." The following remark in the "American Journal of Education" for April, 1826, indicates that the gymnasium was attracting favorable attention: "We are happy to understand that a gymnasium has been instituted at Cambridge, under the superintendence of a gentleman from Germany. The result thus far is very satisfactory, both to the instructors and the students. A meeting has been held and a committee appointed to take the proper measures for establishing a gymnasium in Boston."

In the "Catalogue [2] of the Officers and Students of the University in Cambridge" for the academic year, 1826-'27, appears "Charles Follen, J. U. D., Instructor in German and Lecturer on Civil Law;" but in that for the academic year, 1827-'28, he is called "Instructor in German and Superintendent of the Gymnasium;" and in both of these catalogues the following passage occurs: "The regular Gymnastic exercises when the Superintendent of the Gymnasium is present are on Wednesday and Friday from 12 to 1 o'clock; or when the length of the day admits, after evening Commons. On Monday the Monitors and Vice-Monitors meet separately with the

[1] *Works*, I, 161.

[2] The following information concerning the Harvard Catalogues is taken from Leonard's article in *Mind and Body*, XII, 251.

Superintendent to prepare for the general exercises." The Catalogues for 1828-'29 and 1829-'30 give Follen the title, "Instructor in the German Language, in Ethics and in Civil and Ecclesiastical History," but make no mention of gymnastic exercises. Continuing from 1826 through 1829 the following paragraph is included: "Military exercises are allowed on Tuesday and Thursday from 12 to 1 o'clock or after evening Commons, with music not oftener than every other time and the liberty of a parade on the afternoon of Exhibition days."

Concerning this pioneer period of gymnastics at Harvard very little information seems to be available outside of a few reminiscences written years after that time. We know, however, that Follen's efforts were supported by an appeal from Dr. John C. Warren, who was at that time professor of anatomy and surgery in the Medical College. "In my lectures annually delivered at Cambridge," says Warren,[1] "I have explained the great importance of physical exercise in developing the organic structure of the body, as well as its necessity for maintaining it in that degree of vigor which by nature it was destined to possess. The obvious failure of health in a great number of individuals in the University gave weight to these considerations and led the Government of the University to make some arrangements for gymnastic exercises in the grounds assigned for the sports of students. The young gentlemen entered into the plan with great ardor, and the apparatus was kept in repair and activity for a number of years."

In his "Reminiscences of Harvard 1822-'26" the Rev. Cazneau Palfrey speaks of this event in the following words:[2] "The first movement in the direction of gymnastics made in college was made in my senior year. Dr. Follen, soon after his arrival in Boston, excited an interest in gymnastic exercises and opened a gymnasium in the city. The medical professors of the College published an appeal to the students, strongly recommending to them the practice of gymnastic exercises; and a meeting of all the classes was held in the College chapel

[1] *Life of Warren*, I, 232.

[2] *The Harvard Register*, II, 193.

(such a meeting as I do not remember hearing of on any other occasion), at which a response was made to this appeal, and resolutions passed expressing our readiness to follow the suggestions made in it. One of the unoccupied commons halls was fitted up with various gymnastic appliances, and other fixtures were erected on the Delta, the enclosure now occupied by Memorial Hall. But Dr. Follen did not confine his operations to these two localities. One day he was to be seen issuing from the College yard at a dog-trot, with all the College at his heels in single file, and arms akimbo, making a train a mile long bound for the top of Prospect Hill. Great was the amazement and amusement of all passers-by."

Dr. Peabody also has handed down a similar account [1] as follows: "Dr. Follen first introduced gymnastics as a system into Harvard College, certainly of his own motion, and, as I believe, gratuitously. The Delta, where Memorial Hall now stands, was furnished with masts, parallel bars, and the then usual variety of apparatus for athletic training and exercise; and one of the larger dining-rooms under the chapel in University Hall was similarly fitted up. We exercised under Dr. Follen's instruction and supervision. He taught us to run with the minimum of fatigue, and with the body thrown slightly forward, the arms akimbo, and breathing only through the nose; and he repeatedly led the entire body of students, except the few lame and the fewer lazy, on a run without pause, from the Delta to the top of a hill now crowned by the most conspicuous of the Somerville churches, and back again after a ten minutes' halt. One of my classmates, George F. Haskins (afterward Rev. Father Haskins of the Angel Guardian), so far profited by Dr. Follen's teaching that after graduating he established and conducted a gymnasium at Brown University, and in later years of well and widely known philanthropic service, made thorough gymnastic training a part of his educational system for the boys under his charge."

Another allusion [2] to the Turnplatz on the Delta is made

[1] *Harvard Reminiscences*, 120f.

[2] *The Harvard Book*, II, 186.

by T. W. Higginson, who was born in 1823: "One of my most impressive early recollections is of a certain moment when I looked out timidly from my father's gateway, on what is now Kirkland Street, in Cambridge, and saw the forms of young men climbing, swinging, and twirling aloft in the open playground opposite. It was the triangular field then called the Delta, where the great Memorial Hall now stands. The apparatus on which these youths were exercising was, to my childish eyes, as inexplicable as if it had been a pillory or a gallows, which indeed it somewhat resembled. It consisted of high uprights and cross-bars, with ladders and swinging ropes, and complications of wood and cordage, whose details are vanished from my memory. Beneath some parts of the apparatus there were pits sunk in the earth, and so well constructed that they remained long after the wood work had been removed. This early recollection must date back as far as 1830."

Having become interested in Follen's gymnasium work at Harvard Dr. Warren took active steps in founding the Tremont Gymnasium [1] in Boston, the first public gymnasium in this country. The promotion of this enterprise was begun by a private committee, who made successful application to the city council for a piece of vacant ground which might be improved for the purpose of commencing the experiment. All that remained to be done was to enclose and cover the gymnasium ground and procure a teacher with requisite apparatus. After defraying the initial expense the institution was to be self-supporting by moderate tuition fees within the reach of all classes of the community. Its primary object was to furnish opportunity and means to persons of every age for the regular practice of bodily exercise. If the experiment should be successful it was designed to make the gymnasium a department of public education under the patronage of the city. These tentative arrangements were submitted to the citizens of Boston at a meeting held in the Exchange Coffee House on

[1] The following information concerning the establishment of this gymnasium is taken from editorial notices in the *American Journal of Education,* 1826, I, 436, 443, 635, 669, 701.

the 15th of June, 1826. A deputation from Harvard was present to explain the course of exercises at the College Gymnasium and its beneficial effects. It was stated to the meeting that the health of the students had been greatly improved; that intellectual vigor was found to be the consequence of physical improvement; that the diseases and inquietudes of feeble digestion had disappeared from among the students; that the demands for sensation were now fully satisfied by the manly exercise of the gymnasium; and finally that its social effects were not the least of its consequences to be valued, inasmuch as one common interest in a commendable pursuit had brought into contact and friendly feeling those who might have passed the whole period of college life without being more to each other than mere strangers.

This deputation also read to the meeting the following letter, drafted by a committee of Harvard students, which shows, too, the salutary effects of Follen's innovation: "From the short experience we have had in gymnastic exercises we believe them highly beneficial and we feel a sincere desire that others should participate in the advantages to be derived from them. The improvement in health has been perceptible and general among all those who have engaged in them. The cheerfulness which they produce and the increased agility which results from them are remarkable. The mind sympathizes with the body, and is equally acted on. We are glad to find physical education gaining ground; and hope it may soon become a regular part of the system of education. The soldier, sailor, traveler and men of many mechanical employments find the accomplishments of the gymnasium of the first in their daily business; and in cases of emergency, they are of the highest importance in every walk of life." After all the foregoing views had been presented the meeting resolved: "That it is expedient to attempt the establishment of a Gymnastic School in Boston; and that a committee of five (headed by Dr. Warren) be selected to carry the first resolution into effect; and that it be authorized to receive voluntary contributions and apply them for the establishment of a Gymnasium at such time and in such manner as they may think expedient."

After negotiating in vain to secure Jahn himself as the director of the Boston Gymnasium, Dr. Warren prevailed upon Follen to become the principal instructor until some other qualified man could be found for the position. The gymnasium was opened in the autumn of 1826, as indicated by Follen's letter [1] to Beck under date of September 26th: "Day after tomorrow my rope-dancing begins in Boston. The gallows stand in significant majesty on the spot. There is no lack of gallows-birds, large and small, genteel and vulgar." On the 15th of October Follen wrote [2] his friend Professor Karl Jung in Basel concerning his activity in gymnastics, as follows: "I have established an excellent Turnplatz in Boston and have agreed to superintend it for a year at a salary of eight hundred dollars, which will require from four to five hours of my time three days of the week. The other three week days I spend six hours daily in the College as one of the four teachers of modern literature. On these three days the instruction in gymnastics at Boston is conducted by my assistant, a young American by the name of Turner, whom I have trained on the Turnplatz here in Cambridge, another of my creations. The whole institution in Boston has been erected at the expense of an association of the most noted men, who take part in the various exercises also, although several of them are over fifty years of age. I have reasons to believe that gymnastics will spread from here over the whole country and have an important influence upon the intellectual as well as the physical condition of the nation."

In the November number (1826) of the "Journal of Education" the editor notes that "the Gymnasium is under the superintendence of Dr. Follen, instructor in Harvard University, who is assisted by Mr. Turner, a distinguished gymnast of the establishment of Cambridge," and speaks in glowing terms of the success of the enterprise. He closes his remarks by pointing out the democratic influence of such an institution, —the very point that Beck sought to make clear in the preface

[1] *Works,* I, 163.

[2] Follen-Briefe, No. 13, *Jahrbuch, D. A. H. G.,* XIV, 31f.

to his translation of the "Teutsche Turnkunst." "Perhaps one of the most gratifying circumstances connected with the gymnasium," says the editor, "is the great diversity of situation in life to which the pupils belong. Physicians, lawyers, and clergymen are intermixed with young men from the counter and the counting-house, and with boys from the public schools. This circumstance is found not at all unfavorable to the decorum and success with which the exercises are conducted, and is, we think, a very satisfactory indication of the extensive interest which the great subject of physical education has excited." In his "retrospect" for 1826 he mentions gymnastics as one of the greatest educational innovations of this country. "Physical culture," he observes, "has been inculcated as the basis of all education; and we do not hesitate to express our impression that the more this important subject is brought within the range of observation and experience, the larger will be the proportion of time and attention devoted to it; and that the public mind will not be satisfied, till, in all the stages of education, this branch is treated as a leading object in human improvement."

Through the recommendation of Jahn a new superintendent was secured from Germany in the summer of 1827 in the person of Franz Lieber, whereupon Follen resigned his position in order to give his undivided attention to his Harvard duties. During his incumbency such enthusiasm was aroused that the attendance reached nearly 400, and when he severed his connection with the institution the gymnasium committee expressed their deepest appreciation of the great value of his services and their profound regrets at losing them. To this Follen replied on July 3, 1827, in a letter [1] which shows also what service he had rendered to the cause of physical education in the United States and what great progress it was making:

"I shall always rejoice in remembering the truly patriotic views to which the Boston Gymnasium owes its existence, and the efficient zeal with which these exercises have been carried

[1] *Works*, I, 242.

on, and which even the severest temperature of last winter could never depress to zero. That healthy atmosphere of the mind, a cheerful mood and fine feeling, which reigned in the gymnasium, adding the charm of good society to the advantages which each individual derived from the exercises. Moreover, the pleasure of seing similar and partly filial institutions spring up in other cities seemed to justify the hope that gymnastic exercises would be generally adopted as a regular branch of education, and as a source of health, strength and peacefulness, particularly to those persons whose condition of life is such as to induce them to neglect the cultivation of their physical powers. Besides these general grounds of satisfaction, I have many particular reasons for cherishing the recollections of the services I rendered to this institution. As an instructor I succeeded in obtaining, perhaps too soon, that which I consider the most desirable result of all teaching, a number of pupils far surpassing their master. I sincerely wish and hope that the gymnasium may continue a benefit to this enlightened city, and that its branches may spread over all this free and happy land, which my principles lead me to consider as my country, while the kindness of its inhabitants makes me embrace it as my home."

From the gymnasiums of Harvard, Boston, and Round Hill gymnastics spread rapidly to nearly all the principal schools and colleges in the country, and the movement was prosecuted with great ardor as long as the novelty of it lasted, but owing to an insufficient appreciation of its importance this enthusiasm gradually subsided after a few years. However, the interest which gymnastics had aroused in physical education led to a discussion of this important subject by the medical and educational journals of the country and not only served thereby to make people realize in a vague way the full import of the old Latin proverb, mens sana in corpore sano, but gave rise also to a movement for the study of physiology and hygiene. Thus the essential spirit of the gymnastic movement which Follen inaugurated was perpetuated by the physiology movement,[1] which it had inspired. This in turn prepared the

[1] Cf. *Reports of Com. of Ed.*, 1897-98, I, 555.

way for the revival of gymnastics in the 50s, culminating subsequently in that great outburst of the modern gymnastic spirit, from which has developed our modern gymnasiums and systems of athletics, which have become a permanent and characteristic feature of our national life.

PLAN OF A NEW EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION.

In a preceding chapter allusion has been made to Follen's early plan to found in this country a German state with a German educational institution, which was to serve as a nucleus from which to extend German civilization over America. After arriving here he substituted for this impracticable scheme the more feasible plan of adapting German methods to American conditions, especially in educational matters. To this end he retained the idea of founding an academy on the German plan, but not until he had resided here nearly ten years did he make any attempt to carry it out.

As noted elsewhere, the professorship of German literature at Harvard had been established for a period of five years, but without any definite promise on the part of the Corporation that it would be continued beyond that time. Before the term expired, however, Follen had reasons to suspect that his appointment would not be renewed, and feeling the necessity of making some provisions for himself elsewhere, he began toward the close of 1834 to consider his long-cherished project. Although he disagreed with the authorities in many respects concerning questions of college government, as his wife notes, he was deeply attached to Harvard and earnestly desired to devote his talent to its development and welfare, believing that he could in this position render his best service by promoting German educational ideas in this country; but when this hope was thwarted he began to draw up plans for a new literary institution, which he wished to found at Boston in imitation somewhat of the German system. With the true zeal of a reformer it was always his fixed purpose to establish the principles of freedom and justice and to overthrow whatever was arbitrary and tyrannical in political, re-

ligious, and educational institutions. He had absolute confidence in the higher qualities of human nature, and believed that the academic youth should be under less outward restraint, both in their choice of studies and in their general conduct in order to develop a feeling of self-reliance and a spirit of self-control; hence as a staunch advocate of German "akademische Freiheit" he stood for a larger freedom in educational matters than obtained in American academic life. From the very first he had advocated the reorganization of the American universities on the German plan, explaining that in the German universities each department of learning such as philosophy, law, medicine, theology, maintained professors representing the various schools of thought so that the student might have the opportunity to test the various doctrines for themselves. He believed that the preparatory schools, such as he wished to establish, should train their pupils in such a way that they would begin their professional studies in the universities, not with prejudices and fixed opinions, but with open minds and opportunity to gain truth from whatever source.

According to the prospectus[1] of the proposed Boston Seminary, as Follen's school was to be called, it was designed to give young men the advantages of a liberal training in all the important branches of a general, classical, and business education without compelling those who were preparing for the professions to study the ancient languages. The departmental and elective systems were to be introduced, the modern languages and literatures as also the natural and physical sciences were to receive a large place in the curriculum, and in addition to the regular instruction private study and research was to be encouraged. There was to be no artificial system of rank, or scale of merit, founded upon the relative attainments of the students, and all sectarian or party influence whatsoever was to be strictly excluded from the seminary. It was designed also to discard the artificial system of discipline which obtained in most American schools. Follen had little sympathy with the prevalent notion of the times that colleges

[1] Given in *Works*, I, 623.

should be isolated in small towns in order to guard the morals of the students. According to his view college life should differ in no respect from the ordinary world of men and affairs; hence he proposed to locate his school in Boston not only to give the students the many literary and social advantages of a large city, but also to accustom them to the kind of surroundings in which they would in all probability spend their future years.

But this is a sketch only of what might have been, for on account of insufficient encouragement and support Follen's Boston Seminary came to naught but a plan on paper. However, it serves to show how he desired to contribute to the improvement of American scholarship through the educational ideals of his native land. Had he been able to put his seminary into operation his talent would have continued in the service of American education, and the great good he would thus have continued to do as an interpreter of German philosophy and literature is beyond all estimation.

HIS INFLUENCE IN HARVARD.

According to the statement of his wife Follen's sympathy for the antislavery cause had materially injured his prospects for advancement in Harvard.[1] At any rate he was definitely informed in 1834 that the Corporation did not deem it expedient to renew his appointment as professor, but that it would retain him as instructor in the German language if he desired to remain at a salary of five hundred dollars. After nearly ten years of unswerving devotion to the institution he saw himself reduced to a position yielding scarcely enough for even a hand-to-mouth living, or compelled to seek employment elsewhere. After careful deliberation he chose the latter alternative and in January, 1835, resigned his instructorship to take effect at the close of the academic year. In March the Corporation "voted that his resignation be accepted and that a suitable person be employed as Instructor in the German language until next Commencement, in the place of Dr. Follen, re-

[1] Cf. *Works*, I, 343ff.

signed."[1] This meant of course that his resignation was accepted to go into effect at once. But no blame attached to him for the loss of his position.

As a teacher and lecturer his success was unquestioned. He was loved by the students, and his classroom was always crowded. Josiah Quincy records[2] that he performed the duties of his office in an acceptable manner and that his services were characterized by learning, labor, and fidelity. Miss Peabody[3] also characterizes him as a man endowed both by nature and culture with the highest qualifications for a teacher and leader of youth. In a letter congratulating him on his Inaugural Address Edward Livingston spoke of the relative value of German and French for American education, concluding thus:[4] "The introduction of the German literature and language cannot but have a powerful effect on our own. It is fortunate for the country that the task of separating the valuable material from the dross has fallen into such able hands, and honorable to the university to have discovered and availed itself of the advantage such talents afford." An extract[5] from the peroration of the Class Oration delivered by Mr. Osgood in 1832 gives evidence also of the esteem in which he was held by the students. The orator was of the opinion that the value and pleasure derived from the study of German literature with Professor Follen was the most important advantage that Harvard had to offer. "For the able and kind manner in which this has come to us," he concluded, "we should express our gratitude to one, who has labored assiduously for our improvement; and who must richly attain the wish, expressed in his Inaugural Address, to do justice to his feelings of grateful attachment to his adopted country and to his native land."

[1] Cf. documents quoted in *Works,* I, 358ff.

[2] *History of Harvard University,* II, 385.

[3] Cf. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit,* VIII, 547.

[4] *Works,* I, 308.

[5] Ibid., I, 312.

It may not be out of place to add the following eulogy[1] on Follen, written by James Freeman Clarke soon after the former had severed his connection with Harvard College: "We are glad to see in the July number of the London and Westminster Review a high tribute to that distinguished scholar, philosopher, philanthropist and Divine, Dr. Charles Follen. Our regard for that gentleman is so great that we rejoice in every tribute paid to his worth. His life has been one of continuous sacrifice to principle. We know him chiefly as an instructor in the course of his professional duties. Our whole class loved him,—a feeling towards an instructor very unusual among captious and restless collegians. We all love him and revere him now. We never hear his name pronounced without giving him a blessing. We say this passing word because we cannot help doing justice to our feelings. We sincerely hope that he may find some sphere of action in which his large talents and his great learning in law, philosophy, belles-letters and theology may be more widely felt in our country. He has indeed already done much for German literature among us and has acquired a high reputation as a lecturer on civil law."

Although it is rather difficult to ascertain definitely whether Follen had any direct influence on such students of German thought as Emerson, Ripley, Alcott, Parker, Clarke, and Margaret Fuller, we know of a certainty that he stood in personal relation with most of them; and this in itself is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they received from him, either directly or indirectly, at least some of their inspiration for German studies.

Emerson lived in Divinity Hall at that time, and although he took no part in the regular exercises of the Divinity students, there can be no doubt that he became well acquainted with Follen and his religious views. To Carlyle he wrote in 1835:[2] "We know enough about Goethe and Schiller here to

[1] From an editorial in the *Western Messenger*, Louisville, October, 1836.

[2] Emerson-Carlyle *Correspondence*, 55.

have some interest in German literature. A respectable German here, Dr. Follen, has given lectures to a good class upon Schiller. I am quite sure that Goethe's name would now stimulate the curiosity of scores of people." But as early as 1827 Follen was already discussing Goethe in the Ladies' reading circle, as his diary shows, and probably continued to do so in his lectures on German literature in the College from 1830 to 1835.

George Ripley was another of Channing's circle and he met Follen in all probability as early as 1827. Frothingham remarks[1] that Hedge's article on Coleridge in the *Christian Examiner* for March, 1833, in which he commended Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, was praised by Ripley and was doubtless of potent influence in determining the latter's bent of mind. It seems more likely, however, that Ripley's impulse to the study of German literature and philosophy came from Follen, for the latter was lecturing on German philosophy in the Divinity School in 1828-'30, and his Inaugural Address on German literature called forth in the *Christian Examiner* a complimentary review by Ripley in 1832. It is not within the scope of this investigation to give an account of Ripley's great enthusiasm for German theology and literature;[2] let it suffice to say that from this time on he contributed to the *Examiner* many articles on these subjects and became an ardent defender of Spinoza, Schleiermacher, and De Wette in that famous controversy with Professor Andrews Norton, who had accused these philosophers of atheism and irreligion.

Theodore Parker began his education in Harvard in 1830, just at the time when Follen was made professor of German literature, and it was probably from this source that he rereceived his first inspiration for German thought. "The study of German was added to French and Spanish, and he learned

[1] *Life of Ripley*, 96f.

[2] Dr. Jaeck's work on *Madame de Staël and the Spread of German Literature* gives an excellent account of the Transcendentalists' interest for German learning. It seems probable, however, that their inspiration was due far more directly to Follen than to de Staël's de L'Allemagne.

to write as well as read these languages."[1] A few years later there was organized in Boston a "Society of Friends of Progress" under the leadership of Dr. Channing. Its meetings were for a free and bold discussion of all current subjects of theology and social life. Here Parker found the charm of good companionship in the persons of such men as Hedge, Ripley, Alcott and Follen.[2] It was the study of German that exercised the dominant influence upon his life. Through its medium he was brought into contact with German theology and philosophy; and Kant, Goethe, Schleiermacher, and De Wette opened his eyes to the new possibilities of Biblical interpretation. In consequence of this assimilation of German thought he gave to Unitarianism a still greater breadth and freedom of thought, and to American letters a richer and more unrestrained literary self-expression.

When Bronson Alcott went to Boston to establish his infant school Follen was one of the first men he consulted concerning his project.[3] From this time on, November, 1828, he was on intimate terms with Follen and associated with him not only in the meetings of the Channing circle, but also in those of the famous Transcendental Club, which Follen attended occasionally.[4]

Margaret Fuller was one of the most remarkable leaders and expounders of German thought in this country. She was born in Cambridge in 1810 and lived there until 1833. Prior to Follen's arrival she had read Mme. de Staël's book, and through her friend F. H. Hedge she had become interested in Germany. According to J. F. Clarke, who was her constant companion during his college life, she began the study of German early in 1832. He states[5] that both were attracted toward German literature at the same time by the writings of Carlyle, and that in about three months from the time that Margaret

[1] Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, I, 49.

[2] Ibid., 105.

[3] *Memoirs of Bronson Alcott*, I, 118.

[4] Ibid., 289.

[5] *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, I, 114.

began to study the German language she was reading with ease its literary masterpieces. She began without a teacher, but was aided and encouraged by Clarke, who was at that time studying under Follen. Her family moved in the social and intellectual circles of Cambridge, and it is very probable that she often met Follen on social occasions and heard accounts of his discussions of Goethe in the ladies' reading circle. Follen's Inaugural Address, published in the autumn of 1831, was the best general account of German literature that had appeared up to that time and it attracted universal attention and comment. Immediately after this Margaret Fuller began to study German. In the winter of 1832-'33 Follen delivered his first course of public lectures on Schiller; and these, too, attracted the attention of Boston and Cambridge intellectual circles. Immediately after this Margaret Fuller wrote in her diary in January, 1833:[1] "I have now a pursuit of immediate importance: to the German language and literature will I give my undivided attention. I have made rapid progress for one quite unassisted;" and in June she made the following entry:[2] I don't like Goethe as well as Schiller now. I mean, I am not so happy in reading him. That perfect wisdom and merciless nature seems cold after these seducing pictures of forms more beautiful than truth." Carlyle's articles on German literature began to appear at least five years prior to this, yet we find in the diary no such entries concerning her enthusiasm for German, as the above, until after Follen's lectures on Schiller. Concerning the major influences that turned Margaret Fuller toward the field of German thought it would probably not be far out of the way to sum up the matter thus: Mme. de Staël prepared the soil, Follen sowed the seed, and Carlyle supplied the sunshine and showers for the future harvest.

Although the Göttingen men paved the way for the introduction of German learning there is no doubt that Follen's influence at Harvard was one of the greatest forces then at work in the promotion of it in this country. The introduction

[1] Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 41.

[2] *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, I, 117.

of the German language and literature was valuable not only per se, but contributed largely to a broader and deeper study of all the other great departments of knowledge; history, biology, theology, archæology, economics, and especially philosophy,—subjects in which the German scholars were unrivaled. At the beginning of the 19th century the German university more than any other gave careful and systematic training in the use of libraries and laboratories, inculcated the habit of independent thought and research, quickened the creative instinct, and engendered a spirit of freedom both in teaching and in learning. Its highest ideal was the pursuit of truth, its highest aim the emancipation of the human spirit. *Wissenschaft, Lernfreiheit, Lehrfreiheit* was the motto of the German universities, and this was the ideal which Follen and the Göttingen men brought from Germany for the enrichment and enlargement of higher education in America. Some of the young men who became later the writers and critics of the day came under the direct influence of Follen at that time and were probably directly or indirectly inspired by him to the study of German intellectual life.

The collective influence of these earliest pioneers of German learning both on Harvard College and on American thought was very great. It helped to break up that intellectual sterility which had resulted from the isolation of a merely colonial life and prepared the way for the vast modern growth of colleges, schools, and libraries in this country. In the opinion of Thomas Wentworth Higginson[1] "it culminated later in the brilliant Boston circle of authors, most of whom were Harvard men and all of whom had felt the Harvard influence."

CHAPTER II.

HIS RELATION TO UNITARIANISM.

According to his Inaugural Address Follen's conception of literature was so comprehensive that he included in it not only the products of poetry and philosophy, but of theology

[1] *Harvard Graduate Magazine*, VI, 17f.

as well. A discussion of his activity as a promoter of German studies in America must therefore of necessity proceed to the consideration of his endeavors in the field of religion, and of its historical relation to contemporary movements in the same field.

THE INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS IN EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By the middle of the 18th century the sensualistic philosophy of Hobbes and Locke had come to dominate the life and thought of French and English civilization, while similarly in Germany the predominant feature of the intellectual life was the abstract rationalism which Wolff had deduced from the philosophy of Leibniz. The general rationalistic attitude of mind during the period of enlightenment was based essentially upon sense perception; human knowledge was limited partly by the bounds of so-called experience and partly by abstract logical reasoning. In religion the dogmatic assumptions of the church were rejected and all belief was made dependent upon the dictates of reason. This rationalistic method of thought extended also to the field of general literature, which now became didactic, formal, unimaginative,—a product merely of the understanding. Artificiality, materialism and skepticism finally came to reign supreme. The age of reason was at its height.[1]

Gradually, however, in the second half of the century a reaction set in; a movement for spiritual emancipation, for freedom from the intellectualistic bondage in which the human mind was held by laws and traditions. This movement reverted to man's instincts and feelings; to his original human rights. It was therefore an effort to revolutionize life by emancipating the individual from the fetters of dry reason, from conventional ethics, orthodox intolerance, and time-worn literary traditions; an attempt to enlarge man's spiritual life by directing him back to the simplicity of nature; a reassertion of the rights of the heart along with those of the head. Artificiality began now to yield to nature, cosmopolitanism to

[1] W. Windelband, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, 366ff.

patriotism, skepticism to optimism, and materialism to idealism. Rousseau admonished his contemporaries to listen only to the voice of the heart, to obey only the primitive instincts, to pay homage only to the universal laws of life. Hamann maintained that the visible and tangible, whatever can be demonstrated and taught, cannot be final; that the universe is permeated by forces which lie beyond mortal vision. Herder applied Rousseau's doctrine of return to nature to the field of literature, and in accordance with Hamann's oracular saying that poetry is the mother-tongue of the race laid down the new doctrine that the best poetry is popular, naive, spontaneous, and not a product of conscious art.

In the domain of philosophy the old struggle between the realists and idealists was apparently still being waged. The great question was: Is all knowledge derived from without through the senses or does at least a part of it originate within the mind itself? By combining the theories of the idealists and realists Kant laid the foundation for modern intellectual life. By his searching analysis of the mind he demonstrated that from its very nature the intellect can deal only with the phenomenal world, and that the infinite is accordingly unknowable; but he pointed out further that while such ideas as God, immortality, and moral freedom cannot be demonstrated, they are nevertheless matters of intuitive knowledge. The distinction between Kant's Pure Reason and Locke's Human Understanding was the philosophic basis of the new idealism. Kant distinguished between the phenomenal world and its transcendental background, the thing-in-itself; Fichte maintained on the other hand that the thing-in-itself like its phenomena is only a product of the mind; while Schelling and the Romanticists held that both mind and matter, the inner and the outer world, are the product, in different stages of evolution, of a mysterious, all-pervading creative power whose existence they knew intuitively and whose nature they sought to understand and to reveal. By distinguishing between rational and empirical knowledge Kant established in his categorical imperative a new and exalted system of ethics; and upon the freedom of the will, which he postulated as the basis

of all moral action, Fichte, Schiller and Fries reared their systems of ethical idealism.

The close of the century marked the beginning of a new epoch in the evolution of religious thought also. With Herder a reaction set in against both rationalism and dogmatism; an attempt to establish a union between religion and culture, and to reconstruct theology on new lines; but it was Schleiermacher who gave a definite and classical expression to the movement. This he did in his famous "Reden über die Religion" which appeared in 1799. In these addresses he disclaims all pretension to an exposition of theological doctrine, but seeks simply to convince his skeptical contemporaries that religion is an essential element of human nature and therefore indispensable to the complete development of the inner life of man. In his attempt to present religion in its most sublime aspects he shows that its truth rests neither on tradition nor on miracles, neither on the church nor on the Bible, but on the soul's sense of the Infinite. In his "Glaubenslehre," which is a further development of the principles laid down in the "Reden," he seeks to show the relation of religious feeling to its different expressions in dogma, history, and creeds. The central thought of his system is that religion neither seeks like metaphysics to explain the universe, nor like morals to advance and perfect the world by the free will of man; it is not a set of dogmas, but an inner experience; it is neither thinking nor acting, but feeling. From a pious contemplation of the majesty and external order of the universe arises in the finite individual a consciousness of oneness with the infinite All and a feeling of dependence upon the Author of life. This feeling of identity with God and dependence upon Him is religion; it is a living reality and when it manifests itself in social fellowship it becomes a vital factor in the development of the human race.

Imbued with the scientific spirit Schleiermacher's writings freed protestant religion from the fetters of ecclesiasticism, thus laying the foundation for modern theology. For its philosophical basis this new movement rests upon the well-known distinction made by Kant between theoretical and prac-

tical reason. Through the influence of the Kantian philosophy Schleiermacher threw aside the possibility of knowing God by means of cognition and expounded the doctrine that religion is primarily an act of faith instead of a judgment of reason.

THEIR REFLEX IN NEW ENGLAND.

The rationalistic tendency which characterized the intellectual life of Europe in the 18th century found its counterpart in America in Boston Unitarianism. This was in its origin and narrower sense a reaction against Calvinistic theology, which prevailed in New England. In its broader aspect it was a part of the general liberal movement for freedom of thought, and release from traditional authority; an attempt to bring religion into harmony with science and phisolosphy. As early as the beginning of the century the rationalistic tendencies of English philosophy began to creep into the religious life of Boston through the works of such men as Chillingsworth, Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Jeremy Taylor, and Samuel Clarke, whose tolerant liberal writings were read in New England throughout the century;[1] and the introduction through this source of the Arian and Arminian doctrines began gradually to exert a reactionary influence upon dogmatic theology. Between 1730 and 1750 many of the most eminent clergymen in Massachusetts, according to Josiah Quincy,[2] openly avowed doctrines which were denounced as Arian, Arminian, and Deistic; while books and pamphlets breathing a spirit of religious democracy quite at variance with the Calvinistic doctrine began to appear. This liberal trend of theology gradually developed along two lines: that of a demand for free enquiry, as represented by Jonathan Mayhew and his followers, and that of a protest against the harsher features of Calvinism, as represented by Charles Chauncy and the Universalists. When Mayhew was made pastor of the West Church in Boston in 1747 he was already familiar with nearly all the liberal writers of England and soon became the first outspoken Uni-

[1] Cooke, *Unitarianism in America*, 10f., 56.

[2] *History of Harvard University*, II, 23, 52.

tarian in New England.[1] Along with the silent advance of liberalism went hand in hand a gradual divergence of those who believed in the deity of Christ and those who believed in his subordinate nature. Through the adoption of a revised liturgy in 1785, in which their pastor, Rev. James Freeman, omitted all reference to the Trinity, the congregation of King's Chapel in Boston was the first to become avowedly Unitarian. From this time on the liberal movement grew rapidly. It was greatly promoted by the monthly Anthology, the official organ of a scholarly group of men known as the Anthology Club; and through the appointment of Henry Ware, an avowed Unitarian, to the Hollis professorship of Divinity at Harvard that stronghold of orthodoxy passed into the control of the liberals. Soon half of the old historic churches of Massachusetts went over to the liberal party, and by 1820 arose a definite division of the Congregational churches of New England into Trinitarian and Unitarian.[2]

The Unitarians formulated no creed, but left each clergyman free to preach whatever seemed to harmonize with reason and conscience; hence their main tendency was to emphasize the authority of conscience and the freedom of enquiry, while their chief aim was to harmonize revelation and reason, and to interpret the meaning of human life in a way compatible with nature and history. This common-sense method shows that the early Unitarians were as a rule under the influence of the sensuous philosophy of Locke;[3] hence it was easy enough for them to shatter the foundations of orthodoxy by means of common intelligence and rational understanding. Their leaders, says Frothingham,[4] were attracted to Tillotson and Paley more than to Cudworth and Butler, and were disquieted by mysticism, enthusiasm, and rapture; they were good scholars and accomplished men of letters, dis-

[1] Cooke, 35.

[2] Cf. such authorities as Walker, Ellis, Cooke, and Allen.

[3] Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England,* 109.

[4] Ibid., 110.

tinguished by practical wisdom, sober judgment, and balanced thoughtfulness that weighed opinions in the scale of evidence and argument. This sums up the strength and the weakness of the early Unitarian movement: it was strong in reason, but deficient in feeling.

In his remarks[1] on college life at the time he entered Harvard in 1794 Dr. Channing observes that society was passing through a most critical stage due to the rationalistic tendency of the times, that reverence for the authority of the past was gone, and that the tendency of all classes was to skepticism. James Freeman Clark,[2] however, has given us the best characterization of the mental and spiritual condition of New England in the early decades of the 19th century: "Locke was still the master of the realm of thought; Addison and Blair in literary expression. In poetry, the school of Pope was engaged in conflict with that of Byron and his contemporaries. Wordsworth had led the way to a deeper view of nature, but he could scarcely be called a popular writer. In theology a certain liberalism prevailed, and the doctrines of Christianity were inferred from counting and weighing texts on either side. Not the higher reason, with its intuition of eternal ideas, but the analytic understanding, with its logical methods, was considered to be the ruler in the world of thought. There was more of culture than of intellectual life, more of good habits than of moral enthusiasm. Religion had become very much of an external institution. Christianity consisted of holding orthodox opinions, going regularly to church, and listening every Sunday to a certain number of prayers, hymns, and sermons. Channing, it is true, had looked with a new spiritual insight into the truths of religion and morality. But still the mechanical treatment prevailed in a majority of the churches, and was considered to be the wisest and safest method. There was an unwritten creed of morals, literature, and social thought to which all were expected to conform. There was little originality and much repetition.***

[1] *Life of Channing,* (Memorial Ed.), 30.

[2] *Nineteenth Century Questions,* 273f.

It was regarded as a kind of duty to think as everyone else thought; a sort of delinquency, or weakness, to differ from the majority."

The decade beginning with 1820, however, marks a new epoch in the spiritual history of New England. Unitarianism now entered upon a new stage of development, the so-called Transcendental movement, which was, like German Idealism, a reaction against the rationalistic spirit of the times. While the New England movement was essentially religious it possessed also the philosophical and literary phases of its German prototype. Philosophically it was a substitution of intuition for understanding; of the idealism of Kant and Fichte for English empiricism. In literature it drew its inspiration from Wordsworth, Coleridge, and the Germans. In religion it was spiritual rather than theological, supplanting dogmas and creeds by a search into nature and into the depths of the human heart for the divine element of all life. The unfettered mind began now to revel in beauty, poetry, and philosophy; and men were brought into closer touch with nature, literature, and life. The conservative Unitarians remained under the influence of English philosophy and classic literature; the radicals turned to the enthusiastic study of the romantic literature and idealistic philosophy of Germany.

Those who have written on later Unitarianism, the so-called Transcendental Movement, hold various views concerning the sources of it. Some regard it as an indigenous product, while others contend that it was largely imitative of foreign thought. According to Riley[1] those who grew up with the movement have held to the former view, maintaining that Emerson's system was formulated before he became acquainted with German thought, while later critics, more skilled in tracing historical sources, have inclined to the latter view, asserting that Emerson would have been ineffective had he not made use of foreign phraseology, such as was furnished by Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*. Frothingham, who grew up with the movement and became its historian, speaks thus:[2]

[1] *American Philosophy*, 12.

[2] *Trancendentalism in New England*, 115.

"By sheer force of genius Emerson anticipated the results of the transcendental philosophy, defined its axioms, and ran out their inferences to the end. Without help from abroad, or with such help only as none but he could use, he might have domesticated in Massachusetts an idealism as heroic as Fichte's, as beautiful as Schelling's; but it would have lacked the dialectical basis of the great German system."

Since idealism is the product of no special age or clime it had its devotees in New England, as might be expected, prior to the 19th century, the best type of whom was Samuel Johnson and Jonathan Edwards,[1] but with the advent of German thought it took on a new character. In regard to the origin of this new phase of idealism Frothingham may be quoted further as follows:[2] "To make intelligible the Transcendental philosophy of the last generation in New England it is not necessary to go far back into the history of thought. Ancient idealism, whether Eastern or Western, may be left undisturbed. Platonism and neo-Platonism may be excused from further torture on the witness-stand. The speculations of the mystics, Romanist or Protestant, need not be re-examined. The idealism of Gale, More, Pordage, of Cudworth and the later Berkeley, in England, do not immediately concern us. We need not even submit John Locke to fresh cross-examination, or describe the effect of his writings on the thinkers who came after him. The Transcendental philosophy, so-called, had a distinct origin in Immanuel Kant."

W. H. Channing has perhaps stated[3] better than anybody else the nature of this new movement: "Transcendentalism was an assertion of the inalienable integrity of man, of the immanence of Divinity in instinct. In part it was a reaction against Puritan Othodoxy; in part, an effect of renewed study of the ancients, of Plato and the Alexandrians, of Plutarch's Morals, Seneca, and Epictetus; in part the natural product of the culture of the place and time. On the somewhat

[1] Riley, 63ff.

[2] *Transcendentalism in New England,* 1.

[3] *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller,* II, 12f.

stunted stock of Unitarianism—whose characteristic dogma was trust in individual reason as correlative to Supreme Wisdom—had been grafted German Idealism, as taught by masters of most various schools—by Kant and Jacobi, Fichte and Novalis, Schelling and Hegel, Schleiermacher and De Wette, by Mme. de Staël, Cousin, Coleridge, and Carlyle, and the result was a vague yet exalting conception of the godlike nature of the human spirit. Transcendentalism, as viewed by its disciples, was a pilgrimage from the idolatrous world of creeds and rituals to the temple of the Living God in the Soul."

After discussing the various causes that contributed to the rise of the movement Goddard concludes thus:[1] "But now from this insistence on the complexity of the sources of transcendentalism and on the impossibility of assigning absolutely their respective importance, it is nevertheless proper to recur to an acknowledgment of the large element of truth in the widely accepted theory that New England transcendentalism was a German importation. The extent of the admissible generalization seems to be this. The original stimulus to the strictly metaphysical part of transcendental thought came fairly largely, but by no means exclusively, from Germany."

Through the medium of Mme. de Staël's celebrated work on Germany, an English translation of which appeared in 1813, the first meager account of German literature and philosophy reached America. The return of the Göttingen men a few years later awakened still more interest in this direction. A few New England scholars came in contact with German thought in so far as this was expounded in Coleridge's "Biographia Literaria," which appeared in 1817. A still greater impulse to the study of German, however, was given by Follen, who began at once to awaken a keen interest in German cultural ideals when he reached Cambridge in 1825, and from this time on translations and reviews of German works increased rapidly. Through the influence of the Göttingen men German literature and philosophy were just beginning to ruffle the surface of the intellectual life of Boston,

[1] Studies in New England Transcendentalism, 110 (Dissertation in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University).

but it is safe to say that Follen was the only man in New England who had a comprehensive knowledge of these subjects. Both by education and nature Follen was well qualified to enter as an influential factor into the later Unitarian movement.

FOLLEN'S RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.

In addition to the foregoing historical background a short account of the development of Follen's religious nature will serve as the starting point from which to discuss his religious activity in this country.

The predominant characteristic of Follen's nature was an intense love of freedom combined with a deep mystic piety, which manifested itself in moral action through the force of will-power—a trait of character which from his earliest youth remained the guiding principle of his whole life. When he was a mere child he displayed thus early an intuitive knowledge of ethical values as indicated by his expression, "Father I forgive you," after receiving a severe punishment from his high-tempered parent.[1]

His early training, however, was in accordance with the skeptical spirit of the age. Although he was baptized in the Lutheran church and learned his catechism he was not at all receptive to the dogmatic theology of the times. In speaking of his early religious character his step-mother said[2] that the principles of the Unitarians had even then begun to engage his attention; that he occasionally spoke with much depth and feeling about them to his father, who agreed with him on this subject. Although he had the greatest admiration for the life and character of Christ, as pointed out at the beginning of this treatise, he did not accept the orthodox view concerning Christ's nature. This is probably what his step-mother meant by the above observations, for in after years he stated[3] explicitly that Christianity was according to his early views a

[1] *Works,* I, 6.

[2] Ibid., 1, 10.

[3] Cf. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit,* VIII, 545.

superstition of the ignorant classes, only less tasteful in its imaginary objects than those presented by the symbolic mythology of Greece and Rome. Not until after he had entered the university did he read the Bible; concerning his first impulse thereto he gave some years later an account[1] something as follows:

As an examination for entrance to the university he was required to write upon the theme: "How can a man die for a cause?" Since he had never reflected upon the subject he could consequently think of nothing to write. Under the stress of necessity he asked himself how he was to derive power to start a strain of thought on the theme. In this quandary it occurred to him that since effort produces thoughts more or less true, finite mind must have a certain relation to a Fountain of mind, to which it can aspire and thereby realize an inspiration of truth. This attainment of truth through an effort of mind proved to him the existence of an infinite Spirit in living relation with him. Thus he seemed to discover a Living God, who was his father. This was a primal act of faith and the beginning of a new era in his life. The idea of a living communion with his Creator gave him a flood of light, and with faith that power would be given him to accomplish his task he concentrated his mind upon his subject and easily wrote his examination. This successful effort he considered as prayer and the answer thereto. He began by pondering on those objects which had induced various historical characters to give up their lives, finding that all such acts of self-sacrifice were acts of men at the summit of their energies, and implied a duality of nature, which is the distinctive human characteristic. No animal voluntarily gives up life. What then, he asked himself, is this that stands above the animal life and in sovereign power gives away life itself? The fact that there is something mortal which man can give away proved to him that there must be something immortal in the consciousness of the giver. The truth of this idea in Follen's mind was the turning point of his life; it was the consciousness of a spiritual birth.

[1] Cf. Miss Peabody's *Reminiscences of Channing*, 213ff.

Follen was now desirous of investigating and comparing the various religions of the world. The nucleus of the popular religion was the death of Christ, and he now looked into the New Testament for the first time, investigating the circumstances and seeking the motives of this death. With a decided inclination toward religious speculation his theological studies at the university tended to increase his critical attitude toward Christianity, making him unwilling to be guided by sentiment alone or to accept religious doctrine unless it coincided with his highest reason. As soon as he became conscious of his skepticism he applied himself to the study of the English Deists, the French Encyclopædists, the German Idealists, and the Pantheistic writers, in order to investigate all the arguments for and against the Christian religion, emerging with a firm and joyous faith. "For myself," he said,[1] "I can certainly say that next to the Gospel itself the books written against it have been the most efficient promoters of my belief in its divine truth."

Follen's enlarged faith, however, was something more perfect, more spiritual, than what he found in the general religious life of the times. That it was out of harmony with the established doctrine of the orthodox church is evident from his conflict with the Calvinistic clergy in Switzerland where in his lectures on the history of Christianity he gave expression to his radical views concerning God, Christ, and salvation. His new faith was born of the new philosophy, the ethical idealism, that had caused the great religious awakening of the wars of liberation. His desire to renovate both Church and State was due not only to his mystic piety and moral bent of mind, but also to the influence of Kant, Fichte, Schiller, Fries and Schleiermacher, whose doctrines he had thoroughly assimilated. Concerning the religious views of this period of his life and the influence which the failure of his political hopes had upon him, he speaks thus in the preface to his tract on Religion and the Church:[2] "When I was pursuing my studies in a German university I felt strongly impressed with the in-

[1] *Works,* I, 56.

[2] *Works,* V, 254ff.

efficacy of the established forms of faith and worship. Their unfitness to satisfy the spiritual wants of my own nature, and to quicken the religious affections and energies of the people, called up to mind the image of a Universal Church, a church of mankind, having no other foundation and support than the natural interests of men in religion. The true interests of the church, that is, the religious interests of man, seemed to me most effectually secured by relying wholly and solely on the principles of individual freedom, and intimate spiritual intercourse among men, and the tendency to infinite progress in human nature."

PLAN OF A RELIGIOUS REFORM.

This early philosophic vision never faded from Follen's mind, but continued to grow clearer and more inspiring to action. When crossing the Atlantic to commence life anew in this country he was already forming plans to carry out his long-cherished scheme of religious philanthropy "as the only star of promise amidst the gloom of disappointed hopes," as he expressed it.[1] From several of his letters and portions of his diary published in his Works it is evident that he began a keen observation of the religious life and institutions around him as soon as he landed in this country. In one of these letters [2] descriptive of American life, written to his parents less than a month after his arrival, he observes "that much depends here on religious sentiment, but nothing on religious opinion; one may declare himself an atheist, a heathen, or a Christian." He was glad to note a general interest in religion and also complete freedom in matters of religious belief; but on the other hand the fact that the religious sentiment displayed seemed to him to be rather a matter of dogma and sectarian belief than the expression of pure religious feeling convinced him at once that the religious life of America was as much in need of a thorough renovation as that of Europe. That this conviction not only strengthened his long-cherished

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., I, 148.

scheme of religious philanthropy, but also led him from the very outset to decide definitely upon a movement for a radical reform of ecclesiastical and religious life in this country is shown conclusively by a letter[1] written from Philadelphia on the 31st of August, 1825, to his old Giessen friend, Christian Sartorius, in Mexico. After making some general observations on American life, he discusses a scheme for constitutional reform in the United States and then proceeds as follows to outline the plan of his proposed religious reform:

"I have still another plan, on which I desire to have your opinion in your next letter. Here, where complete freedom of conscience prevails, new sects are springing up daily, which indicates a vague religious aspiration. The chief defect, however, which all churches and sects have had since the earliest times is this: that they are founded upon dogmas, upon a definite confession of faith. Everyone is reared in some creed, and so complies as a rule with that which his sponsors promised in his stead at his christening. This rests upon a complete misunderstanding of rational human nature, which impels man to a continuous perfecting of his character as also of his religious conviction. On the other hand all churches have hitherto presupposed that religion consists in the acceptance and adherence to a definite confession of faith. I say: Religion is piety. This consists in letting one's self be guided by God in all his actions, that is, in striving 'to be perfect as his Father in Heaven is perfect', as Christ says. The Church is the covenant of piety, through which men mutually join to exalt themselves in feeling (in devotion) to God, to gain as adequate a conception of God as possible, and to make pious resolutions. As to the conception of God, through which the feeling and will are guided, it is two-fold: imagination and knowledge. It is art which directs the imagination toward God: Architecture, painting, music, and poetry must create for a deep veneration of God, for that most sublime inner feeling, a corresponding outward expression. Intellectual power, by virtue of which we are convinced of God's existence, is thereby promoted, so that every one in the religious assembly can fully

[1] Follen-Briefe, No. 12, *Jahrbuch D. A. H. G.*, XIV, 26ff.

express his doubts as well as his faith, rendering it necessary on the part of the speaker to be cautious only in the order and dignity of his utterances, just as in a law-making body. In addition to this the appointment of clergymen is highly advantageous: namely of men who are able, by being relieved from the necessity of working for a living, to devote their whole talent to the study of all the different religious systems. Thereby scientific knowledge and the independent thought of each individual will be combined. It should be the duty of the clergyman to address the congregation if nobody else wishes to. Of course there must be executive officials also.

"In this way I believe the church should be founded, not on a dead confession of faith, but upon a living, ever-growing conviction. Unfortunately my study of English law leaves me very little time for making a written statement of my ideas and for spreading them abroad, concerning which nobody in America has thus far any knowledge except Beck and Kahl. I have reasons for keeping silent about it until the whole plan is matured. In this manner it is possible to put an end forever to all schisms, while in the one general church each sect shall appear merely as the representative of one of a number of confessions, all of which are important for the information of the whole church."

The views which Follen expresses in this letter agree in the main with the principles laid down in Schleiermacher's religious writings, viz., the repudiation of unreasoning devotion to creeds; the differentiation of dogma and religion; the union of all sects into one church; the conception of religion as feeling, piety, and reverent contemplation of God; the sublime work of nature and art as the expression of an immanent Deity, as a symbol through which the mind and heart are directed toward the one eternal God; and the Christian Church as an association of pious men for mutual aid and cultivation of a closer relation to God. These ideas of religious reform were brought by Follen from Germany and were wholly independent of any American influence. In all probability he knew little or nothing of the New England movement when this letter was written.

INTERCOURSE WITH CHANNING.

W. E. Channing is usually called the forerunner of the new movement. At any rate his famous Baltimore sermon [1] in 1819, not only marked the climax of rational Unitarianism, but in its allusion to the dignity of human nature, the power of moral intuition, and similar ideas, struck a new chord. That he felt the need of the times is evident from the following excerpt from a letter written in praise of Wordsworth in 1820: [2] "I wish to see among Unitarians," he says, "a development of imagination and poetical enthusiasm, as well as of the rational and critical powers * * * I have before told you how much I think Unitarians have suffered from union with a heart-withering philosophy. I will now add that it has suffered also from a too exclusive application of its advocates to biblical criticism and theological controversy, in other words, from a too partial culture of mind. I fear that we must look to other schools for the thoughts which thrill us, which touch the most inward springs, and disclose to us the depths of our souls." By birth and education Channing was a rationalist and clung to the philosophical traditions of the conservatives—the sensuous philosophy of Locke; by nature he was an idealist and sympathized with the views of the radicals. [3] That he welcomed and assimilated much of the spirit of German idealism is attested by his biographer in the following statement: [4]

"Nothing characterized him more than the youthful eagerness with which he greeted the advent of every newly discovered truth. He was 'not a watcher by the tomb, but a man of the resurrection'. He lived in the mountain air of hope. And at this period of his life he was breathing in the freshness with which the whole intellect of Christendom seemed inspired, as it pressed onward across the wide prairie which the science, philosophy, poetry, and revolutionary tendencies of the age had

[1] From the text, Prove all things; hold fast that which is good (I Thes. V, 21); cf. *Works of Channing*, 367ff.

[2] *Life of Channing*, 276.

[3] Cf. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism*, 110.

[4] *Life of Channing*, 274f.

opened. It was with intense delight that he made acquaintance with the master minds of Germany, through the medium, first, of Madame de Staël, and afterwards of Coleridge. He recognized in them his leaders. In Kant's doctrine of the Reason he found confirmation of the views which, in early years received from Price, had quickened him to ever deeper reverence of the essential powers of man. To Schelling's sublime intimations of the Divine life everywhere manifested through nature and humanity, his heart, devoutly conscious of the universal agency of God, gladly responded. But above all did the heroic stoicism of Fichte charm him by its full assertion of the grandeur of the human will. Without adopting the system of either of these philosophers, and, fortunately perhaps for him, without being fully acquainted with these systems, he yet received from their examples the most animating incentives to follow out the paths of speculation into which his own mind had entered."

In addition to the foregoing statement that Channing was introduced to German thought by Mme. de Staël, and that his interest in it was greatly stimulated by Coleridge and Carlyle, it is said [1] that he gained still more knowledge of it through the medium of Margaret Fuller, who often translated for him passages from the works of such writers as De Wette, Herder, and Goethe. This is all true, but it is not the whole truth. It is safe to say that he learned from Mme. de Staël very little German philosophy itself. Although he had met Coleridge personally in 1822 and had prior to that time been introduced to the transcendental philosophers of Germany through the medium of short extracts contained in the "Biographia Literaria,"[2] it is probable that he did not derive much knowledge on the subject from Coleridge until James Marsh republished in this country the Aids to Reflection in 1829. The first information he received from Carlyle was from the latter's essays on Goethe and German literature, which began to appear in the Edinburgh Review in 1827. From Margaret Fuller he received

[1] *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, I, 175f.

[2] Cf. Miss Peabody's *Reminiscences of Channing*, 76.

no aid until 1836. As early as the winter of 1826-'27, however, Follen had become a welcome guest at his home and at once entered into close intellectual intercourse with him, discussing with him questions pertaining to German literature, theology, and philosophy—a fact which seems to have been overlooked by those who have written on the Transcendental movement in New England.

In the autumn of 1826 Follen was invited to attend an informal gathering of Sunday School teachers who met fortnightly in Dr. Channing's study to discuss the subject of religious education. This was his first personal acquaintance with Channing and the beginning of a warm, abiding friendship with him. To Miss Peabody we are indebted for a vivid description [1] of this meeting. According to her account the subject of the evening was the significance of the death of Christ. During a pause in the discussion Channing, in glancing around the room filled with people, observed Follen quite hidden behind the rest, and with a desire to draw him out, to see perhaps if there was anything in him worth hearing, asked him whether he had anything to say on the subject. Being extremely modest he blushed deeply and hesitated for an instant, but then arose and proceeded with great simplicity and earnestness, in a speech worded with the greatest felicity of expression, to state the views of Christ's death which had made him a Christian. Miss Peabody observes that the audience sat quite entranced at his exceedingly individual and impressive narration of his deep inner experience: "Dr. Channing was entirely absorbed, his countenance growing brighter at every word. He saw he had struck a mine, for here was a man whose religion was not an inheritance, nor an imitation, nor a convention of society, but the covenant of a consciously finite being with God. From that moment was cemented a friendship that never had a shadow of misunderstanding fall upon it, but was a perfect mutual respect and tender love."

Follen was a great acquisition to these meetings as his biographer observes: "His free and independent thought, and the frank, fearless expression of his opinions, encouraged

[1] Ibid., 213ff.; also *Sprague's Annals,* VIII, 544ff.

others to think and speak freely; while his unaffected respect for the views of others, and the place of a learner, which his modesty always led him to take for himself, made him the model of all. When he spoke of spiritual realities, of his faith in a future life, everyone felt that he spoke of what he believed, and that immortality had already commenced in him." [1] He made such a favorable impression upon his new friends that he was urged to enter the ministry, and after a short consideration of the matter made known to Dr. Channing his decision to accept the call. One must not conclude, however, that this step was especially due to the importunities of his friends. During his first year in Cambridge he had become acquainted with the Unitarian movement and found that it showed phases and tendencies which coincided in the main with those ideals which he had brought with him from Germany. Here then was the opportunity to proceed with his plan for religious reform which he had sketched in his letter to Sartorius the previous year. He now took up the matter with Dr. Channing, receiving from him much sympathetic aid and friendly counsel for his preparation.

In December of this same year (1826) he wrote to his father as follows: [2] "Channing is the most distinguished preacher in the United States and stands at the head of the Unitarians, that is, of that religious sect, who regard Christ as a divinely inspired, perfect man, and who reject the Trinity. To this doctrine belong the best informed men of this State; and it was very delightful to Dr. Channing to learn through me, that a great number of German Lutherans thought with him. I have had much conversation with him, especially on philosophical subjects, and we agree about them in all essential particulars. He is, besides, my very warm friend, and the firmest spiritual stay and staff which I have here."

Follen and Channing kept in constant touch either in person or by correspondence. The letters which they exchanged during the summer of 1827 indicate their deep regard

[1] *Works,* I, 172.

[2] Ibid., I, 167.

for each other as also the mutual benefit which they derived from their intimate association. While absent in New York, in May, Channing wrote to Follen concerning the death of the latter's friend and compatriot, Dr. Bardili, in that city, closing his letter as follows:[1] "This event may be used by us to confirm in us that spirit of self-sacrifice, of which we have so often spoken. When we see what a vapor life is, how suddenly dissolved, we should dismiss our anxiety about prolonging it, and count that man the most privileged, who, instead of wasting it in efforts to escape its end, offers it up freely in the cause of God and man, of freedom and religion. I owe to you some interesting views on this subject, and hope to renew our conversation on my return."

To this letter Follen replied in July. Two short passages of his letter[2] concerning immortality and the Deity may be quoted here: "It is gratifying to my feelings that my friend, before his death, has seen you, and beheld in your eyes the reflection of that look of love which was soon to welcome him to heaven. There, in a wider sphere of exertion and enjoyment, I hope to meet him again, with many of those privileged of men who, 'instead of wasting their life in efforts to escape its end, have offered it up freely in the cause of God and man, of freedom and religion.' I hope to meet him there, if my exertions do not fall short of my ardent desire to keep, as Milton says, in tune with heaven. And in this respect I owe to you, my most excellent friend, much more than I am capable of expressing. * * * There are several theological subjects concerning which I desire your opinion and advice. But my mind is now unfortunately so much distracted with different occupations, that all my attempts at writing down a series of thoughts prove unsuccessful. Yet, while the minor faculties of the mind are engaged in transitory pursuits, the deepest and fondest exertions of my soul are directed to that universal Mind, which is revealed in the creation and in the highest results of inspired wisdom. The more my mind presses on

[1] Ibid., I, 174.

[2] Ibid., I, 175ff.

toward that all-seeing Light, so much the more its warmth expands and attracts my heart, as if to assure me, that wisdom and love, as well as light and warmth, flow from the same eternal source." This somewhat pantheistic conception of God along with his warmth of religious feeling shows again the influence of Schleiermacher.

At the close of the letter Follen expresses a desire to spend the month of August with Channing at Newport, where the latter was taking his summer vacation, in order to receive some assistance from him on a series of lectures on religion which he was preparing. To this Channing replied as follows:[1] "I thank you for your kind letter. It was, of course, gratifying to me. To know that I have contributed at all to the peace and progress of such a mind as yours is a great happiness. I wish you to feel that you have paid your debt. My interviews with you have been highly interesting; and I owe to them views and impressions, which have quickened and enriched my mind."

Channing procured lodgings for Follen near his own and gladly welcomed his arrival. The vacation was spent in the closest friendly association, in walks and drives and scholarly discussions. "He has often spoken to me," says Follen's biographer,[2] "of the high enjoyment he derived from the free, intimate communion he had this summer with his friend, Dr. Channing. The highest and holiest subjects were the themes of their conversation. They often took very different views. But as truth, not victory, was ever their object their differences of opinion served to shed more light upon the mind of each, and to add another charm to their affectionate and happy intercourse."

In the autumn of 1827 the teacher's meetings at Dr. Channing's were resumed and Follen was always present as one of the leaders in the discussion of the evening. Through their close association during the summer vacation Channing began to recognize more clearly than ever that Follen was no

[1] Ibid., I, 178.

[2] Ibid., I, 179.

ordinary man, and from this time on the latter was a regular visitor at his home. About this time Follen began to keep a diary, which he continued for a period of nearly four months, recording many of his conversations and discussions with some of the main leaders of the Unitarian movement. His biographer has given us some "extracts" [1] from this journal with the statement that much has been withheld from publication on account of its personal nature. If the complete record were available it would perhaps throw much new light upon Follen's importance for the development of later Unitarianism, but the "extracts" alone indicate to some extent what an important role he was playing in the intellectual life of Cambridge, apart from his activity as instructor in German in the College. This incomplete record from November 5th to February 26th shows that in addition to attending the regular fortnightly meetings at Dr. Channing's, Follen spent on the average at least one evening per week with him in private discussion of religious, philosophical, and sociological subjects. Among the questions discussed such as the following may be mentioned: The personality of God; the nature of Christ; immortality; free agency; moral and religious education; Christianity as a particular form of religion; religious instruction of children; the value of imaginative literature and of fiction in general on the education of children; Schiller's idea of the cooperation of kindred minds for the discovery of truth. Besides discussing such subjects in general Channing often requested Follen to read to him from such works as Foster's Rise and Progress of Religion, Tennemann's History of Philosophy, and de Gerando's discussion of Kant's idealism. Many of these discussions gave Follen the opportunity, as the diary shows, to present not only the views of the greatest German minds, but to advance arguments of his own, some of which were new and interesting to Channing. One of the last entries in the diary shows that Channing decided under the inspiration of these discussions to study German.

The benefits derived from this close intellectual communion were of course mutual. It is quite probable that Channing

[1] Ibid., I, 182ff.

learned as much from Follen as the latter did from the former. It seems that a man like Channing would hardly have spent his valuable time one evening a week with Follen if the latter had not had something valuable to offer him. No one in Boston, not even in America, had at that time so broad a grasp on the modern system of German theology and philosophy as Follen, and it was probably to this rich fund of knowledge and its liberating spirit that Channing was attracted.[1] Although we have no record on which to rely, there is no reason to suppose that these private discussions were ever discontinued, for both lived near each other and remained intimate friends until Follen's death. Miss Peabody, who at that time usually spent her evenings at Channing's, observes[2] that she heard the two men talk together a great deal, and that while they often took very different views on special subjects they agreed on general principles. Although Channing, as we have seen, had become interested in German thought he seems to have been somewhat suspicious of it until after he came in contact with Follen, for according to Ripley[3] he cautiously advised William Emerson in 1823 to study at Cambridge rather than at Göttingen since he believed that so far as moral influence and religious feeling were concerned a New England minister could obtain the best education at Cambridge. Between this date and the time he met Follen Channing had access to no other sources of information concerning German thought than he already possessed, but after a year's intellectual intercourse with Follen, perhaps far more extensive than the diary and correspondence indicate, Channing had become so greatly interested in German philosophy that he decided at the age of 48 to study the German language in order to gain a first-hand knowledge of German thought.

The purpose of this whole discussion is to show simply

[1] In her *Reminiscences of Channing*, 301, Miss Peabody states explicitly that Channing unaffectedly regarded Follen as his superior in learning and Christian character.

[2] Cf. *Sprague's Annals*, VIII, 546.

[3] Cf. Frothingham, *Life of George Ripley*, 20f.

that if Channing actually recognized the master minds of Germany as his leaders, as his biographer asserts, Follen was in all probability one of the important sources of his information concerning their teachings. Although no attempt is made here to show that Follen in any way changed Channing's mature thought,[1] it seems reasonable to assume, however, that he did to some extent influence some of his later views. At any rate John White Chadwick, one of Channing's biographers and a man of critical insight and fine literary sense, speaks thus:[2] "I have seemed to find in Channing's later thought more of Follen's than of any other personal influence. Those tendencies in his preaching which were deplored as transcendental were quite surely, in some measure, developments of germs which fell into his own from Follen's fruitful mind."

The diary shows also that Follen associated intimately with other Unitarian leaders, such as Ware, Palfrey, Peabody, Higginson, and others, discussing with them theology, philosophy, and literature, and stimulating their interest in his broad, enlightened views on religion and ethics.

James Freeman Clarke, another of the great Unitarian leaders, owed his enthusiasm for German thought in some measure at least to Follen. He entered Harvard in 1825, the year before Follen began to teach German there, and was graduated with the class of 1829. He then entered the Divinity School and for another year was in direct touch with Follen. Clarke's high tribute to Follen, which has been quoted in the preceding chapter, may be taken as an expression of the general esteem in which he was held by at least some of the leaders of the Transcendental movement and an acknowledgment of his influence upon them.

As teacher of ethics in the Theological School Follen's sphere of influence was greatly increased, for this position not only brought him into closer relation with many prominent Unitarians outside of college circles, but also into close touch

[1] Follen wrote to Beck that Channing was always ready to accept the views of others if he found them better than his own. *Works*, I, 284.

[2] *William Ellery Channing*, 383.

with many of the theological students, who were afterwards to become prominent leaders of the new movement.

* * * * * *

While the radical wing of the Unitarians hailed the great influx of German writings, the conservatives began to look askance at these philosophical and religious teachings, regarding them as contaminating and irreligious, and gradually arraying themselves against them. As this antagonism grew Follen sought in private and in public to dispel this erroneous notion. In his Inaugural Address he defends German philosophy as follows: 'While German speculation has in its attempts to solve the riddle of the universe produced some definite and important results its greatest value consists in the unwearied and never-satisfied striving of the mind to fathom and comprehend itself and that whole of which itself is only a portion. Jacob, who wrestled with the angel, bearing off in his lameness a revelation of omnipotence, is the true emblem of German philosophy. It is valuable chiefly as mental gymnastics to methodically unfold, invigorate, and refine the powers of the mind. Its genius is a spirit of laborious, thorough-going investigation into the nature of things,—an attempt to survey the whole region of faith and doubt, to investigate the origin and elements of all science, to analyze every conception and idea which we formulate in the domain of truth. This spirit of free inquiry has often been accused of a tendency to materialism and skepticism and to a denial of those spiritual realities which form the foundation of the Christian faith—the soul of man and the soul of the universe; but the fact is, that while the whole school of modern philosophy, both the French and the English, are advocates of materialism, the records of German philosophy from Leibnitz to Kant and his disciples do not exhibit the name of a single materialist or absolute skeptic. This phenomenon is not due to lack of freedom in expressing opinions different from those laid down by established creeds supported by government or by popular opinion, for in no country is there so much liberty in the profession of philosophical and religious opinions since the Reformation as in

Germany. The cause of this freedom is to be found in the very character itself of German philosophy, namely its loyalty to spiritual truth and its tendency to universal comprehensiveness. The philosophical tendency of the German mind has had a decided influence on every department of learning. Every branch of science from the highest to the lowest, from the works on religion and morality to those of agriculture and forestry are characterized by the same scientific method. It is to this faithful workmanship and exact painstaking method in literary criticism especially that the excellence of German literature is largely due.'

After this brief defense of German philosophy Follen added a few pertinent remarks on the progress of religious science in Germany: 'German scholars were especially preeminent,' he points out, 'in the fields of ecclesiastical history and biblical criticism. Nowhere have the primary and vital truths of divinity been so fully acknowledged and scientifically established as in the works of German philosophers and theologians such as Herder and Jacobi. These men conceive of religion not as a set of precepts inculcated by the church or the school, but as a native and indistructible principle of the heart; and theology not as the arbitrary fabric of a dogmatic and philosophizing imagination, but as the knowledge of the essence and source of all reality, the ultimate result of the most thorough study of nature and of man. Upon almost every doctrinal point there is a great variety of individual opinion, hence every theological work published must be considered as the author's own opinion and not the statements of any select group of people. Out of respect for the rights of individual judgment and for the spirit of free inquiry the public is inclined to hold in esteem every one whose conduct is marked by a sense of truth, justice, and benevolence, whatever be his religious sentiments; hence in expressing his own peculiar views, every one thinks chiefly of what seems true to himself and not of what he may gain or lose in society by a frank profession of his views. This freedom of thought has caused many to place the stamp of skepticism upon German theology, but unbelief in spiritual realities is really not indigen-

ous to the German mind. Even those who reject the historical facts of Christianity still embrace its spiritual essence; hence they cannot be classed as skeptics like the followers of Hume. Every German who has only a general acquaintance with the history of philosophy and who listens to the voices of the living and dead, speaking to him through their works, feels himself girt about by a host of witnesses to the reality and eternity of things not seen. If faith is the groundwork and if love, or a vital interest in perfection, in truth, goodness, and beauty, is the soul of religion, then it may be said that everyone who has enjoyed a German education has had his mind nurtured in religion and in it has lived and moved and had his being.'

It is not improbable that this defense of German theologians in the Inaugural Address, of which Ripley wrote an enthusiastic review in the Christian Examiner,[1] was the first inspiration to Ripley for his defense of Schleiermacher and De Wette against the charge of atheism made by Professor Norton.

VIEWS ON RELIGION.

Follen gave an exposition of his theory of the nature of religion partly in his lectures on moral philosophy and partly in a series of tracts[2] published in 1836. In his attempt to trace religion to its foundation he made use of no external authority, but appealed only to such facts as come under the observation of everyone who, as he said, uses his senses and reason. He addressed himself to no particular class of persons, but to all observing, thinking men and women in general, whether they regarded religion as the source of good or of evil, as a reality or a delusion, as a remarkable phenomenon of history or as a principle implanted in human nature. He did not advocate or oppose any particular creed or form of worship, for he was in full sympathy with everyone who refused assent to any system of faith that did not satisfy the enquiring mind. While his reason compelled him to reject the

[1] Vol. XI (1832).

[2] Given in *Works,* V, 254-313.

religious dogmas peculiar to each creed he had a deep religious sympathy for all, for he recognized in every form of faith, even in the fearless freedom of sincere skepticism the same vital principle. He maintained that the advocates of different systems should join in searching for this fundamental element of religion instead of fixing upon and defending against each other points upon which they disagree.

In answer to the question concerning the true essence of religion Follen replies[1] that it is a peculiar universal element of human nature; the highest manifestation of that principle of progress which we observe in the different orders of beings throughout creation. Not only in those systems which are supported by experience and sound analogical reasoning, but also in those which are not consistent with facts established by observation and history Follen sees the essential tendency of man to look beyond the finite in search of the infinite; and it is this impulse toward perfection, this tendency of human nature toward the infinite, that he considers the true substance of religion. The true religious principle, as he expresses it,[2] may be likened to the science of astronomy or of chemistry, while the different systems of faith in which it is garbed are as unstable as the dreams of astrology or the vagaries of alchemy. To use Follen's figure, the savage worships the rolling stone ascribing its motion to an indwelling power which his credulity has personified, but the scientist explains the motion as the necessary effect of gravitation. Since the savage and the philosopher worship the same mysterious power that is manifest in the rolling stone and in the system of rolling worlds, it is clear, Follen concludes, that true religion does not consist in the object of faith, but in the principle of faith.

The true element of religion like that of morality is, according to Follen's conception,[3] the innate desire of man for the greatest happiness, but this desire, as he points out, does not identify religion with morality; it shows merely that both

[1] Ibid., 286f.

[2] Ibid., V, 270f.

[3] Cf. Lectures, *Works,* III, 225f.

rest upon the same foundation. Morality, he explains, is the direction of the mind toward that happiness which results from a striving after the greatest efficiency, after perfection, while religion is the direction of the mind toward the happiness which results from the desire and belief that the world is so constituted and governed as to make possible the greatest perfection. The attainment of perfection depends not only upon man himself, upon his faculties and moral effort, but also partly, as Follen understands it, upon Providence, upon the power which has created the universe in such a way that man is aided in his striving after it. Man's desire and belief that the world be so organized and directed as to conform to his wants and needs is then, according to Follen's view, the foundation of religion, and from this desire and belief proceeds his restless striving after an ever-enlarging sphere of existence and action. Whether a person believes that this providential direction of the world is vested in the eternal laws of nature, in a polytheistic control, or in one supreme Deity who controls the course of events in such a way as to enable man to form his own character and to become the author of his own happiness or misery; or whether he believes this providential agency is independent of man's effort and must be secured by prayers or the magic power of priests,—all these various beliefs are only different forms of the same principle. The moral man, as Follen explains it, is like the husbandman who expects the harvest as a result of his own painstaking efforts in preparing the soil and sowing the seed; but the religious man recognizes that the seed sown will not yield the desired harvest unless sunshine and rain are sent by the Almighty's hand. From this standpoint religion is a feeling of dependence on God for physical and spiritual laws which will enable man to exercise all his faculties for the attainment of divine perfection, and which will give free scope to his natural tendency toward the infinite.

On the whole it may be said that Follen considers religion not as theological speculation, not as belief in dogmas, nor as moral actions, but as a pious contemplation of the harmonious workings of the universe; as a natural impulse toward and a

reverent feeling of dependence on the Infinite Spirit in whom we live and move and have our being—a view [1] quite in harmony with the doctrine of Schleiermacher. From Schleiermacher he accepts the view that religion is an innate principle of the soul, a feeling for the infinite, a sense of dependence on God. The orthodox party considered religion as an abstract doctrine for the promotion of morals; Kant considered morals as the basis of religion; but Follen like Schleiermacher maintains that although religion and morals are essentially connected and have a common foundation in human nature, they are nevertheless independent of each other. One of the greatest merits of Follen's system is the doctrine of the social nature of religion. He considers the church not as an instrument for moral education, but as an association of people seeking after religious truth through the mutual exchange of religious views. Since religious ideas are reflections of religious feelings, he believed that the greater the variety of them the better, since each individual is in this way more apt to find that which will satisfy his own peculiar needs.

While Follen's lectures on ethics and religion show the influence of Kant, Fichte, Schiller, Fries and Schleiermacher, they contain features also which demonstrate his originality as a thinker. On the whole they are a prophecy of freedom from beginning to end. It is to be presumed, however, that Follen did far more in his private conversations and in his two years' instruction in the Divinity School to promote a knowledge of German philosophical thought than he was able to do in his series of popular lectures. His broad and liberal interpretation of the New Testament, his doctrine of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, moral freedom, the dignity of human nature, the incarnation of God in humanity, which is always progressing toward perfection, toward the divine life to come, must have made a deep impression upon those students who were later to enter into the new religious movement, tending to liberate them from the bondage of Calvinistic

[1] Follen was doubtlessly influenced in his religious views by Benjamin Constant's work on religion as indicated by quotations from this work in *Works,* III, 229f., and V, 255. In the *American Quarterly Review* (March, 1832) he gave a lengthy exposition of Constant's work.

theology and to inspire them with a sense of inner freedom. In his eulogy on Follen, W. H. Channing, one of the notable Transcendentalists, speaks as follows [1] concerning his influence upon Harvard students: "It may be safely said that no young man ever passed through his classes without imbibing as by moral contagion, self-respect, honorable ambition, and courtesy. To many he gave the key to the richest tongue of modern times, and awakened a desire to explore and work the virgin mines of thought and feeling which that language opened up to them." Thus Follen was able to contribute in some measure to the preparation of the soil from which was to spring the religious movement of which he had vaguely dreamed.

In addition to his lectures on Ethics and Religion Follen gave publicity to his religious thought through the medium of the Christian Teacher's Manual [2] also, one of the first Sunday School publications in New England. Although the articles in the Manual are all anonymous, there is both external and internal evidence that Follen was the author of many of them. The preface of the first volume, written by Follen,[3] states that the aim of the Manual is to assist both teachers and parents in their duties as religious instructors by providing them with such material and views as they might not otherwise be able to procure. Exchange of views, mutual cooperation for the discovery of knowledge, as Follen learned from Schiller, was the main object. Follen points out here that former attempts at religious instruction had not been accomodated to the minds of children, and that much light was needed on a subject so important to the young and to the interests of society. He wished to see religious feeling awakened in the church with all dogmatic views excluded. He advocated that the material for religious instruction should be taken chiefly from the works of God. His method was to lead the minds of the children to a knowledge and love of the universal Father by a study of the order and beauty of Nature. His aim was here

[1] *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII, 52ff.

[2] Edited by Mrs. Follen, Boston, April, 1828—April, 1830.

[3] Cf. Follen's diary, *Works*, I, 240.

as in his lectures to show that religion and morals are closely connected; to make the teachers realize and through them to make the children feel that every time they were faithful to what is considered duty, every time they had a generous thought, every time they denied themselves anything from an idea of right, every time they obeyed conscience they pleased and obeyed God. Harangues on duty and explanation of scriptures, he emphasizes, have little effect on character or in calling forth religious feeling, but it is the incipient whispers of conscience that must be held as laws of conduct.

In various articles upon such questions as the subject-matter of lessons, the method to be pursued, requisites of religious teachers, lessons on the mind, the use and authority of reason in religious instruction, etc., Follen addressed himself to the Sunday School teachers, advocating the Pestalozzian principles of education, the Kantian and Fichtean systems of ethics, and Schleiermacher's doctrines of religion. It is not too much to presume that in this way he gave to a class of people outside of academic circles some insight at least into German thought. There are also in the Manual sketches of Herder's, Luther's, and Claudius' writings, which quite probably came from Follen's pen.

CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE AS A PREACHER.

From his youth Follen, as we have seen, had taken the deepest interest in questions pertaining to religion and morals, and his whole education had fitted him to become a religious teacher. With a heart full of love for humanity he was not content to devote his entire energy to the teaching of language and literature in Harvard, but desired a still broader sphere of influence in which to instruct his fellow men in the more momentous truths concerning the nature and destiny of man. This was his reason for entering the ministry.

In his loving contemplation of the wondrous harmony of the universe he recognized the essential relation of man to the external world. Thus impressed with the dignity of human nature he not only reverenced the divinity of his own soul, but

was inspired with a deep love for all mankind because he considered them the children of God. The nobility and immortality of the human soul was the central thought of his whole philosophic and religious interest; and the conception of man as a free moral agent, created to attain perfection, was the guiding principle of all his thinking as well as the abiding doctrine of his whole life. The emphasis which he placed upon the inherent nobility of human nature and the inalienable rights of the soul to free development toward perfection was in direct opposition to Calvinistic theology. In his extreme religious individualism he placed more confidence in truth as expressed by the conscience of the individual than in any external authority; hence he believed that the free spirit of man should not be bound by tradition, but that all dogmas and theories, whether social, political, or religious, should be tested by human reason and sentiment alone. He taught men to look at the world as it is without reference to dogmas and creeds; to see beauty everywhere; to seek God in nature and in their own souls; to make a heaven on earth, and to think of immortality as beginning here and now. This was a new way of looking at life, a new faith, a new religious belief quite different from the formalism and moralizing that gave the religious life of the time its chief stamp.

The purpose of the Christian ministry, as he conceived it, [1] is not to develop the religious character of men, but merely to aid them in its formation and to stimulate them in increasing their own exertions and responsibilities. To this end he applied himself diligently to the study of nature, theology, the Bible, and the life of Christ for the acquisition of exalting truth. He looked upon nature, especially human nature, as a temple of religious truth and used the Bible as a key to decipher the teachings inscribed upon its walls. His was no timeserving ministry. In his public services he spoke the truth as he felt it in his heart, and delivered his message as if he believed in its infinite importance. The main characteristic of his preaching was complete independence in thought and ex-

[1] *Works*, I, 494f.

pression. He was guided not by the likes and dislikes of his hearers, but by the consideration of what he deemed important for the formation of their religious character. A fearless, manly character, he gave clear and powerful expression to whatever he apprehended as truth, whether his hearers could accept it or not, confessing his doubts and beliefs regardless of the prejudices and opinions of his audience, often at the risk of his popularity and office. He was undaunted by the authority of any man; and although he had the greatest respect for the views of others, no consideration could restrain him from opposing firmly though courteously any traditional opinion which he conscientiously believed contrary to truth and justice, whether advocated by friend or foe. In order to make the broadest appeal he adapted his arguments to the capacities and wants of all, saint and sinner, believer or skeptic. Follen was a practical exponent of the views which he held concerning the duties of a Christian minister. He was actuated by a desire not merely to impart knowledge, but to unite his fellow men by a bond of love and fellowship; to make them feel that religion was not a mere speculation, but a living reality. In his private intercourse he was a man among men. As a spiritual guide he quickened the religious life of his people as much by his friendly social intercourse as by his intellectual powers, entering sympathetically into all their joys and sorrows, visiting the sick and afflicted and administering to the poor and needy. It was this genuine respect and love for men that made him so influential as a minister of the Gospel.

As a religious teacher Follen no doubt reached the climax of his influence during his ministry in New York. Besides his regular pastoral duties he gave his attention to all philanthropic enterprises and cooperated heartily with all benevolent associations so far as they appealed to his conscience. He gave also several courses of lectures on Unitarianism, another on the Domestic and Social Relations, one on German literature, and before the Brooklyn Lyceum a discourse upon Republicanism and Slavery.[1] These lectures made a deep im-

[1] Cf. *Works*, I, 462, 481, 473.

pression upon the intellectual circles of New York, and they received such favorable comment in the papers that he was invited to deliver the course on Unitarianism in Washington. This he did, preaching with such power and eloquence that he was offered the pastorate of the Unitarian Society in that city. But one of the greatest services that he rendered to the cause of liberal Christianity was to deliver a series of lectures[1] on the subject of Infidelity. As already noted, there was in New England at the beginning of the nineteenth century a general tendency to skepticism. This moral revolt against the spiritual bondage which the harsher features of Calvinism had imposed upon the minds of reasonable men was especially pronounced in New York, while Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" and Fanny Wright's lectures had tended also to breed a spirit of general unbelief in all religious values. In his youth Follen had passed triumphantly through this same experience and knew how to sympathize with men who were struggling with doubts and unbelief. Imbued with a love of free and independent thought and desirous of aiding his fellow men in their progress toward perfection, he eagerly grasped this opportunity to present his views on religion and at the same time do justice to the so-called infidels. He knew that skepticism usually grows out of an earnest desire to be assured of the rational foundations of faith; therefore he maintained that it is as unjust to accuse a man of willful unbelief as to accuse a man of dishonesty, who, in casting up an account, makes an error disadvantageous to himself. He believed that honest skepticism must of necessity precede a reasonable faith; that both the individual and society can make intellectual and spiritual progress only by a free exchange of thought and a mutual confession of doubt.[2]

In the course of these lectures, as excerpts in his works show, he gave a discussion of the English Deists, the French Encyclopædists, Thomas Paine, and Fanny Wright, pointing out what he considered the false grounds and inconsistencies

[1] Excerpts of these lectures are given in *Works*, I, 445ff.

[2] Ibid., I, 446.

upon which unbelievers base their arguments, and from passages in the "Age of Reason" proving to his own satisfaction that even Thomas Paine believed in God and immortality. He maintained that it is not only a duty but also advantageous to the unbeliever to examine the objections to Christianity, for any difficulty left unexamined would lead to doubt, whereas careful investigation might lead to conviction. Since his own belief in the divine truth of the Gospel had been promoted by studying the books written against it, he believed that a free and fair investigation of Christianity would open up an infinite sphere to free inquiry and thereby lead to a true and abiding faith. He characterized Christianity as a sublime philosophy adapted to the understanding of the child yet transcending the wisdom of the sage; as a system whose scientific character makes it one of the most efficient checks to imposition and blind credulity, and which should therefore neither be adopted nor rejected without earnest mental effort. The fact that the Bible teaches immortality, he says,[1] is no reason why one should not seek other evidence of this doctrine, for God has endowed man with an infinite desire to extend his knowledge, and unless he makes use of his intellect he can never feel that there is no reason for doubting. Follen told his audiences plainly that he could see no irreverence in questioning the doctrine of the Gospel, for to him it seemed that there could be no basis for an abiding belief in its truth unless its fundamental teachings could stand the test of reason; unless its principles could be considered a subject of free interpretation rather than a mere matter of fact and history. The Bible, he maintained,[2] gives us only the means of arriving at truth, not truth itself, for "Man finds the law and the prophets in his own soul."

In these lectures Follen gave such a liberal and reasonable interpretation of the Bible and Christianity, and was so fair in his treatment of the skeptics, that many of them were made to see that they had been at variance not with religion, but with Calvinistic theology, and were thus converted to the cause of

[1] Ibid., I, 448.

[2] Ibid., I, 449.

liberal Christianity. The general effect of these lectures was so far-reaching that a movement was soon set on foot to establish a great free church in New York with Follen as its pastor.[1] It was one of Follen's fondest hopes to found a church upon what he considered the true Christian principle: that of universal brotherhood; a church whose doors should be open alike to Jew and Gentile, to believers and unbelievers, —to all whose creed was toleration and universal love, to all who were in search of truth. His object was to introduce a more truly social worship and to have the whole congregation enter into all devotional exercises. He wished also to place women on an equality with men, and to encourage everyone to speak from the pulpit according to his or her gifts. For a time it seemed probable that the project would be carried out, but for want of sufficient encouragement it finally came to naught.

The last two years of Follen's ministry were spent in and near Boston. Here he repeated his lectures on Infidelity, and on two different occasions delivered a series of lectures on the history of Pantheism. The question of the relation between God and the world,—whether there is a God of nature or whether nature is God, was a subject to which he had devoted years of faithful study. Although he was hardly in sympathy with the pantheistic tendency of the new school of theology, with which he fully identified himself, he believed that a fair discussion of the subject would be a real aid to the cause of true religion. During these two years he took part also in the meetings of the Transcendental Club as indicated by the following extract from a letter [2] to Miss Martineau in December, 1838: "I have lately attended a meeting of some of the leaders of the new school of Unitarians. A clear determination to break loose from the Unitarian orthodoxy, and a vague conception of something greater and better with marked individuality of opinion and mutual respect, characterized the discussion." He made another effort also to carry out his plan

[1] Cf. *Works*, I, 496.

[2] Ibid., I, 506.

for a free church on broad, unsectarian principles, but the time was not yet ripe for the full realization of the projected religious reform which hovered before his eyes.

At the beginning of his ministry Follen carefully wrote out his sermons, but gradually discarded this practice, sometimes writing them out in part, again writing only an outline, and often preaching entirely extempore. He did not move his audience by a passionate appeal, but held their attention by his earnestness, logic, and wealth of profound thoughts.[1] By many he was considered metaphysical and abstract, and those who did not attempt to follow his train of reasoning called his sermons uninteresting. A perusal of his printed sermons bears out the statement of his biographer that the thought which he put into one discourse was sufficient to furnish the ordinary preacher with material for a dozen sermons. The clearness with which he sought to unfold his subject sometimes made the statement of his thoughts dry, but his manner was always eloquent. Dr. Peabody,[2] who often heard him preach, characterizes his sermons as "instructive and impressive, weighty in thought, full fraught with devotional feeling, written in a style both full and simple, and delivered with solemnity and earnestness though without oratorical adornment." W. H. Channing[3] considered him most successful in his extempore addresses, characterizing him in the following words: "The thought seemed to pour from deep inward stores in language made fluent by his fervor; accordingly great beauty of fancy played over the surface of his arguments." As he gained in experience he became less abstruse, holding the interest of his hearer by his direct personal appeal. He never dogmatized, but made the reason and conscience of the individual stand at

[1] Cf. Letter of Rev. George F. Simmons in *Sprague's Annals,* VIII, 544.

[2] *Harvard Reminiscences,* 121; Peabody remarks also that Follen's failure to pronounce the th-sound was the only peculiarity of utterance that would have betrayed him as a foreigner; that his use of English was as free from solecisms and inaccuracies as if it had been his vernacular.

[3] *Christian Examiner,* XXXIII, 53f.

the bar in witness of the truths he proclaimed. He aroused men to do themselves justice and to learn the wealth of their own experience. "No one can have listened to his preaching," says James Freeman Clarke,[1] "without honoring the man and feeling the power of the truth, which he dispensed so much according to the spirit." The clear, chaste style, the interesting subject matter, and the deep moral earnestness of his discourses caused Judge Cranch of Washington to speak of him as a perfect model of pulpit eloquence.[2] The few sermons which he committed to writing form one volume of his published works. These show a wide range of subjects with abundant illustrations drawn from common life, and are written in a style of pungent directness and unaffected pathos. The one golden note which rings throughout every discourse, the one theme on which Follen loves to dwell, is that of Freedom and Immortality,—the tendency of the human mind to infinite progress and its capability of approaching continuously, through moral action and religious feeling, to divine perfection.

* * * * * *

Although Riley seems inclined to believe that the views of Emerson, the chief representative of Transcendental thought in America, were for the most part original, he speaks nevertheless about the transcendental movement as a whole as follows:[3] "It may safely be said that the German influence on American thought has been the most significant and the most weighty of all foreign forces. This is due in large measure to the after effect of that great epoch of German humanism systematized by the names of Goethe and Kant, Schiller and Fichte. The very substance of the life-work of these men and their company consisted in this, that they replaced the ecclesiastical doctrine of atonement by the belief in the saving quality of restless striving. * * * They trusted in the essential goodness of all life; they conceived of the uni-

[1] *Western Messenger*, October, 1836.

[2] *Works*, I, 444.

[3] *American Thought*, 229ff.

verse as a spiritual being, engaged in constant self-revelation and in a constant struggle toward higher forms of existence." The discussion in the foregoing pages is an attempt to show in some measure that this was the very doctrine that Follen brought with him from Germany in 1824, and which he proclaimed on every occasion, both in his teaching and preaching, in public and in private, in his intercourse with the learned men of Boston and with the Harvard students who were later to become the leaders of the new movement.

Upon its introduction into New England, as Frothingham testifies, the transcendental philosophy took root and blossomed out in every form of social life, becoming thus a highly important factor in shaping our national life. To use his exact words:[1] "It affected thinkers, swayed politicians, guided moralists, inspired philanthropists, created reformers. The moral enthusiasm which broke out with such prodigious power in the holy war against slavery; which uttered such earnest protests against capital punishment, and the wrongs inflicted on women; which made such passionate pleading in behalf of the weak, the injured, the disfranchised of every race and condition; which exalted humanity above institutions, and proclaimed the inherent worth of men,—owed, in larger measure than is suspected, its glow and force to the Transcendentalists."

If the views of such writers as Frothingham and Riley are correct; if New England Transcendentalism was a new way of looking at the world and the facts of human existence; if it was a call for immediate application of ideas to life; and especially if it owed its origin, in some measure, to German thought; then as one of the earliest interpreters of German romantic literature and the German systems of philosophy in this country, and as an active leader in the important reform movements of the time Follen was not only from the metaphysical but also from the practical standpoint at least a harbinger if not one of the earliest pioneers of the movement.

[1] *Transcendentalism in New England,* Preface Vf.

CHAPTER III.

HIS ANTISLAVERY ACTIVITY.

It is one of the characteristics of the philosophy, of which Follen as the representative of German literature became the interpreter, that it did not resign itself to the mere establishment of abstract systems, but that it strove to carry its message into actual life. This is true especially of the philosophy of Fichte, which placed the greatest emphasis upon the will and the deed. "Alles Höhere," says Fichte,[1] "muss eingreifen wollen auf seine Weise in die unmittelbare Gegenwart und wer wahrhaftig in jenem (Höheren) lebt, lebt zugleich auch in der letzteren." Like Fichte, his teacher and model, Follen believed that the knowledge of the true scholar consists in visions of a spiritual world that does not yet exist, in pictures of a world that is to be realized by man's actions. It is from this point of view that we can understand his active interest in the political affairs of this country, and the motives which impelled him to enter into the antislavery movement.

After landing in this country Follen became at once a keen observer of our national life. Although he was pleased with the general atmosphere of democracy, he gradually became impressed more and more with what he considered a striking contrast between our republican institutions and our habits of thought.[2] On the one hand the American people professed to believe in freedom and independence in spiritual matters, yet the partisan spirit in religion and politics often made public opinion extremely tyrannical; on the other hand, in liberty and equality, yet they held millions of human beings in physical bondage. Like the forty-eighters a quarter of a century later Follen felt that this republic fell short of the political Utopia he had imagined it. With prophetic vision he saw that if America was to realize the high ideals of the

[1] Cf. 12th Address to the German Nation, *Sämtliche Werke,* VII, 447.

[2] Address on the Cause of Freedom in our Country, *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine,* October, 1836; also *Works,* I, 478; cf. also his letter to Dr. Bowring, *Works,* I, 335ff.

founders of the republic, if it was to become the hope of the world, liberty and equality, both spiritual and physical, would have to become a fact as well as a theory. Despite these inconsistencies, however, he did not lose faith in democratic principles, but dedicated himself anew to the cause of freedom and stood ready to struggle and suffer if necessary in opposing the same principles that had driven him from his native land. The part which he took in the intellectual regeneration of this country has been recounted. The rôle which he played in the movement for the abolition of chattel slavery will be the theme of the following pages.

THE ANTISLAVERY PROPAGANDA PRIOR TO 1830.

It is a well-known historical fact that there was a strong current of opposition to the institution of slavery during the colonial period of our history, especially by the Quakers of Pennsylvania;[1] and the Declaration of Independence embodying the political philosophy of the 18th century concerning the natural rights of man gave a still greater impulse to the antislavery sentiment.[2] Impressed by the inconsistency of waging a heroic war for emancipation from despotic foreign rule while holding in bondage a half million slaves, the Revolutionary fathers sought to check the encroachment of a system which made merchandise out of human beings. For a quarter of a century thereafter philanthropic men in the South as well as in the North carried on an antislavery propaganda, organizing societies for improving the condition of the slaves as well as for bringing about their freedom; and during the same period several New England states abolished slavery by constitutional provisions while some of the middle states enacted measures for gradual emancipation.[3]

As early as 1776 it was discovered at the drafting of the Declaration of Independence that the North and South were

[1] Goodell, *Slavery and Antislavery,* 35ff.

[2] Ibid., 69ff.

[3] Ibid., 99ff.

already at odds over slavery,[1] and this disagreement became still more evident in the Constitional Convention of 1787 as shown by a compromise concerning the representation of the slaves on a two-thirds ratio in the House of Representatives.[2] Not only did the people assume, perhaps correctly, that the Constitution tacitly recognized slavery as a legal institution, but the products of slave labor were beginning to pour such a stream of gold into the coffers of the northern merchants and manufacturers that the question of abolition gradually came to be regarded as a subject too dangerous to be discussed. Owing to the belief also that slavery would gradually be subverted after the prohibition of the foreign slave-trade, the early abolition propaganda subsided to a great extent.[3] For a short time the Missouri controversy of 1820 again aroused serious thought on the subject, but Clay's compromise lulled the people into such a state of acquiescence, and the Colonization project drew their attention from the main issue to such an extent that by the close of another decade neither the pulpit nor the press made more than an occasional allusion to the subject.[4]

In spite of this lethargy of public opinion, however, the antislavery sentiment was kept alive by a number of earnest men both in the free and in the slave states. Among these is to be mentioned especially the New Jersey Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, who as early as 1815 was traveling up and down the country from one state to another speaking against slavery and organizing antislavery societies.[5] Lundy founded also an antislavery paper, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," which he published successively in several different cities, and finally in Baltimore. In 1828 he was attracted by the antislavery writings of William Lloyd Garrison, then a young man 23 years of age, who was publishing a newspaper in Benning-

[1] von Holst, *Constitutional History of the U. S.*, I, 282.

[2] Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 155.

[3] May, *Recollections of the Antislavery Conflict*, 6.

[4] Hart, 165f.

[5] May, 11ff.

ton, Vermont, and in the following year persuaded him to come to Baltimore to assist him in editing the "Genius", "thus putting the burning torch into the hands of the man raised up by Providence to lead the new crusade against the slave power." [1] The first hand knowledge of slavery which Garrison gained in the slave market of Baltimore convinced him that it should be abolished immediately and unconditionally. With this program in view he returned to Boston and on New Years day, 1831, issued the first number of the *Liberator,*—an event which is usually regarded as the beginning of the so-called Garrisonian Abolition propaganda.

Although slavery no longer existed in New England the slave power had thoroughly intrenched itself in commercial affairs, and the proslavery sentiment had become almost universal in political, ecclesiastical, academic, and social circles. Consequently when the *Liberator* appeared with its radical doctrine of immediate abolition an angry protest went up from the South, and the northern business men, yielding to these appeals, decried the antislavery commotion as a dangerous conspiracy. The pulpit and the press also denounced it as unconstitutional and revolutionary, branding Garrison as a fanatic and heaping the grossest insults upon him. Encouraged by its northern sympathizers the South demanded that the *Liberator* should be suppressed by law, and one state went so far as to offer a large reward to any one who would abduct its editor and bring him to trial under the laws of that state.[2] But, to use the words of Follen,[3] "it was then that the voice of one crying in the wilderness, waxing louder and louder in the general indifference, found a response in a few hearts. A small number of men, citizens of Boston, determined to join in the devoted labors and to share the contumely and detestation that fastened upon the disinterested and uncompromising efforts of the obscure printer, who had dared to take upon himself openly the office of a servant of servants."

[1] Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times,* 22.

[2] May, 33.

[3] *Christian Examiner,* XXIII, 232.

In January, 1832, this small group of men formed in Boston the first Antislavery Society in New England. From this association the movement spread so rapidly that in response to a demand for a national organization delegates from ten different states founded at Philadelphia in December, 1833, the American Antislavery Society, which maintained in its declaration of principles that all men are created equal; that slavery is a crime against human nature; and that it should be immediately and unconditionally abolished without compensation to the slaveholders.[1]

HIS ESPOUSAL OF THE CAUSE.

In the great slavery conflict various arguments were advanced for and against slavery,—moral, religious, economical, and political, but Follen based his arguments upon strictly philosophical principles, upon Kant's and Fichte's doctrine of man's right to self-determination. He began his antislavery propaganda in this country in his popular lectures on moral philosophy, which he delivered at Boston in 1830. The course of reasoning which he pursued may be briefly stated as follows:[2] Man is a free moral agent created to develop toward infinite perfection. He is entitled by nature to such a mode of existence and action as is conducive to his happiness, to a sphere of freedom in which he can unfold and exercise all his faculties. He has, therefore, the inherent right to property and to freedom from any kind of interference with his will as long as his conduct does not infringe upon the natural rights of others. Follen spoke in no uncertain terms to his Boston audience when he declared that every one who seeks in any way to deprive any individual of his natural rights "is an enemy to society, who should be resisted and if necessary destroyed by the united power of the people." He branded slavery as a huge social conspiracy in which society was using the civil power, designed to be the right hand of justice, "to oppress human beings simply because mother nature had ar-

[1] Goodell, 398.

[2] Expounded especially in his 13th lecture, *Works*, III, 252-270.

rayed them in black and red." In these words he protested against the unjust treatment accorded to the American Indians as well as to the negroes. But why was such injustice tolerated? "Because the slave-holders are in the majority," was his reply; "because some cents less on every pound of cotton will satisfy the sensible and practical people all over the world that slave labor is useful and slavery is right." In these lectures Follen did not enter into the reasons for or against the pretended rights of slavery on the grounds of color, birth, or capture, because he believed there was no room for argument on the subject from the standpoint of moral philosophy. He maintained that long-settled usage may alter the boundaries of property, but that it cannot abolish the difference between man and beast; that is cannot prevail against the rights of human nature. "I allow," he says,[1] "that slave-holders among themselves may settle with the strictest justice the rights of every freeman; but I confess that when I hear the great principles of liberty and equality proclaimed by slave-holders and advocates of slavery I know not whether to rejoice at this meritorious inconsistency, or to mourn to see liberty thus wounded in the house of her friends." So radical a doctrine had seldom been heard in Boston prior to 1830.

Follen's connection with the abolition movement dates from 1831. His widow relates[2] the following incident concerning his first visit to Garrison: One Sunday morning when he was returning from preaching in a neighboring town he overtook a negro on the road, whom he found a very interesting companion. Since it was raining and the man looked rather infirm he invited him to take a seat in the carriage. The man soon began to talk about slavery and told him of Mr. Walker, the author of the incendiary pamphlet, "Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World." He said that Mr. Walker had died suddenly and the colored people thought from appearances that he had been poisoned. This accidental conversation with the poor negro excited Follen's mind so powerfully that

[1] *Works*, III, 265.

[2] Ibid., I, 304.

he soon visited Mr. Garrison, of whose efforts for the slaves he had already heard. According to Mr. May,[1] it was the bugle-blast of the Liberator that summoned him to the conflict. Whatever affected the welfare of mankind was a matter of deep concern to him; therefore he could not be indifferent to a movement which had for its sole object the promotion of human freedom. While most of the clergymen and philanthropists of Boston held themselves aloof from Garrison, Follen often went to the Liberator office, says May, to converse with and encourage the young man who had dared to face the insults and opposition of his fellow citizens in preaching the immediate and unconditional abolition of negro slavery.

Follen did not join the Antislavery Society in the first year of its existence, but he was fully in sympathy with its principles and followed the progress of its propaganda with the liveliest interest. He had already sacrificed country, home, and all that he held dear for the sake of freedom, and it could not be wondered at if even a man of his heroic stamp should have hesitated to take a step which he believed would endanger his worldly interests if not involve him and his family in poverty. He had received repeated warnings[2] that his prospects for advancement would be materially injured unless he adhered strictly to the policy of the College, and had been reminded, too, that as a foreigner it was highly improper for him to meddle with a question whose aim was the subversion of an established American institution. Fearing the loss of southern trade, and honestly believing also that the radical doctrine and severe language of the antislavery agitators would endanger the peace of the country as well as postpone gradual emancipation, the citizens of Boston became embittered against Garrison and his followers; consequently those who identified themselves with the abolition movement did so at the risk of injuring their business interests, of alienating their friends, and of arousing the ill-will of the whole community. Follen however was a man who would not desert the cause of human-

[1] *Antislavery Conflict*, 252.

[2] *Works*, I, 343.

ity for these or any other considerations. He did not hesitate long. In the summer of 1833 appeared Mrs. Child's "Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans called Africans." This appeal made so deep an impression upon his mind that after solemn consideration of every objection his devout sense of duty would not permit him any longer to stand aloof from a society whose aim was the immediate and unconditional emancipation of over two millions of slaves.

Follen's active participation in the doings of the Antislavery Society began in January, 1834.[1] Upon invitation by the secretary to deliver the main address at the second anniversary of the association he replied as follows:[2] "Your letter is an additional inducement to me to attend the coming anniversary of the New England Antislavery Society. The deep interest I feel in the abolition of slavery throughout the world has made me desirous of becoming more thoroughly acquainted with the plans and the proceedings of your Society, and for this reason I had determined before I received your letter to attend its next general meeting. I feel truly grateful to you and the other gentlemen of the committee for the confidence you have expressed in my sentiments, and for the honor you have conferred upon me by desiring my services on that interesting occasion. But, with the most sincere desire to cooperate with you in this great and holy undertaking, my information on the subject, particularly with regard to the peculiar relations of this country, is still so imperfect, that I do not feel authorized to promise beforehand to make a public

[1] May, 254: "Soon after the New England Antislavery Society was instituted Follen made known his intention to join it. Some friends remonstrated. They admonished him that so doing would be very detrimental to his professional success. He joined the society, became one of its vice-presidents, was an efficient officer and rendered us invaluable service. The apprehensions of his friends proved to be too well founded. The funds for the support of his professorship at Cambridge were withheld, and he was obliged to retire from a position in which he had been exceedingly useful."

In her *Reminiscences of Channing,* 359, Miss Peabody states that although the latter did not feel able to take an active part in the Antislavery Society he was glad to see Follen join it and expressed to him the wish that he would use his influence in its counsels to convince the North of its duty to compensate the slaveholders.

[2] *Works,* I, 341.

address at the first meeting of the Society which I shall attend. I shall take great pleasure in being present as a listener, and a learner, and a warmly sympathizing friend."

The following account of Follen's actual participation in this meeting will show still more conclusively with what peril to himself he joined the Society, and will indicate also in what esteem he was held by such an abolition leader as Whittier. "At the time of the formation of the American Antislavery Society," Whittier writes,[1] "Follen was Professor in Harvard University, honored for his genius, learning, and estimable character. His love of liberty and hatred of oppression led him to seek an interview with Garrison and express his sympathy with him. Soon after, he attended a meeting of the New England Antislavery Society. An able speech was made by Rev. A. A. Phelps, and a letter of mine was read. Whereupon he rose and stated that his views were in unison with those of the society, and that after hearing the speech and the letter he was ready to join it, and abide the probable consequences of such an unpopular act. He lost by so doing his professorship. He was an able member of the Executive Committee of the American Antislavery Society. The few writings left behind him show him to have been a profound thinker of rare spiritual insight."

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

In May, 1834, the first convention of the New England Antislavery Society was held in Boston. It was a large gathering, and as a member of the committee on arrangements Follen took great interest in making the meeting a success. His activity in the antislavery propaganda had already brought him recognition as one of the leading champions of abolition, and for this reason he was chosen by the convention as chairman of a committee to draft an address to the people of the United States on the subject of slavery.[2] The address[3] which he

[1] *Poetical Works* (Riverside Ed.), IV, 30.

[2] May, 255.

[3] Given in *Works*, V, 189-227.

wrote on this occasion is a lucid exposition of the principles of abolition showing, too, how thoroughly he had studied the slavery question and how deeply concerned he was over the gravity of the whole situation. The general spirit of this appeal to the nation is not unlike that of Fichte's addresses to the German Nation; the same moral fervor, the same deep earnestness, the same breadth of view, and the same prophetic vision. In both cases the situation confronting the nation was somewhat the same. Deeply conscious of the moral decline of his time, the root of which he found in the prevailing egotism, Fichte recognized that an entirely new public spirit had to be created if Germany was to become a strong united nation and fulfill the destiny of the Teutonic race, for the spiritual freedom which it had given to the world could not long exist if the nation itself should succumb to foreign oppression.[1] Follen, too, forsaw the impending crisis which threatened the American nation. To him it was evident [2] that national solidarity was endangered by an immoral and corrupt system that would sooner or later bring the interests of two great sections of the country into direct conflict. He felt also that our republican government could not endure without strict adherence to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and that the American ideal of human freedom could not be attained without the creation of a new national spirit.

To the Abolitionists the slavery system seemed so contrary to every principle of justice and humanity that they believed the success of their propaganda would be assured if the matter were given an intelligent, impartial hearing by the American public. Despite the degenerating effects of slavery the Abolitionists believed, as Follen pointed out, that the spark of divinity in the slave and the feelings of humanity in the master were not yet extinct, and upon this belief they based their justification of abolition and their hope of its accomplishment. The object of this address was, therefore, to place clearly before the people the evils of slavery as well as to refute some

[1] Cf. Fichte's 1st Address, *Werke*, VII, 264ff.

[2] *Works*, V, 213.

of the more important proslavery arguments; not to convince them of its evils, for that would be as unnecessary, the writer says, as an attempt to prove that liberty is an inestimable good; but to impress upon them the inconsistency and danger of advocating the principles of freedom and equality without at the same time yielding obedience to the universal law of liberty. The address opens with a general exposition of the injustice of slavery from the standpoint of the Declaration of Independence which Follen considered the fundamental law of the land. According to this document which was read with pride throughout the country on every Fourth of July, all government among men derives its just power from the consent of the governed, and is instituted to secure the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which all men are endowed equally by their creator. In Follen's opinion these self-evident truths proved the unlawfulness of the government established over the slaves in the same terms in which it justified the self-government of the free.

After this introduction Follen proceeds to portray in clear and convincing arguments the debasing effects of slavery both upon the slaves and upon the slave-holders. In regard to its evil effects upon the nation as a whole he asserted that the system was the cause of all our political dissensions; that it tended to unsettle the groundwork of the government so that every institution founded on the common ground of the Union was like an edifice on volcanic soil, ever liable to have its foundation shaken and the whole structure consumed by subterranean fire.

Among the many proslavery arguments was the contention that immediate emancipation would entail great property loss; that the great majority of slaves were well treated, content, and happy; that they were not prepared for liberty and if suddenly freed would take vengeance upon their masters for their past sufferings. To all these objections to abolition Follen advanced the strongest arguments to show that universal and immediate emancipation would in general prove highly beneficial both to the slave-holders and to the slaves. Granting that the slaves were content with their lot, would this have been a

good reason for continuing the system? Quite the contrary Follen replied, for he believed that if the slave had fallen so low as to rest satisfied with his own degradation and forget that he was a man, then slavery had done its worst and freemen were in duty bound to abolish it.

One of the strongest arguments against the promotion of the abolition propaganda was based upon constitutional grounds. Although the Constitution nowhere speaks of slavery, it was generally interpreted as recognizing the legality of that institution in those states in which it had not been prohibited by the state itself. Everything indicated that slavery was supported by the federal laws, hence the proslavery party maintained that it was improper and dangerous to agitate the question at all. Follen admitted that these objections to the antislavery movement were well grounded, but maintained also that the usual interpretation of Art. IV, Sec. III, 3, of the Constitution was inconsistent with correct principles of legal interpretation. This clause which was supposed to authorize slavery reads as follows: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping to another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Follen explains [1] that this clause is not inconsistent with the Declaration of Independence if interpreted as referring to such service as may be due from one person to another on any legal grounds except slavery, but that it is inconsistent with the Declaration if interpreted as referring to slave labor and involuntary servitude as well as to free labor and hired service. Admitting for the sake of argument, Follen continues, that the Declaration be acknowledged no longer as valid, and considering the Constitution in the light of a more recent law, which on that account ought to take precedence over the Declaration concerning any point on which these two documents disagree, still it is an established principle of legal interpretation, he explains, that in case of an apparent conflict between two laws the latter should be interpreted strictly; that is, if the words admit

[1] *Works*, V, 208f.

of a wider and narrower interpretation they should be accepted in that sense in which they are least inconsistent with the spirit of the former law. Interpreted in its broader sense the clause in question would recognize slavery as legal; in its narrower sense it would secure the rights of the master to the service of laborers and apprentices only. Since Follen considered it a self-evident truth that service or labor is due only to him who pays for it he maintained that the words "to whom service is due" could not be applicable in the case of slave-labor; therefore he saw no other alternative than either to adopt the stricter interpretation of this clause, or to admit that the fundamental principles of the Declaration, which acknowledges the inalienable rights of man as the only just foundation of government, had been repealed by the Constitution.

Even if the proslavery party admitted the soundness of this interpretation of the Constitution they could still object to its practical application on the grounds that the Constitutional Convention meant to legalize slavery under the broader import of the clause in question. Follen was willing to assume that the framers of the Constitution actually intended to do this very thing, but he believed that they had done it reluctantly. The very fact that they had worded this clause in such a way that it would still be applicable to the service of laborers and apprentices, even if slavery were abolished, made it seem evident to him that they were looking forward to a time when the principles of the Declaration should have removed every sort of government that had not been derived from the consent of the governed. To substantiate this view Follen called attention to the fact that many of the men who framed the Constitution also took part in the early congressional legislation which prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude from the Northwest Territory.[1]

According to Follen's view the Abolitionists did not rest their cause upon the intentions of the Constitutional Conven-

[1] This measure originated with Jefferson, was passed by the Old Congress in 1787, and was ratified by the first Congress under the new Constitution, the entire southern delegation voting for its adoption; cf. Goodell, 83.

tion or upon the interpretation of the Constitution itself, but grounded their hopes of success upon the principle laid down in Washington's farewell address, that the basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutional government. Personally, Follen relied[1] upon the freedom guaranteed by the Constitution to assemble and consult, to speak and to print, and after arousing public sentiment thereby to petition the federal government as well as the state legislatures to abolish slavery by legislative enactments, in other words, by constitution amendments. Thus he advocated[2] that the Abolitionists armed with the weapons furnished by the Constitution itself were in duty bound to continue their propaganda until the principle that man could hold property in man would be effaced from the statute books.

Follen closed his address by urging all American patriots to yield to the new spirit of freedom which was manifest in the popular uprisings of European nations against the divine right of kings. He reminded the people that those nations were awaking to the truth that a man is a man whether European prejudice frowned upon him on account of his station or American prejudice because of his color, and that they would not omit to scrutinize critically the title of a state which used its laws to hold in bondage more than one sixth of its population. He appealed to all true Republicans in whose keeping the destiny of the nation had been committed to prove by their stand on the slavery question whether their liberty was the fruit of determined choice or of a fortunate accident. With prophetic vision he expressed his conviction[3] that unless the slave system were abolished it would sooner or later prove destructive of the Union; that those who were striving directly or indirectly to secure its existence were nourishing the seeds of civil war, and that their efforts to avert it from themselves would only serve to insure its breaking in upon their descendents with increased violence.

[1] *Works,* V, 212.

[2] Ibid., V, 213.

[3] Ibid., V, 217.

This address was perhaps one of the most philosophical and convincing abolition arguments that had up to that time been presented to the American public. It was printed and sent broadcast over the country, to each member of Congress and to some of the most distinguished men of the South. Mrs. Follen states [1] that from the large number of copies sent out only one was returned, with some insulting expressions about foreigners throwing firebrands written in the margins; that although some of the proslavery papers of Boston made insulting remarks about the author, the argument and general spirit of the address were of such a high order that it elicited much praise even from some of the most bitter enemies of the abolition movement. According to Mr. May [2] the people of New England in general knew very little about the Constitution; some of the most intelligent citizens supposed that it expressly guaranteed slavery while many had never read it at all. Shortly after the address was written the Antislavery Society printed a large edition of the Constitution for distribution with Follen's address and other antislavery tracts.[3] It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that Follen's discussion of the constitutional question of slavery along with a copy of the Constitution itself must have been instrumental in arousing the interest of many people in the abolition movement.

THE MOB YEAR.

The year between the spring of 1835 and that of 1836 was one of the stormiest periods of the early abolition movement, a time that tried the souls of men, and it is often spoken of as the "mob year," the "reign of terror." Although the antislavery cause was growing rapidly it experienced at this time some of its greatest trials and its most bitter proslavery opposition. For a time antislavery meetings were frequently disturbed by mobs, which were sanctioned and even encouraged

[1] Ibid., I, 343.

[2] *Antislavery Conflict,* 141f.

[3] Ibid., 142.

by the pulpit and the press.[1] The notorious outrage of the Boston mob against the Ladies' Antislavery Society, and the dragging of Garrison through the streets with a rope around his body deeply moved the soul of Follen, as his wife writes,[2] winning his heart anew to the persecuted cause. At this time he was a member of the board of managers of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, attending all its regular business meetings and engaged in organizing auxiliary branches. Samuel May, who as general agent of the Society came into close touch with him during this period, speaks[3] as follows about his fidelity and fearlessness: "He never quailed. His countenance always wore its accustomed expression of calm determination. He aided us by his counsels, animated us by his resolute spirit, and strengthened us by the heart-refreshing tones of his voice."

About this time Miss Martineau, who was studying social conditions in this country, was visiting New England. Distinguished alike for her philanthropic and literary works she was received everywhere with the greatest respect. During her travels the proslavery party sought naturally to impress her in favor of slavery, and in Boston especially she heard many aspersions cast upon the Abolitionists. It chanced during her visit in this city that she met the Follens, and this resulted at once in a mutual admiration and an intimate friendship between them. It seems from Miss Martineau's account[4] that it was Follen who was instrumental in having her visit a meeting of the Ladies' Antislavery Society. She accepted the invitation somewhat reluctantly, as she intimates, in order to learn more about the aims and methods of the Abolitionists, concerning which she as yet knew very little. Although she was antislavery in sentiment her visit to this meeting caused her to identify herself openly with Abolitionists, as is well

[1] Goodell, 404ff.

[2] *Works,* I, 379.

[3] *Antislavery Conflict,* 255.

[4] *Autobiography,* I, 347.

known,[1] and from this time on she wielded her powerful pen in defense of the abolition cause.

In a preceding chapter allusion has been made to Miss Martineau's tour of the west in company with the Follens and several other friends in the spring of 1836. Although they made this journey primarily as a pleasure trip it became a veritable antislavery tour. Everywhere they made abolition propaganda as indicated by Miss Martineau's account [2] as follows: "Wherever we went it was necessary to make up our minds distinctly, and with the full knowledge of each other, what we should say and do in regard to the subject which was filling all men's minds. We resolved, of course, to stand by our antislavery principles, and advocate them wherever fair occasion offered; and we never did omit an opportunity of saying what we knew and thought. On every steamboat and in every stage (when we entered public conveyances) the subject arose naturally; for no subject was so universally discussed throughout the country, though it was interdicted within the walls of the Capitol at Washington. Mr. Loring joined in the conversation when the legal aspects of the matter were discussed; and Dr. Follen when the religious and moral and political bearings of slavery were the subject. Mrs. Follen and Mrs. Loring were full of facts and reasons about the workings of Abolitionism in its headquarters. As for me my topic was Texas. * * * The further we went the more we heard of lynchings which had lately taken place, or were designed for the next Abolitionists who should come that way. In Detroit we heard that our party of Abolitionists were expected, and that everything was in readiness to give us a similar reception. Our Abolitionism could be no secret, ready as we always were to say what we knew and thought."

ADDRESS ON THE RIGHTS OF FOREIGNERS AND WOMEN IN THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT.

The proslavery press was especially bitter in its denunciation of foreigners who "dared to meddle" in the question of

[1] Ibid., I, 351.

[2] Ibid., I, 366.

American slavery, notably in the case of the distinguished English Abolitionist, George Thompson, who was making a lecture tour in this country at this time in the interest of the antislavery movement.[1] Although Follen had lived in this country eleven years and had possessed all the rights of an American citizen for five years he, too, was condemned for his abolition activity both in public and in private as a foreign meddler.[2] Through his address to the American People his active interest in the propaganda made him so well known as an Abolitionist that he was occasionally reminded by the newspapers that a foreigner should remember the protection afforded him by the institutions of this country instead of casting firebrands among the people. To these criticisms Garrison[3] replied in the Liberator: "We wish we had more such foreigners among us." It was this hostile attitude against antislavery agitators of foreign birth, especially the unkind criticism[4] of Miss Martineau after her public avowal of abolition principles that inspired one[5] of Follen's most powerful antislavery addresses. To quote the words of May:[6] "This was his bravest speech. There was not a word, nor a tone, nor a look of compromise in it. He met our opponents at the very points where some of our friends thought us deserving of blame, and he manfully maintained every inch of his ground. It is not easy even for us to recall, and it is impossible to give to those who were not Abolitionists then, a clear idea of the state of the community at the time that speech was made."

This address is couched in the form of a resolution and opens thus: "Resolved that we consider the Antislavery Cause as the cause of philanthropy, with regard to which all human

[1] May, 125.

[2] *Works*, I, 342.

[3] Cf. *Story of his Life by his Children*, I, 441f.

[4] Cf. *Autobiography*, I, 352; *Works*, I, 380f.

[5] Made in the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society at Boston, January, 1836. Extant only in part, *Works*, I, 637ff.

[6] *Antislavery Conflict*, 255.

beings,—white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights."

Follen began with the statement that the whole abolition creed could be summed up in the single proposition that the slave is a man created in the image of God and is therefore a freeman by divine right. The very fact that the slave is a human being, is Follen's argument, makes it incumbent upon everyone of whatever color, nationality, or sex, by virtue of a common nature, to become his rightful and responsible defender. Follen admitted that in personal and domestic relation each individual may choose his company according to his likes or dislikes. He insisted, however, that the colored people should be admitted into all public meetings and societies designed for the establishment of human rights, for he was consistent enough not to demand that the white slaveholder of the South live on terms of civil equality with colored slaves unless the white Abolitionists of the North would do the same.

In the second part of his address Follen speaks in defense of the foreign-born agitators. Since the antislavery movement was not a national but a philanthropic cause he contended that no distinction should be made between foreigners and natives. If millions of human beings were driven out daily to hard toil and degraded without redress, and millions of free citizens neglected in their prosperity to aid their unfortunate fellowmen, suppose some foreigner chanced to come along and sought to heal the wounds of the downtrodden,—who, Follen asked, would be a neighbor to them who were wounded in body and soul? "Shall we," he exclaimed reprovingly, "on beholding such signal kindness, cry out with the Jews of old,—He is a Samaritan and has a devil!—or with our modern national bigots,—He is a foreigner, an English emissary, mob him, tar and feather him!" Follen felt that those foreigners who supported the abolition cause were America's best friends and that their very participation in it was the surest pledge of their confidence in American love of truth and sense of justice. He was firmly convinced also that any attempt to prevent either citizens or foreigners from expressing fully their opinion on such a great moral question was far worse in this country than

in any other, simply because we had pledged our lives and fortunes and sacred honor to uphold the equal rights of all.

The last topic of the address is a defense of the rights of women. It has already been pointed out in the preceeding chapter how Follen took the advance ground on this question, —how in his plan of religious reform he desired to place women upon an equality with men and to give them equal opportunity to speak in public services. According to the custom of those times few women except among the Quakers took part in public meetings, but the abolition movement marked the dawn of a new era in this respect. At the very beginning of the movement several earnest and talented women devoted themselves to the cause, making suggestions, giving advice, employing their pens, and through the encouragement and support of such men as Garrison and Whittier gradually began to take part in public discussions. Follen, too, was an ardent advocate of equal rights, and the argument which he made in this address must have had an inspiring effect upon the women, especially so since it was a rare thing at that time to hear a public defense of their cause in conservative New England. One of the most significant portions of this address runs as follows:

"I maintain that with regard to the antislavery cause men and women have the same duties and rights. The ground I take on this point is very plain. I wish to spare you, I wish to spare myself, the worthless and disgusting task of replying in detail to all the coarse attacks and flattering sophisms by which men have endeavored to entice or to drive women from this and from many other spheres of moral action. 'Go home and spin!' is the well-meaning advice of the domestic tyrant of the old school. 'Conquer by personal charms and fashionable attractions!' is the brilliant career marked out for her by the idols and the idolators of fashion.' 'Never step out of the bounds of decorum and the customary ways of doing good!' is the sage advice of maternal caution. 'Rule by obedience, by submission sway!' is the golden saying of the moralist poet, sanctioning female servitude, and pointing out a resort and compensation in female cunning. With the fear of insolent

remarks and of being thought unfeminine, it is indeed proof of uncommon moral courage or of an overpowering sense of religious duty and sympathy for the oppressed that a woman is induced to embrace the unpopular, unfashionable, obnoxious principles of the Abolitionists. Popular opinion, the habit of society, are all calculated to lead women to consider the place, the privileges, and the duties which etiquette has assigned to them as their peculiar portion, as more important than those which nature has given to them in common with men. Men have at all times been inclined to allow to women peculiar privileges, while withholding from them essential rights. In the program of civilization and Christianity one right after another has been conceded, one occupation after another has been placed within the reach of women. Still we are far from a practical acknowledgement of the simple truth, that the rational and moral nature of man is the foundation of all rights and duties and that women as well as men are rational and moral beings. Women begin to feel that the place men have marked out for them is but a small part of what society owes to them, and which they themselves owe to society."

To what extent Follen's address was instrumental in stimulating an interest in women's rights cannot of course be determined. At any rate it must have made a deep impression. Mr. May observes [1] that Whittier, who was present, was so deeply affected by its fervor and logic that he composed that very night his famous "Stanzas for the Times," [2] one of his best antislavery poems.

DEFENSE OF FREE SPEECH.

The Abolitionists reached the culmination of their trials in the spring of 1836. Not only did the mobs attempt to suppress the antislavery movement, but the proslavery leaders, claiming that all antislavery newspapers were designed to incite the slave to insurrection and murder, sought to gag the press through statutory enactments. As early as 1832 Judge

[1] *Antislavery Conflict*, 265.

[2] *Poetical Works* (Riverside Ed.), III, 35.

Thatcher[1] of Boston, in a charge to the Grand Jury, pronounced it a misdemeanor indictable at common law to publish in one state with intent to send into another any such publications, and in 1835 the Hon. Wm. Sullivan wrote a pamphlet expressing the same sentiment as follows: "It is to be hoped and expected," he said,[2] "that Massachusetts will enact laws declaring the printing, publishing, and circulating of papers and pamphlets on slavery, and also the holding of meetings to discuss slavery and abolition, to be public indictable offenses, and provide for the punishment thereof in such manner as will more effectually prevent such offenses." Such sentiment in the North naturally encouraged the South to demand legislation upon the subject. Accordingly the Governor of South Carolina declared in a message[3] to the legislature in December 1835 that the corner-stone of the republican edifice rests upon slavery, and demanded that the laws of every community should punish with death without benefit of the clergy all those who interfered with the institution. The legislatures of several southern states passed resolutions[4] requesting the non-slaveholding states of the union to suppress all abolition societies, and to make it highly penal to print, publish, and distribute newspapers, pamphlets, tracts and pictorial representations calculated or having a tendency to excite the slaves of the southern states to insurrection and revolt.

In consequence of these demands, which were officially communicated to the governors of the non-slaveholding states, Governor Edward Everett in his message to the legislature of Massachusetts in January 1836, alluded particularly to the subject of slavery, admonishing all classes to abstain from discussing the subject, censuring the Abolitionists, and intimating that they were guilty of offenses punishable at common law. This portion[5] of the message was referred to a joint

[1] Johnson, *Garrison and his Times,* 212f.

[2] Ibid.; also Goodell, 409.

[3] Goodell, 413.

[4] Original resolutions quoted by Goodell, 413f.; cf. also May, 185ff.

[5] Quoted by Goodell, 415.

legislative committee of five members for consideration. Believing that any unfavorable action by this commission would jeopardize the abolition cause and endanger also the liberties of the people in general, the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society petitioned the committee to grant them a hearing in order to present reasons why the legislature should not take action condemning the Abolitionists. Upon permission to present their claims the Society sent a delegation to the legislature where, on the 4th of March, it entered into one of the most memorable and heroic struggles in the history of the early abolition movement. Follen was among the nine representatives chosen to avert the danger that seemed impending over the Abolitionists, and in this struggle he disinguished himself as one of the most powerful defenders of the freedom of speech and of the press.

The scene in the legislature just preceding the hearing is described as follows[1] by Miss Martineau, who was present on that occasion: "While the committee were, with ostentatious negligence, keeping the Abolitionists waiting, the Senate Chamber presented an interesting spectable. The contemptuous committee, dawdling about some immaterial business, were lolling over a table, one twirling a pen, another squirting tobacco juice, and another giggling. The Abolitionists, to whom this business was a prelude to life or death, were earnestly consulting in groups,—at the further end of the chamber Garrison and another; somewhat nearer, Dr. Follen, looking German all over, and a deeper earnestness than usual overspreading his serene and meditative countenance; and in consultation with him Mr. Loring. There was May, and Goodell, and Sewall, and several others, and many an anxious face looking down from the gallery. During the suspense the door opened and Dr. Channing entered—one of the last people who could on that winter afternoon have been expected."

Concerning the proceedings that then took place Garrison[2]

[1] The Martyr Age of America, *Westminster Review,* December, 1838.

[2] *Story of his Life by his Children,* II, 95ff.

gives the following account: "Mr. May began the defense and spoke pretty well for nearly an hour, but was frequently interrupted by the members of the committee, who, with one exception, behaved in an insolent and arbitrary manner. Mr. Loring then spoke about fifteen minutes in a very admirable manner. Mr. Goodell then followed at some length, very ably, but was cramped by the committee. I succeeded him pretty warmly, but without interruption. Professor Follen began next with great boldness and eloquence. His share was to show the relation of cause and effect between Faneuil Hall meeting and the mob of October 21 as foreshadowing the result of legislative resolutions censuring the Abolitionists."

Follen began his argument [1] with a series of philosophical remarks upon the rights of man and upon the spirit and purpose of our republican institutions, maintaining that liberty of speech and of the press was essential to the preservation of the government. He declared boldly at the outset that whatever would not bear to be examined and criticized must be essentially bad and ought not to be perpetuated, and that any attempt to stifle the voice or muzzle the press was a sure indication of an attempt to perpetuate what ought to be abolished. He pointed out that the Abolitionists wished to overthrow slavery only by exercising their constitutional right to speak and print their opinions of it, whereas the proslavery party was bent on preventing this, not by proving that slavery was not an evil, but by denying the right to express any opinion whatsoever about it. After alluding to the attempts to excite odium against the Abolitionists, and to the demands of southern legislatures for the suppression of their doctrines by penal laws, he referred also to the Faneuil Hall meeting [2] and its censure of the Abolitionists. Believing that this meeting had instigated the Boston mobs Follen argued that legislative censure of the Abolitionists would have similar consequences. "Would not the mobocrats," he asked, "again undertake to

[1] *Works*, I, 389ff.

[2] Held by the proslavery party in August, 1835, to oppose the Abolutionists; cf. May, 151.

execute the informal sentence of the general court?" Hereupon the chairman of the committee cried out: "Stop Sir, you may not pursue this course of remark, it is insulting to this committee and to the legislature which they represent."[1] After protesting that he had not even intimated that the committee or the legislature would approve an act of violence, and being refused a second permission to proceed with his defense, Follen took his seat. After a vigorous protest by the members of the delegation he was allowed to take the floor again. With calm dignity he arose a second time and asked to be distinctly informed what he had said that could be construed as disrespectful to the committee, and whether the right to speak was to be recognized only as a special favor. The chairman would make no satisfactory reply to these questions, whereupon Follen again took his seat and the meeting came to an abrupt close.

The Abolitionists sent a remonstrance to the legislature on the following day. This was referred to the same committee, and a second hearing was granted on the 8th. According to Mr. May[2] it was intended that Follen should address the committee first, beginning just where he had been interrupted by Mr. Lunt, and that he should press home that part of the argument which was deemed so important. When he again confronted the committee he opened with the statement that the only point at issue was the principle of the freedom of speech, maintaining that the Abolitionists were accused of crime not for anything they had done, but for what they had believed and said, and that the governor had endorsed the accusation simply because they had exercised in the cause of humanity a right which was guaranteed by the laws of the state and of the federal government. He called attention to the fact that Jefferson himself had prophesied long before that slavery must come to an end in America, and that the European countries had already begun to free their slaves. Since the spirit of the times demanded emancipation, and since it was only a ques-

[1] May, 194.

[2] *Antislavery Conflict*, 195.

tion, as he believed, whether it was to come by peaceful discussion or by the arbitrament of war, it was highly important, he maintained, to meet the issue face to face instead of demanding silence on the subject. He admitted that the Abolitionists had in some cases been intemperate in their speech, but asserted that the right of free expression of their opinions could not for that reason be denied. The all-important question was, therefore, not whether the legislature would crush the abolition propaganda, but whether it would suppress free speech forever. Follen expressed his belief that the action of the mobs was due to misrepresentations of the Abolitionists, and that it was honestly intended to preserve the Union, but he contended that penal enactments against the Abolitionists would be less dangerous to them than condemnatory resolutions which would be left to Judge Lynch for enforcement. At this point he was again called to order on the ground of using language disrespectful to the committee. To this he replied that he could not understand how such an allusion could be interpreted as disrespectful to the committee or to the legislature, but the chairman retorted that it was improper and would not be permitted. After a long parley he was permitted to proceed and had the satisfaction of expressing his views without further opposition. He pointed out clearly and forcibly that legislative censure would tend directly and indirectly to excite mobs, explained the dangerous consequences of mob rule to all classes, and insisted that the legislature could not justly censure citizens in the exercise of a legal right.

Inch by inch Follen fought his way, battling for freedom of speech in a free land. In his contention for principle and his resistance of wrong he manifested the same invincible spirit that had animated him in his European struggle for freedom.[1] Concerning his conduct on this occasion Mr. May speaks thus:[2] "A committee of the Massachusetts legislature might not be so august a presence as the Holy Alliance, but in

[1] By the proslavery press Follen was bitterly assailed for the part he took in this legislative hearing. Cf. *Works*, I, 403.

[2] Eulogy on Follen before the Antislavery Society of Boston in April, 1840. Quoted in part, *Works*, I, 402.

Follen's regard the occasion that called him to the Hall of Representatives was as much more momentous than the occasion on which he resisted the Allied Sovereigns at Basel as the infringement of the liberties of speech by a democratic government would be more disastrous to the cause of freedom than any encroachment on human rights by absolute monarchs. We were all impressed by his intent look, his earnest, solemn manner. And we can never cease to be grateful to him for his pertinacity in maintaining his own rights against the aggressive overbearance of the chairman of that committee." "I have sometimes thought it was the turning point in the affairs of our old Commonwealth." [1]

THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN OUR COUNTRY.

Under the above caption Follen addressed another powerful appeal to the people of the United States. In this discourse [2] he strikes at the very root of the whole trouble, directing his remarks not so much against the institution of slavery itself, but against what he considered the general spirit[3] of intolerance and oppression, which he believed was undermining the very foundations of our national life,—a spirit of which negro slavery was only the grosser manifestation. In spite of delusive appearance, of the deceptive calm on the surface of society, he saw with the eye of a critical observer in all the different phases of American life, in all the flunctuations of public opinion, two antagonistic principles,—liberty and oppression. By liberty he meant, of course, the natural rights to those things which best subserve the progress and happiness of mankind; and by oppression any infringement on those rights, whether imposed upon one or all, by the cunning of a few or by the violence of the many.

He directed public attention especially to what he considered a tendency to oppression not only in the manners and

[1] *Antislavery Conflict*, 256.

[2] Published in *Quarterly Antislavery Magazine*, October, 1836.

[3] In a letter to Follen, May 9, 1837, Channing expresses this same idea; cf. *Channing's Life*, 546.

habits of the people, but also in the state and national laws themselves. Although the Declaration of Independence had recognized the inalienable rights of man as the infallible test of the validity of every law, the accepted interpretation of the Constitution supported, to use his own words, "an aristocracy of absolute monarchs." These illiberal principles and anti-republican tendencies were increasing, as he pointed out, were influencing public opinion, and in some cases beginning to modify American institutions and modes of life. Slavery was not only a local evil in the South, but its moral effect upon the nonslaveholding states caused thousands of colored freemen to be excluded from institutions of learning, from the refining influence of good society, from profitable employment, and even from the exercise of political rights. Not only had these illiberal principles affected the African, but had made the Indian, too, one of the greatest victims of oppression.

Turning from these more prominent defects in our social system in general, Follen next discussed the symptoms of this same spirit of oppression, which he had observed in both our public and private life. He called these symptoms "in part superannuated remnants of European feudal institutions, in part the indication of new-grown propensities to return to the same creations of political idolatry." Among the remains of feudalism which still existed in republican America of the 19th century Follen mentions imprisonment for debt, which was still allowed by the laws of some states; and the binding out of children as apprentices for a much longer and severer servitude, he asserts, than the laws even of monarchical Europe permitted. As to the question of women's rights he speaks again as follows: "Women, although fully possessed of that rational and moral nature which is the foundation of all rights, enjoy amongst us fewer legal rights than under the civil law of continental Europe. Chivalrous courtesy is a poor substitute for rights withheld. The deference so generally paid to women often bears the character of condescending flattery rather than respect grounded on a sincere recognition of equality."

Another weakness of our national life that Follen pointed out was the passion for aristocratic distinction, the great

regard which certain Americans had for foreign titles of nobility, their intemperate craving after office, and their eager pursuit of wealth in order to keep up a certain high style of living and to move in a certain social set. Follen found this same spirit present in religion and politics, dividing society into classes, cliques and clans, and suppressing individual feeling and opinion. In academic life he observed in many cases a certain subserviency to wealth, an artificial system of emulation among students, and arbitrary discipline,—defects which he considered incompatible with the ideals of a republican nation. To him this illiberal tendency seemed to be confined to no particular individuals or classes; the friends of freedom in one sphere often acting the part of oppressors in another. This spirit gave rise especially to industrial tyranny, as Follen observed; in attempts to prevent the association of laboring men for their mutual benefit, in the attempts of these same labor organizations to force individuals to comply with their resolutions, and in the monopolies of privileged corporations. But the worst of all was, as he maintained, the attempt to make property instead of men the basis of political representation, to prevent universal suffrage, and to throw obstacles in the way of universal education.

It was this universal spirit of tyranny which was sapping the life of the nation, that aroused Follen to send forth his warning of danger—a warning which in its pertinency is applicable even at the present time. He believed that safety lay only in strict adherence to the principle "that in a republic as a collective, moral, free agent, all should govern and obey themselves;" that is, in universal suffrage.

USE OF THE PULPIT IN THE MOVEMENT.

Such writers as May, Johnson, and Birney are unanimous in declaring that the churches were the bulwark of slavery and that the clergy was on the whole hostile to abolition. While on the other hand it is conceded [1] that later Unitarianism was

[1] Cf. Frothingham, *Trancendentalism in New England,* Preface; Merriam, *American Political Theories*, 216ff.; Birney, 281ff.

closely related to the abolition propaganda, it is not known generally that Follen was one of the first Unitarian preachers who used the pulpit as a direct means of proclaiming anti-slavery principles. Soon after entering the ministry he was taken to task by one of his friends in the following words:[1] "Your sermons are very sensible, but you spoil your discourses with your views about freedom. We are all weary of hearing the same thing from you. You always have something about freedom in whatever you have to say to us. I am sick of hearing about freedom; we have too much freedom." His wife states[2] that he never introduced the subject of immediate abolition directly in the pulpit except once, but that he always preached against slavery. All his sermons were expressions in some form or another of his faith in the divinity of human nature, and on the question of slavery he stated his views simply and fully, actuated only by an unswerving devotion to what he believed was true. It was not merely his pity for the negro slave that made him an antislavery preacher, but rather his great respect for the rights of men as such. He was often sharply rebuked by his parishioners,[3] but to all criticisms of his views on slavery he replied with merely a pleasant smile and a kindly word and preached on, discussing the question with full consciousness of the social sacrifice it involved.

When Follen was invited to preach on Unitarianism in Washington, the stronghold of slavery, he was requested not to introduce his slavery views into his discourses. As a guest he had, of course, to accede to the wishes of the people, but his Unitarian sermons were at the same time antislavery sermons without the mention of slavery. Concerning this incident Follen wrote to Channing as follows:[4] "I am obliged to be silent on Abolition but I preach with all my might on the dignity and rights of human nature, on the great texts, 'Honor all men,' and 'All ye are brethren,' and pray for the oppressed.

[1] *Works*, I, 250.

[2] Ibid., I, 486.

[3] Ibid., I, 463f.

[4] Ibid., I, 443.

There is now and then, apparently, an expectation of hearing rank abolition doctrine, but I avoid exciting words and let the principles make the desired impression. I have never been so strongly impressed with the intrinsic antislavery tendency of Unitarianism, as taking its stand on the absolute worth and eternal destiny of human nature."

When he became pastor of the First Unitarian Church in New York he was careful at the very outset to acquaint his congregation with his attitude upon the slavery question. In his first sermon to them he spoke of the duties of the clergy to all efforts of philanthropy, mentioning among them the duty of the Christian minister toward the Society for the Abolition of Slavery. In a later sermon [1] he gave direct expression to his views on slavery. He told his congregation plainly that the spirit of civil liberty which had prompted the founders of the republic to throw off the hereditary traditions of the old world and to found a new nation based upon the principles of freedom and equality should induce their descendents to sympathize with the antislavery cause, to employ all lawful and moral means and to make any sacrifice for removing from our soil the curse of slavery. He admonished his hearers to study the subject thoroughly and impartially, to read both sides and then with determined purpose to follow the course which conscience dictated. He maintained that the subject had to be discussed, that free discussion was the only way to settle the question satisfactorily, and that it was the duty of every citizen under all circumstances to uphold the supremacy of the law against the attempts of mobs to suppress the freedom of speech.

Doctrines such as Follen here and in his antislavery speeches promulgated are taken by us today as a matter of course, but to the masses of New York and New England three quarters of a century ago they sounded like the utterances of an anarchist. The effect which the sermon just mentioned made upon the fashionable circles of New York is described by Follen in a letter[2] to Miss Martineau, as follows:

[1] Ibid., II, Sermon 16.

[2] Ibid., I, 435.

"The impression made by this small part of my sermon was very strong; and two influential men, one who belongs to my society and another who belongs to Mr. Dewey's, left the meeting-house in great anger while I was preaching. I have been blamed by many for introducing this subject, though they all agree that what I said was true, and that old custom allowed the preacher on Thanksgiving day to preach on politics. It is somewhat doubtful now whether they will keep me here permanently, though they declare themselves satisfied in other respects. I feel sure that if I had known the consequences I should have changed nothing in manner or matter. A few strongly approved of the part I had taken, but the majority are either angry or afraid or sorry." The matter turned out as Follen suspected it would. At the close of the period for which he had been engaged on trial so much opposition [1] to his reappointment was manifested that he withdrew his name as a candidate for the permanent pastorate of the church.

Dr. Channing is usually accorded the highest honor among those Unitarian clergymen who took their stand on the slavery question. From his early life he was deeply impressed with the evils of slavery. By preaching eloquently against it and by contributing to antislavery literature he rendered most important service in creating antislavery sentiment, but while recognizing the justice of immediate abolition he never identified himself with the Abolitionists. To Follen he wrote in July 1834 as follows:[2] "So great a question as slavery cannot be viewed by all from one position, nor with entire agreement as to the modes of treating it; and the cause will be aided by the existence of a body who have much sympathy with people at large as to the difficulties of emancipation, but who uncompromisingly maintain that the abolition of slavery ought immediately to be decided on, and means used for immediately commencing this work. I feel no freedom, as some sects say, to join any of your bodies, but the cause is dear to my heart." In his letter to Birney in 1836 he criticized the Abolitionists for their intemperate language and radical doctrines. To these

[1] Ibid., I, 478.

[2] *Channing's Works*, 530.

criticisms Follen sent him subsequently the following friendly rebuke:[1] "I could wish that your censure of the Abolitionists had been as clearly defined as your generous expression of what you approve in their conduct. More distinct and pointed censure would have benefitted them and have deprived the enemies of their cause of a means of arming themselves with quotations which, taken by themselves, imply a more general condemnation than they actually contain when held together by other parts of the letter."

According to Chadwick[2] it was through Follen's influence that Channing made his nearest approach to the Abolitionists. On this point Garrison himself speaks thus:[3] "I was no favorite of Dr. Channing at any time. He never gave me a word of counsel or encouragement. He never invited me to see him that he might understand from my own lips my real feelings and purposes, and afford me the benefit of his experience and advice. My early faithful and clear-sighted friend, Professor Follen, tried to induce him to make my acquaintance, believing it would be mutually serviceable, but he never manifested any desire to do so."

Although Follen did not agree with Garrison on many questions, the latter counted him as one of his staunchest supporters and held him in such loving esteem that he named his own son, "Charles Follen." "The child had a certain facial resemblance to Dr. Follen," says the biographer of Garrison,[4] "and in his father's own words when the boy died in 1849, 'gave promise of future usefulness and excellence in some degree commensurate with the worth and fame of the truly great and good man after whom he was named admiringly, gratefully, reverently.'"

[1] *Works*, I, 438.

[2] *William Ellery Channing*, 382.

[3] *Liberator*, 23 (1854); *Story of his Life*, III, 242.

[4] *Story of his Life*, III, 242.

POLITICAL ATTITUDE ON SLAVERY.

As the abolition movement progressed the radical Garrisonians, it will be remembered,[1] gradually diverged from the main body of the Abolitionists and identified themselves with other social movements, denouncing the Constitution and advocating non-resistance, non-coercion, and the no-government theory in politics. Follen, however, can hardly be classed with this extreme left wing. According to Mrs. Follen's account,[2] he did not agree with Garrison on some questions apart from the antislavery propaganda, and was often displeased with his intemperate language and bitter attacks upon individuals, but he loved and honored him and aided him in every way possible, believing that his virtues far outweighed his faults and that his harsh utterances were prompted by the same spirit that moved the prophets of old. Follen himself never indulged in personal vituperation on the slavery question; as Rev. Simmons testifies,[3] "his zeal in Antislavery never betrayed him into ascerbity and intolerance, for he was not a bigot in any department of thought or action." Like Garrison he was a staunch advocate of abolition, but unlike him he was, according to Miss Peabody's statement,[4] "an uncompromising compensationist." As to immediate abolition he believed [5] that the state of ignorance obtaining among the slaves might, indeed, render it inexpedient to give them the immediate and unlimited exercise of every privilege, but maintained it was a duty to give them the immediate enjoyment of all those rights for which they were qualified together with the means to fit themselves as soon as possible for the exercise of every privilege enjoyed by the white freemen.

It was the main function and the chief service of the early Abolitionists, such as Garrison, May, Whittier, and Fol-

[1] Birney, 314ff.; Goodell, 457ff.; Woodburn, 56ff.

[2] *Works*, I, 379f.

[3] Cf. *Sprague's Annals*, VIII, 544.

[4] Ibid., VIII, 547.

[5] Cf. Address to the American People, *Works*, V, 198.

len to arouse the national conscience,—to lay the foundation upon which was to rise a political party to oppose the spread of slavery. About 1834 Garrison advocated a "Christian party in politics," with particular reference, it is said,[1] to the slave question, but soon abandoned this for his no-government hobby. Follen, on the other hand, was desirous of carrying the propaganda into the political arena. This is plainly evident from his article on The Cause of Freedom in our Country. "When we see the anti-republicans," he says,[2] "in every walk of life and line of business endeavoring to strengthen their natural connection by active alliance and cooperation, it is high time that the republicans of every description, the friends of universal freedom in speaking, printing, trading, manufacturing, voting, and worshipping, should recognize each other as fellow-laborers and learn consistency from their common enemy."

In the last paragraph of this article he expressly advocates the founding of a new progressive democratic party organized upon the fundamental principles of abolition. He expresses himself on the subject as follows:[3] "It becomes those who have not lost all sense of the dignity of human nature to declare that they consider the personal rights of man as the foundation of every other; and that they cannot recognize any property which is inconsistent with that which every human being holds in his own soul and body. If there is ever to be in this country a party that shall take its character and name not from particular liberal measures, or popular men, but from its uncompromising and consistent adherence to Freedom, it must direct its first decided effort against the grossest form, the most complete manifestation of oppression; and having taken antislavery ground, it must carry out the principle of liberty in all its consequences. It must support every measure conductive to the greatest possible individual, social, moral, intellectual, religious, and political freedom,

[1] Goodell, 469; Birney, 289, 309.

[2] *Quarterly Antislavery Magazine,* October, 1836, p. 65; cf. also Goodell, 469.

[3] Ibid., p. 72f.

whether that measure be brought forward by inconsistent slave-holders or by consistent freemen. It must embrace the whole sphere of human action, watching and opposing the slightest illiberal, anti-republican tendency; and concentrating its whole force and influence against slavery itself, in comparison with which every other species of tyranny is tolerable, by which every other is strengthened and justified."

Follen made his last contribution [1] to antislavery literature in the autumn of 1838. In July of that year the Christian Examiner contained two articles [2] in which the Abolitionists were accused of being wrong and unwise in their measures, and of having discussed the subject of slavery in a manner decidedly at variance with constitutional liberty of speech and of the press. Since Follen's name was on the list of contributors to the Examiner he was given permission [3] by the editors to send in an article in vindication of these charges on condition that it should contain no pointed answer to anything the Examiner had published against abolition. In his vindication Follen gave a complete resumé of abolition principles, emphasizing that political means were to be employed for the prohibition of slavery in all federal domains, but disclaiming any purpose on the part of the Abolitionists to interfere with the so-called state rights.

Concerning the political phase of abolition Follen expresses his views again in a letter[4] written about this time to Miss Martineau, as follows: "We Abolitionists have changed our political course. We are satisfied that abolition in the District of Columbia and prohibition of the internal trade are more important than all other political controversies of the day. So each is ready to waive his democratic or whig propensities in favor of the candidate who will vote for these two

[1] Antislavery Principles and Proceedings, published in the *Christian Examiner*, XXIII (November, 1838).

[2] Review of Dr. Wayland's Limitation of Responsibility, and of Miss Martineau's Retrospect of Western Travel.

[3] *Works*, I, 493.

[4] *Works*, I, 489f.

measures. This course, considering the nearly equal strength of the two parties, will give us a practical influence for freedom, which no attempt at forming a new party of our own would procure us. Think of the disgrace of the democratic members in the last Congress before the adjournment, agreeing upon a declaration of sentiments in which antislavery is denounced for the purpose of conciliating the South."

It was this attitude of subserviency on the part of the two great parties to the interests of the slave power that led the one wing of the political Abolitionists to discard the plan of holding a balance of power and to found an independent political party in 1840.[1] In view of the fact that Follen was a staunch advocate of such a party somewhat earlier, it is very probable that he would have affiliated with this new Liberty Party had he lived until its organization.

* * * * * *

Follen's untimely death caused great sorrow in the ranks of the Abolitionists; they felt, as Mr. May expresses it, that "one of our towers of strength had fallen." Follen lost his life in January, 1840, and in February following, the Antislavery Society made arrangements to hold a great public memorial service in which Mr. May was to make the main eulogy. So strong was the feeling against the Society that all the churches of Boston were refused for this meeting.[2] Channing indeed offered his church, but the trustees would not give their consent.[3] Even Follen's own church[4] at East Lexington which had been built under his direction, and to the

[1] Goodell, 468ff.; Birney, 332ff.

[2] Cf. *Antislavery Conflict*, 258f. According to Chadwick's *Life of Channing*, 294, Wendell Phillips denounced this incident as the lowest depths of Boston's subserviency to the slaveholding interests.

[3] Channing was greatly grieved by this insult to the memory of his friend; cf. *Channing's Life*, 571; Chadwick, 412, says also that the fact that Channing preached only a few more times in the Federal Street Church may be taken as a sign of his instinctive withdrawal from a ministry to which such an incident was possible.

[4] The church is now called the Follen Church and a tablet in memory of Follen has recently been placed on its walls.

dedicatory exercises of which he was on his way when he met his horrible death, was refused. Not until April 27th was there a church unbarred, when Rev. Walker offered the use of Marlborough Chapel in which to hold the eulogy and other appropriate exercises commemorative of Follen's service to the cause of liberty both in Europe and in America. His struggle for political freedom and German unity had ended in exile. His moral courage, his boldness, and fearlessness in daring to lift up his voice in behalf of the enslaved had destroyed his prospects also in this country.[1] The consequent poverty and loss of friends made him a second time a martyr to the cause of freedom.

In regard to the part which the German-Americans took in the abolition of American slavery Follen was a pioneer paving the way for those who came later, especially the Forty-eighters, who played so important a rôle in the organization of the Republican party and in fighting the battles of the civil war. Had Karl Follen lived to continue his efforts and to take part in the great final conflict his name would without doubt stand high[2] in the list of those heroic spirits through whose labors and sacrifice the stain of slavery was blotted out of our national life.

CONCLUSION.

Follen exerted his greatest influence not so much by his writings as by his deeds. In summing up his various activities one is impressed by the fact that they emanated from a personality endowed with a moral will-power of extraordinary force. It is the manifestation of this will-power which gives his tragic career the character of an organic unity. The term "Der Unbedingte" under which he was known in his youth

[1] It is said that his prospects for promotion in the University and in the Unitarian Church were destroyed by his devotion to antislavery. Cf. May, *Antislavery Conflict*, 256f.; Whittier, *Poetical Works*, IV, 30; Carlos Martyn's work on Wendell Phillips, 108; Lindsay Swift's work on Garrison, 119, 144; J. J. Chapman's work on Garrison, 28.

[2] The service alone which he rendered the cause in his defense of free speech was great enough in the opinion of W. H. Channing to rank him among our national heroes and sages. Cf. *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII, 54.

characterized him to the end of his life. Whatever he recognized as just and true he pursued with unyielding perseverence regardless of the results. There was an element of heroism in his character.

To his moral strength was joined also great intellectual power. He was eminent not only in the field of benevolent action, but also in the realm of abstract thought. He had a profound knowledge of history and law, but his inclinations were chiefly to philosophical subjects, especially to questions concerning the nature and destiny of the human mind. With Kant he considered life a state in which man, as a free moral agent and faithful to duty, is to determine himself, is to advance amid trials and temptations toward a more perfect existence. In the discussion of such exalted themes his thoughts, often original, were arrayed in language beautified by his lively immagination and deep feeling.[1] His intellect and heart reacted upon each other. To use the words of Miss Peabody,[2] "his mind could comprehend any depths of principle, but he did not carry his brain in his head so much as in his heart." This beautiful harmony of his nature explains the secret of his remarkable influence.

It was Follen's idealism that made him a political and religious reformer. Imbued with the teachings of the idealistic philosophers and poets of Germany, he was filled with righteous indignation at the arrogant despotism of the German rulers of his time. For him to think and be convinced was to act; consequently he entered the struggle against absolute monarchism regardless of the cost to himself, espousing the cause of liberty with a moral heroism which could not be daunted by the threats of tyrants. In his attempt to overthrow despotism he was actuated only by the purest and noblest motives, by his sense of justice, his ardent patriotism, and his love of liberty. On account of his unfaltering devotion to these ideals

[1] Cf. Miss Martineau, *Society in America*, III, 76: "The great mass of his knowledge is vivified by a spirit which seems to have passed through all human experiences."

[2] Cf. *Sprague's Annals*, VIII, 547.

he was driven from his native land, persecuted in person and in reputation.

Endowed with talents of the highest order, distinguished for his broad learning, and hailed as the champion of liberalism in Germany, he came to this country at a time when American life, as has been indicated, was in the initial stages of cultural and national evolution. With an unswerving devotion to his ideals of social, political, and religious freedom he identified himself with the chief reform movements of the times. In the lecture room of the College, from the pulpit and political platform, and through the press he contributed to the introduction of those German ideals which, by fusing with the best spirit of American civilization, were to become an important factor in the growth of our composite national culture. He was convinced that the highest of American and German ideals tended toward the same end:[1] a freer and more perfect humanity. While in character and aspirations he remained a true German he was at the same time a loyal and devoted citizen of this country.

In the sphere of higher education he was a living exponent of German freedom and thoroughness in teaching and in learning, thus contributing by precept and example to the remodeling of the American universities upon the German plan.[2] In the field of modern language instruction, especially of German, he was a pathfinder.

In matters of religion he found New England held in the bonds of sectarian prejudices, but seeking after those universal principles of faith that are convincing and inspiring to all hearts and minds. By his interpretation of German literature and idealistic philosophy, and by expounding the liberalism and spirituality of Schleiermacher he contributed in some

[1] It is interesting to note that several years before he left Europe he wrote the following, anticipating his future mission in this country: "Wenn es als die höchste Aufgabe des amerikanischen Gemeinwesens gilt, die Idee der Freiheit und Gleichheit in reinster Form zu verwirklichen, so muss von Deutschland als dem Mittelpunkt der ganzen neuen Bildung auch für Amerika der tiefe geistige Gehalt ausgehen, der allein die Grundlage seines Bestrebens ausmachen kann"; cf. Haupt, 146.

[2] Cf. *Works,* III, 291ff.

measure to the spreading of religious principles which opened the way for a new religious life and a more scientific theology in this country. In view of the central position which religious thought still occupied in the American mind of his time his influence was that of a spiritual liberator who might have risen to national eminence had his career not been cut short by an untimely death.

True to his principles of reform he threw all the weight of his influence upon the side of the antislavery movement also. "I thank God," he exclaimed,[1] "that I have been allowed to embark in this great ark of liberty, floating upon the deluge of slavery that covers the East and the West, and bearing within it the seeds of the regeneration of the human race."

Personally he was preeminently a lovable character. The traits of his nature which most strongly impressed themselves upon people were his charming courtesy and his thoughtfulness of others. His portrait shows a face which reveals the rare and lofty spirit within. W. E. Channing describes him thus:[2] "He was a hero, a man of lion heart, victorious over fear, gathering strength and animation from danger, and bound the faster to duty by its hardships and privations; and at the same time he was a child in simplicity, sweetness and innocence. His countenance, which at times wore a stern decision, was generally lighted up with a beautiful benignity; and his voice, which expressed when occasion required it an inflexible will, was to many of us musical beyond expression from the deep tenderness which it breathed." His heart beat in unison with humanity. Although endowed with superior intellectual qualities and refined tastes he had the greatest respect for minds trained in simple habits, and the broadest sympathies with ordinary laboring men. Nature, too, was a perpetual joy to him; it was a part of that worship which was always arising from his soul to the creator of the universe. His wife tells[3] us that he would step out of his path to avoid

[1] Ibid., I, 458.

[2] *Channing's Works*, 614.

[3] *Works*, I, 406.

crushing the most common flower, that he looked up at the stars nightly with the same devout admiration as if they had just been hung in the unfathomable depths of the heavens, and that he rejoiced at the sight of the rising sun every morning as if it had just been created and he was beholding it for the first time.

Such is the record of his life and services. It was a career of disappointments, but the trials which he had to bear never conquered his spirit nor clouded his hope. After being expelled from positions of honor in Germany he secured in this country a sphere of activity which again opened up to him the opportunity of support and usefulness. But in spite of his great attainments and ability his life in the United States was one of hard struggle and narrow circumstances. Had he been less devoted to truth and duty, and ready to compromise, he might have gained high position,—at least a home and a comfortable living. To superficial observers his life may have seemed a failure; but, to use the words of W. H. Channing,[1] "in all that is best worth living for,—growth, peace, love, usefulness, honor, and abiding presence in grateful memories, Karl Follen was crowned with a perfect success."

The news of Follen's sudden death cast a shadow of deep gloom over his large circle of friends. In speaking of his tragic end, Bryant,[2] who had learned to love and admire him in New York, eulogized him as follows: "The world had not a firmer, a more ardent, a more consistent friend of liberty. No man could have known him, even slightly, without being strongly impressed by the surpassing benignity of his temper. He is taken from us by a mysterious Providence in the midst of his usefulness." Charles Sumner,[3] who had been his pupil at Harvard, wrote to a friend: "Dr. Follen is gone; able, virtuous, learned, good, with a heart throbbing to all that is honest and humane." Harriet Martineau[4] characterized him

[1] *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII, 54f.

[2] Goodwin, *Life of Bryant*, I, 377.

[3] *Life and Letters*, II, 133.

[4] *Society in America*, III, 75f.

as the most remarkable and greatest man she had met in America. Dr. Channing[1] paid him the high tribute of being on the whole one of the best men he had ever known: "His loss is one of the greatest bereavements of my life. * * * I honored and loved him above most friends. * * * Such sweetness and such nobleness have seldom been joined. He was one of the few who won my heart and confidence."

In the following lines Whittier[2] has immortalized the name of his departed friend:

Friend of my soul! as with moist eye
    I look upon this page of thine,
Is it a dream that thou art nigh,
    Thy mild face gazing into mine?

That presence seems before me now,
    A placid heaven of sweet moonrise,
When, dew-like, on the earth below
    Descends the quiet of the skies.

The calm brow through the parted hair,
    The gentle lip which knew no guile,
Softening the blue eye's thoughtful care
    With the bland beauty of thy smile.

Thou livest, Follen! not in vain
    Hath thy fine spirit meekly borne
The burthen of Life's cross of pain,
    And the thorned crown of suffering won.

'Tis something to a heart like mine
    To think of thee as living yet;
To feel that such a light as thine
    Could not in utter darkness set.

[1] *Channing's Works,* 608.

[2] *Poetical Works,* Riverside Edition, IV, 30ff.

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THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN OUR COUNTRY.[1]

BY DR. CHARLES FOLLEN.

The following remarks are intended to set forth in its various bearings, and consequences, *one principle,* which seems to me of the last importance to the success of the cause of Freedom in this country. Little as I can expect to do justice to the subject, I feel assured that in itself it is entitled to the attention and earnest inquiry of every one who looks upon the history and condition of his country, not with the eye of patriotic vanity, or party prejudice, but with the clear-sighted and enlarged interest of one whose patriotism is nothing else than philanthropy at home; whose judgment is not misled either by assumed names under which, as under a convenient temporary incognito, parties and sects know how to promote their real designs; nor by occasional diversions which local interests and personal attachments sometimes produce in the great operations of antagonist powers.

Under all the delusive appearances on the surface of society, the insignificant bustle, and the deceptive calm; in all the flunctuations of public opinion, the practiced eye of the unprejudiced observer will discern the incessant action and reaction, the steady current and the opposing tide, of two hostile principles which never make peace with each other but for the purpose of breaking it as soon as it has served them to gather strength for renewing their war of extermination. The internal history of every nation, every republic in particular, consists in the workings, the successful or unsuccessful conflicts, of the principles of Liberty, and of Oppression. I mean by Liberty, the possession of all the inalienable equal rights which belong to each human being as a necessary moral attribute of human nature—the right of each individual to use all his faculties of mind and body in any way not inconsistent with the equal freedom of his fellowmen; the right to

[1] First printed in the *Quarterly Antislavery Magazine*, October, 1836, p. 61ff.

share as far as possible equally, in all the means of improvement and enjoyment which this life affords; the right to form such social relations, domestic, civil, and religious, as may best secure the progressive happiness of mankind. And I mean by Oppression, any infringement, any undeserved and unnecessary abridgment, of those natural rights; whether it be imposed on a portion of men, or a single individual, either by the cunning of the few, or the violence of the many.

The political existence of our country is grounded on the Declaration of the natural, inalienable rights of man. Yet the worm of Oppression is gnawing every fibre of the frame, and the death-watch is heard in every part of our social edifice. The powers, pursuits, and attainments, by which some individuals naturally acquire an ascendancy over others, and which may be perverted into instruments of oppression, are in themselves right, and intended by their Author for the mutual aid and improvement of men. The acquisition of property; the comforts, and refinements of life; personal bravery, talent, learning, and skill; honor and office; and similar causes and means of personal advancement, are fitted to promote the equality of rights and the improvement of all, if they be made the executors of the great commandment, "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant." This declaration of the Son of man, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, bids us use our property and means of comfort, to raise those who without their guilt are deprived of these things, above the degrading dependence on the favor of their more prosperous fellowmen—our own favor as well as that of others. It bids us employ our knowledge and refinement, to instruct and civilize others; our bravery and honor, to defend the innocent against violence and contempt; our public offices, to execute justice; our liberty, to free the oppressed and raise them to equality with ourselves; our religion, to rouse mankind from the slumbers of superstition, the torpor of atheism, and the death of sin, by leading them to the eternal source of truth and love, and teaching them to recognize and reverence in each human being, the image of the living God. The natural inequality in the capacity and circumstances of men, the

fact that generally each individual is distinguished by the possession of something of which others are destitute, is adapted to give every one a chance of receiving, and imparting, according to his wants and superfluity, and thus by free and fair exchange, to equalize and raise the condition of all.

It is evident that the *service* which christianity enjoins as being due from man to man, is in truth the highest power, the widest influence that can be exercised by human beings. To serve a human being, a rational and moral agent, is to enable him to act out his own nature; it is to aid him in the free and harmonious exercise of all his faculties. And who is it that exerts the widest influence, the highest powers among men? The despot who impoverishes, corrupts and enslaves millions of his fellowmen; or the philanthropist, the servant of mankind, who liberates, and exalts them?

Our country is possessed of all the elements of physical, moral, and intellectual greatness—possessions which selfishness may convert into instruments of oppression; or philanthropy into republican blessings. Our political existence is based on the acknowledgement of the equality of human rights as the only just foundation of political governments. Can it be said of us, are we ourselves conscious, that we have really comprehended and embraced the great standard principle of republican association, to wit, that *God has made all things for all men; and those who have, are debtors to those who have not?* What is the result of our republican experience?

The result lies open before the world. The great experiment that was to determine the fitness of man for self-government, has been successful, wholly successful so far as it has actually been tried. Legislation and administration, every branch of industry, science, literature, and art, education, and religion, all have grown and flourished in our land wheresoever they have been committed, in good faith, to the virgin soil of freedom. Truly the planters of this fair garden of humanity sowed good seed; but the enemy sowed tares amidst the wheat. In the Declaration of our Independence we acknowledged the Good Principle as the only legitimate sovereign of this new world; but in the Constitution, or at least by *the*

received interpretation of it, we admitted the Evil Principle to a divided sway. *There* the inalienable rights of man were recognized as the only just foundation, and the infallible test of the validity of every law and the legitimacy of every government; *here* the successful vindicators of political justice pledged the sword of the law for the support of an aristocracy of absolute monarchs.

Slavery is not a local evil, that strikes only the spot on which it settles, with barrenness, it is a stagnant pool that infects the whole neighborhood, and aggravates every minor disorder in the body politic. I might set forth the advantages which this criminal inconsistency of our republic holds out to foreign invasion, and domestic conspiracy; I might adduce the provision by which the non-slaveholding citizens of this country, in case the standing army seems insufficient for the purpose, are obliged to take up arms in defense of the oppressors of their fellowmen. I might dwell on the fact that the political history of this country does not exhibit a difference of opinion or interest between the North and the South, though in itself wholly unconnected with slavery, which has not been exasperated and inflamed by this constant, this only fearful enemy of our Union. A still more fruitful subject for consideration would be the *moral* effect of slavery not only on the slaveholders, but on the whole people whose united power is pledged to enforce a system that justifies theft, adultery, and murder of every one who dares to resist the arbitrary violence of the legitimate oppressor. Can there be anything more demoralizing than a system of government which countenances the principle that the morality of an action depends on the color of the skin, or on the arbitrary behest of the law-maker? While citizens can keep black slaves to serve them at the South, is it to be wondered at, that they find white slaves to vindicate them at the North? nay, that ministers of religion should represent this masterpiece of human depravity, as the ordination of a just and benevolent Providence?

But it is not my object, at present, to exhibit Slavery in all its political and moral effects.—I wish to direct public attention to the fact that the *tendency to oppression,* of which

slavery is only the grossest manifestation, is apparent in our manners and habits as well as in our laws; and that when we see the anti-republicans in every walk of life and line of business endeavoring to strengthen their natural connection by actual alliance and co-operation, it is high time that the republicans of every description, the friends of universal freedom in speaking, printing, trading, manufacturing, voting, and worshipping, should recognize each other as fellow laborers, and learn consistency from their common enemy.

Illiberal principles, anti-republican tendencies, more or less powerful and refined, are increasing in our land, and endeavoring to modify our institutions, and modes of life, and to influence public opinion. The first fruits of Slavery—and truly the grain of iniquity has borne an hundred and a thousand fold—is the absurd and cruel prejudice against color, which excludes thousands from the best institutions for education; from the enlightening, refining, and elevating influences of society; from honorable and profitable employments; from the exercise of political privileges which are grounded on the natural rights of man.

Next to the African race, the Indian occupies the highest place among the victims of oppression. How dearly has the high-minded child of the forest paid for his incautious hospitality, his fatal credulity! Unnumbered instances have shown the Indian susceptible of civilization and true religion; but the Christian, the republican white man had other interests at heart than humanity and salvation; and to promote those interests, education and the Bible were found less efficacious than broken treaties, gun-powder and rum.

Besides these prominent defects and deformities in the conformation of our social system, we find symptoms of the same anti-republican spirit pervading every relation of private and public life. They are in part superannuated remnants of European feudal institutions; and in part they are indications of new-grown propensities to return to the same creations of political idolatry. Imprisonment of the honest debtor for insolvency, a remnant of feudal barbarism, is still supported by the laws of many of our States; although it has been abolished,

for centuries, on the continent of Europe by the introduction of the Civil Law.—Children can be bound out as apprentices, and thus placed in a much longer and severer relation to their masters than the laws of the civilized continent of Europe will allow.—Women, though fully possessed of that rational and moral nature which is the foundation of all rights, enjoy amongst us fewer legal rights than under the civil law of continental Europe. Chivalrous courtesy is a poor substitute for rights withheld. The deference so generally paid to women, often bears the character of condescending flattery rather than respect grounded on a sincere recognition of equality.

A taste and passion for aristocratic distinction is fostered and strengthened, in early life, by parents teaching their children to look upon those things which belong equally to all men, as low and vulgar; and to associate the idea of poverty with disgrace and vice until these words become almost synonymous; and the hearts of the young, these overflowing fountains of tenderness toward the unfortunate, and of indignation towards injustice, are checked in their natural course, and confined to people of their own color, and their own caste. The same unkind and dangerous sentiments are often the result of school and college education. Our highest seminaries of learning are made so expensive as to become accessible only to the children of the rich, or to those of the poor who are brought there by patronage. Patronage, though often the offspring of generosity, is but too apt to create in the favored individual a servile spirit, which with the possession of superior knowledge and influential connections, may make him the most dangerous enemy of the mass of men from which he arose. If to this constitutional defect of a literary institution, there be added an artificial system of ambition and emulation among the students, and an arbitrary government—it needs no prophet's eye to discern what fruits a republic will reap from such nurseries.

These and other seeds of an inordinate love of distinction are sufficient to account not only for the obsequious regards for titles of nobility, by which we are apt to render ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners;; but also for that in-

temperate craving after office, which is so often gratified at the expense of conscience and the loss of self-respect. Closely allied with the love of distinction, and still more extensive in our country, is the eager pursuit of wealth. We strive after wealth in most cases not for any philanthropic object, not even for the comforts and luxuries which it may procure to the possessor, so much as for establishing and keeping up a style of living equally and if possible more magnificent than that of persons possessing the same amount of property. Our whole mode of life, dress, dwelling, furniture, domestics, etc., the society in which we move, the party to which we belong, the church and the pew in which we worship, all must be conformed to that factitious standard of *respectability* by which the "better sort of people" are distinguished from the vulgar. Thus we set at naught the great republican doctrine, that whoever faithfully discharges the duties of his office or occupation, is respectable, and *equally* respectable whether he be a clergyman or a layman, a merchant or a shopkeeper, a lawyer, a farmer, or a day laborer.—the same spirit which in the world of fashion upholds the hierarchy of classes, circles and clans, and keeps down individual opinion, feeling, and taste, is at work in the religious, and the political world. It is not confined to particular individuals, or parties; the friends of freedom in one sphere of action often act the part of oppressors in another. Now it is manifested by attempts at preventing persons who are engaged in the same trade or profession from associating for the purpose of raising the price of their labor; then again it is exercised by associations trying to force individuals to a compliance with their resolutions. Efforts are made to restrict the freedom of trade; and to impair individual industry, and lessen individual liability, by privileged corporations. Some men are endeavoring to make property instead of men the basis of political representation and to prevent universal suffrage; while among the opposers of these anti-republican tendencies, we find some who throw obstacles in the way of universal education, which by equalizing the opportunities of knowledge lays the foundation of the most perfect equality of power. Here, from a tender solicitude for the

salvation of his soul, a man is injured in his credit and business, in consequence of his conscientious adherence to an unpopular creed. There, the legislatures of free States are called upon to sanction a violation of the Constitution, and of the natural rights of man, by abridging the liberty of speech and of the press. And to complete these partial manifestations of the spirit of oppression, mobs are excited which usurp the sovereignty of the people, and in defiance of the laws and the Constitution, trample on the sacred rights of individuals and societies.

In sight of so many evils undermining the foundations of our liberty, and obstructing its progress, is the love of our country strong enough to prevent our hope and our faith from giving way to fear and despondency? Our dangers are real, and great indeed; but the power to resist and overcome them —the independent energy of the people—is inexhaustible; the principles on which our republic is founded, are eternal; the standard which its founders have set before us, is infinite.

There are redeeming influences sufficient to drive out the evil spirit, in whatever way and form it may have appeared amongst us. I have enumerated various ways in which Oppression has endeavored to gain a permanent footing in our country. But every attack of the enemy has raised up many resolute defenders. In the midst of all apparent tendencies to monarchy and aristocracy on the one hand, and to anarchy on the other, we see those who hold fast the principle, that in a republic as a collective free agent, all should govern and obey themselves; and who for this reason on the one hand advocate *universal suffrage,* because all who are to be bound by the laws are entitled to an equal share in making them; while on the other hand they oppose *mobs,* because those who have made the laws, are bound also to obey them. There are many still who contend that a republican government must be based upon men and not upon things; and that industry and trade, as well as religion and the press, are most prosperous and beneficial when neither forced nor restricted by legislative interference, but committed wholly to the operation of the great conservative principle, Live and let Live. We would fain believe also

that there are men who consider money and office simply and solely as means of doing good; and who look down with pity upon the proud elevations, and with indignation upon the walls of partition, which ambition has raised among men. For they hold that *man* is the highest of all the titles of this world; that the blood of which God has made all nations is the source of the oldest and most genuine nobility; and that the image which He has placed in the soul is the most glorious escutcheon. The efforts of those who would secure the highest sources of information for the benefit of those children whose parents are able to pay for superior advantages, have not prevented philanthropists from laboring to procure to all, without reference to pecuniary circumstances, the best education which the country and the present generation are able to afford. The absurdity as well as injustice of imprisoning the honest debtor has in most places called up a triumphant opposition. It begins to be thought also that the generosity which marks the conduct of men towards women will not pay off the debt of justice which the equality of our moral nature enjoins. The Indian native finds among the strangers who came to warm themselves at his fire, and extinguished it when they had lighted their own, at least some impartial friends whose earnest pleading though it can not protect him from the rapacity, may yet prevent his rising in witness at last against the whole race of his oppressors. And the colored man kneeling in his chains, finds among indifferent thousands one and more than one that will acknowledge him as "a man and a brother," yes, many a one who in spite of the Pharisee that supports slavery by the sword of the law, and the Priest that vindicates it from the Book of God, dares to be "a neighbor to him that fell among thieves."

I have endeavored to set in a clear light, side by side, the most important controversies which agitate our country; and to trace all this complicated variety of action and reaction to the fundamental principles of Liberty and Oppression. Whoever is acquainted with the powers which are engaged in this great warefare, must come to the conclusion that every attempt at oppression of any kind, in this country, must end in defeat

if only those who contend for Freedom in the various branches of private and public life, will recognize each other as fellow laborers in the same cause. It is not to be expected, so long as human beings remain human, that attempts at oppression, the workings of the selfish principle in man—will ever cease entirely, even under the freest form of government. The great permanent advantage of a republican over every other government, consists in the certainty that the cause of Freedom must conquer whenever the friends of Freedom act in unison. The simple reason then why in our country the cause of Freedom has been sometimes defeated, or not altogether victorious, is to be found in the fact that many of her boldest champions on one battle-field are engaged fighting in the ranks of her enemies on another.

There is no need of proving and illustrating this obvious truth.—It would be difficult indeed to believe if we had not witnessed it; if we had not seen defenders of the equal rights of citizens uniting with their antagonists in opposition to the advocates of the equal rights of men; if we had not seen avowed enemies of all monopolies and restrictions on industry and trade, siding with the supporters of slavery; and professed friends of law and order in society, among the instigators and abettors of mobs.

Those who are one in principle, should be one also in action. This great truth is urged upon the friends of freedom with peculiar force, by the superior practical sagacity of their antagonists. One look upon the state of society in this country and elsewhere is sufficient to see how those by wealth, or talent, or office, have risen to eminence in society, combine their means of influence in most cases not for diffusing independence, knowledge, and comfort, among their less favored fellowmen, but in order to keep themselves aloof from the mass in the exclusive enjoyment of their superior advantages. And the ministers of religion, the commissioned messengers of the Son of Man who came to establish a universal brotherhood among men, instead of insisting upon the exercise of distributive and retributive justice as the first condition of brotherly love, think their mission fulfilled when they admonish the

higher classes as they are called, to charity and condescension; and the lower classes as they are called, to contentment with their lot, and humble respect for their superiors.

But besides these results of general experience proving the existence of an elective affinity between the favored few, and the importance of a common center of gravity among the undistinguished many, there are facts of recent occurrence which must impress the friends of freedom in this country with the necessity of union and consistency among themselves. I refer to some remarkable sentiments which the recent agitation of minds on the subject of slavery has brought out. Some of the most distinguished and influential advocates of this system have in this important crisis abandoned the principles of equal rights and democracy which they had heretofore defended with a high-minded patriotic inconsistency, and have called upon the men of property in the non-slaveholding States, upon all who like themselves live upon the labor of others, to join them in their efforts of self-defence against a common enemy. One of the speakers [1] in the last Congress asked, "What was meant by the declaration that all men were born free and equal? Its meaning was that all were born to equal political privileges. This was an abstract truth, and had no political application. There was never a community where one class was not held in bondage by another class. Every nation was divided into capitalists and laborers." Another, [2] proceeding on the same ground of reasoning, remarked, "The sober and considerate portions of the citizens of non-slaveholding States, who have a deep stake in the existing institutions of the country, would have little forecast not to see that the assauls which are now directed against the institutions of the Southern States, may be very easily directed against those which uphold their own property and security. A very slight modification of the arguments used against the institutions which sustain the property and security of the South, would make them equally effectual against the institutions of the

[1] Mr. Pickens, in his speech in the House of Representatives, January 21, 1836.

[2] Mr. Calhoun, in his Report in the Senate, February 4, 1836.

North, including banking, in which so large an amount of its property and capital is invested." Many other similar remarks might be quoted in which slavery is represented as the cornerstone of republican freedom, and the only means by which the introduction of royalty and a hereditary nobility can be prevented in non-slaveholding states.[1] The amount is, that those who hold property in men, would persuade all those who hold property in things, that all attacks upon slavery are virtually assaults upon property;; and that instead of trying to convert the slaves of the South into free laborers, the men of property should combine to convert all laborers into slaves.

We would trust that there is among the men of property in the non-slaveholding states too much respect for what is worth more than wealth, to make them overlook the difference between men and things, and to think themselves more closely united with slave-owners than with those who own nothing but their own souls and bodies. Still, it can not be denied that at the North as well as at the South, slavery has been defended on the ground of its being a species of *property*. Nay more, the anti-abolition mobs which have disgraced many of our towns, and particularly our cities, have not been excited and promoted by those whose personal rights are their all, but by "men of property and standing," as they called themselves or were called by the newspapers and journals devoted to their interests. Many men of property, indeed, have disapproved of these criminal proceedings; but if the object of the mobs had been an attack upon a bank, or other depository of money, would our monied men have confined themselves to a mere expression of disapprobation?

Under such circumstances, it becomes those who have not lost all sense of the dignity of human nature, to declare that they consider the personal rights of man as the foundation of every other; and that they can not recognize any property which is inconsistent with that which every human being holds in his own soul and body. If there ever is to be in this country

[1] Gov. McDuffie's Message to the Legislature of South Carolina; Mr. Calhoun's Report; and the speeches of Mr. Pickens, and other advocates of Slavery.

a party that shall take its character and name not from particular liberal measures, or popular men, but from its uncompromising and consistent adherence to Freedom—a truly liberal, and thoroughly republican party—it must direct its first decided effort against the grossest form, the most complete manifestation of Oppression; and having taken anti-slavery ground, it must carry out the principle of Liberty in all its consequences. It must support every measure conducive to the greatest possible individual, and social, moral, intellectual, religious, and political freedom, whether that measure be brought forward by inconsistent slave-holders, or consistent freemen. It must embrace the whole sphere of human action, watching and opposing the slightest illiberal, anti-republican tendency; and concentrating its whole force and influence against Slavery itself, in comparison with which, every other species of tyranny is tolerable, by which every other is strengthened and justified.

Zur Geschichte der ersten deutschen Ansiedlungen in Illinois.

I

Die deutsche Niederlassung in Illinois, fünf Meilen östlich von Belleville.[1]

Von **Dr. G. Engelmann.**

Zwanzig Meilen nach Osten von St. Louis, im Staate Illinois, hat sich eine deutsche Niederlassung gebildet, welche vor vier Jahren erst begonnen, so raschen Zuwachs erhielt, daß sie nun als der Kern der zahlreichen deutschen Ansiedlungen in jenen Gegenden betrachtet werden kann, um den sich neue Einwanderung beständig anschließt. Diese Niederlassung wird von Vielen in Bezug auf die Bildungsstufe und die Anzahl der dort herum wohnenden deutschen Familien und auf die einladende Geselligkeit des dortigen Lebens als eine der beachtenswerthesten im ganzen Westen, vielleicht in den ganzen Vereinigten Staaten angesehen; Andere wollen andern Niederlassungen am Missouri oder dem Illinoisflusse, oder anderwärts wenigstens gleichen Rang eingeräumt wissen. Wir wünschen hier keinen Streit anzuregen, und noch weniger ihn zu entscheiden, bitten aber Bewohner solcher Ansiedlungen, uns ähnliche Nachrichten über ihre Umgebung zu liefern, wie ich sie hier von der Niederlassung bei Belleville zu geben und so dem deutschen Publikum drüben und hier einen lang gehegten Wunsch zu erfüllen versuche.

Ich selbst war unter den ersten Deutschen, die in jene Gegend kamen; habe sie gekannt, als nur wenige Pflanzungen erst in den Händen unserer Landsleute waren, habe die Einwanderung zunehmen und das Wohlbehagen wachsen sehen; ich habe fast zwei Jahre da als Arzt gelebt, bin mit beinahe Allen befreundet, und wenn ich auch seit 1835 die Gegenden verlassen habe, so bin ich doch durch häufige Besuche in der engsten Verbindung mit den Ansiedlern geblieben. Schon 1835 gab ich Nachrichten über diese

[1] Aus der Zeitschrift „Das Westland," Heidelberg, 1837.

Plankarte der Deutschen Niederlassung

Im St. Clair Bezirk, östlich von Belleville.

Erster Bezirk (Stadtschaft) nördlich von der Grundlinie, siebente Reihe, westlich vom dritten Hauptmeridian.

(Township 1, north of the Baseline Range 7 west of the 3d. principal Meridian.)

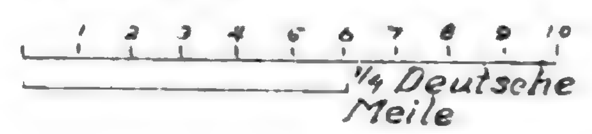
Erklärungen.

- Gränze der Bezirke (Township.)
- Gränze der Sectionen.
- Gränze der Viertelsectionen.
- Gränze der Deutschen Besitzungen.
- Hauptstraßen.
- Nebenwege.
- Waldungen.
- Prairie.
- Häuser von Deutschen.
- Häuser von Amerikanern.
- Brücke.
- Quelle.

Maaßstab von 2 englischen Meilen oder 10,560 engl. Fuß
Eine Meile auf 1½ engl. Zoll

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
528 Fufs — ½ Meilen

Maaßstab von 10,000 englischen Fuß



Niederlassung in einem Aufsatze „Besuch der deutschen Ansiedlungen in Illinois und Missouri" betitelt, welcher im „Ausland" abgedruckt und mit Interesse gelesen worden ist. Hier nun lege ich den Lesern eine ausführlichere Schilderung dieser jetzt vier Jahre alten Colonie vor, und wünsche mir Glück, ihnen zugleich durch die von Herrn J. Scheel (jetzt bei Vermessungen und Auslegung einer der Eisenbahnen angestellt, welche die Prärien von Illinois durchschneiden sollen) aufgenommenen Plankarte jener Gegend ein anschauliches Bild davon geben zu können.

Die Ansiedlung liegt fast ganz im Bereiche der Stadtschaft, Township,[1] welche auf der Karte dargestellt ist. In einem andern Aufsatze über Landvermessung wird die Eintheilung und Bezeichnung näher entwickelt werden; hier beschränke ich mich auf die Bemerkung, daß diese Stadtschaft die erste ist, welche nördlich von der Vermessungsbasis (in diesen Gegenden dem Breitengrade, welcher 102 Meilen nördlich von der Ohiomündung herzieht), und die siebente, welche westlich vom dritten Hauptvermessungs-Meridian (der durch die Ohiomündung geht) liegt. Die deutschen Gehöfte erstrecken sich 5 bis 9 Meilen östlich von der Bezirksstadt Belleville und 18 bis 22 Meilen ostsüdöstlich von St. Louis.[2]

Die Gegend hat ein freundliches Ansehen. Die anmuthigen Wiesen sind nicht einförmig, nicht ganz flach, sondern wellenförmig, von Wäldchen und Gebüschen unterbrochen. Gruppen

[1] Township ist hier im Westen blos eine geometrische Eintheilung, 36 Quadratmeilen, oder Sectionen in sich begreifend, während mit demselben Worte im Osten häufig eine politische Eintheilung bezeichnet wird, als Unterabtheilung des Bezirks, County; dann findet gewöhnlich auch nicht die regelmäßige Grenze statt, wie bei unsern vermessenen Townships. Man könnte Township eine Gemarkung nennen, die etwa eine Stadt einschließen könnte.

[2] Ueber beide Städte, in so fern sie für die deutschen Einwanderer und Ansiedler von Bedeutung sind, werden spätere Hefte ausführlicher handeln. Hier nur so viel, daß die Bevölkerung von Belleville seit 4 Jahren von 500 oder 600 auf 900 oder 1000 Einwohner gestiegen ist; daß eben so die Zahl der Wohnungen zunimmt und die der Kaufläden und Werkstätten sich in noch größerm Maße vermehrt. Zwei große Dampfmühlen, eine Sägemühle und eine Dampfbrennerei sind die ersten Zeichen der Fabrikthätigkeit, die von der Lage des Ortes, dem Reichthum an Steinkohlen und Holz und den günstigen Umgebungen zu schließen, bald hier aufblühen muß. — Noch weniger kann ich mich hier darauf einlassen, über St. Louis zu sprechen, dessen rasches Aufblühen jedem auffällt, der selbst nur 3 Monate abwesend war. Namentlich für die deutsche Einwanderung ist es der Hauptstapelplatz geworden.

von Rindvieh oder Pferden weiden zerstreut herum, und Niederlassungen, umgeben von Feldern und häufig von Obstgärten sieht man an den Gränzen des Waldes zwischen den Bäumen hervor, und auf den Wiesen selbst, wo möglich immer in der Nähe eines Baches oder eines Gebüsches. Wie die Karte zeigt, zerfällt die Prärie in einen südwestlichen Theil, welcher hügeliger und von viel Haselgebüsch unterbrochen ist, und einen nordöstlichen, welcher ebner, zum Theil auch feucht ist, und nur eine bedeutendere Höhe, den Schulhügel, hat. Den Namen, den man dieser Prärie vermuthlich von der Gestalt ihrer östlichen Arme gegeben hat, Schlingen-Prärie, Loop-Prärie, hört man selten, und viele kennen ihn kaum; weil bekannter sind die Namen der benachbarten Ridge Prairie (Hohen Prärie), von der sich eine Ecke im nordwestlichen Theil unserer Karte angegeben findet; der Looking glaß-Prairie (Aussicht-Prärie), welche sich östlich und nordöstlich auf der andern Seite des Silvercreek weit hinzieht, der Twelf mile Prairie (die 12 Meilen lange Prärie — ein wunderlicher Namen, dergleichen man indessen hier oft findet) und der High Prairie (Hoch-Prärie, nicht Heu-Prärie, wie manche Deutsche meinen), welche beide südlich von hier liegen.

Ganz gegen die Localität der meisten andern Prärien, namentlich im Norden und Osten des Staates, und schon östlich vom Silvercreek, liegt hier das Wiesenland niedriger als der größte Theil des Waldes; die Ridge-, Looking glaß- und High Prärie tragen schon ihren Namen von ihrer Lage, und so sind die meisten; sie nehmen das Plateau des Landes ein und lassen für die Waldungen die niedriger gelegenen Ufer der Gewässer, wie sich das ja auch theilweise auf unserer Karte zeigt, wo sich am Silvercreek hin und an mehreren Bächen in den Wiesen Arme der Waldungen erstrecken. Hier finden wir aber im Nordwesten und im Süden zwei waldige Höhenzüge angegeben, welche in diesem flachen Lande als gar nicht unbedeutend erscheinen, und die Aussicht nach diesen beiden Richtungen aufs anmuthigste begrenzen. Beide Züge erstrecken sich gegen Belleville und vereinigen sich daselbst; der südlichere hat die größte Ausdehnung und ist unter dem Namen Turkeyhill bekannt, der nördlichere scheint dem Blick etwas höher zu sein, führt aber keinen besonderen Namen; durch seine Lage indessen, welche einigen Schutz vor den Nordwestwinden gewährt,

durch den Umstand, daß viele deutsche Ansiedlungen an seinem Abhang liegen, und durch seine anmuthigen Formen, wo sich namentlich der höchste Rücken (da wo das kirchliche Versammlungshaus, Meetinghouse, steht) auszeichnet, ist dieser Höhenzug den deutschen Bewohnern von größtem Interesse; zugleich führt auch die Hauptstraße von St. Louis nach Louisville am Ohio und überhaupt nach dem Osten über ihn hin.

Nach Osten ist die Prärie von dem Walde des Silvercreekthales begränzt, nach Westen zieht sie sich noch beinahe zwei Meilen über den Bereich unserer Karte, uneben und von vielen Haselhecken unterbrochen, hin, und auch da gränzt sie ein tiefliegender Wald ein.

Die Punkte, wo man die vollständigste oder angenehmste Aussicht oder Ansicht über die Gegend hat, sind die offnen Plätze an der nördlichen Höhe hin, die Pflanzungen von Wittwe Scott, von Pearce, Wittwe Thomas, Wolff und Ledergerber; in der Prärie der Schulhügel, und der Strich zwischen Hughes und Middlecoff; im Süden namentlich Randle's und Hilgard's Niederlassungen und vor allen die von Gay. Hübsche Aussichten nach der Ridge Prairie hat man von den Wohnungen von Will Scott und Wittwe Adams.

Die Abwechselung von dem dunkeln hügligen Wald, den hellen lebendigen Wiesen, den kleinen Hainen und Gebüschen; dazwischen überall die Niederlassungen mit ihren oft freundlich angestrichnen Wohngebäuden, ihren Feldern und Obstgärten, machen diese Gegend gar anmuthig, und nachdem ich einen großen Theil des Westens durchwanderte, kann ich wohl sagen, daß ich nicht leicht eine andre Gegend gefunden, die mir so gefallen hätte. Solch ein Urtheil ist übrigens immer individuell, und ich läugne nicht, daß das meinige mir unbewußt bestochen, nämlich durch die Bewohner nicht weniger als durch die Gegend eingenommen sein könnte. Nur ein Flüßchen vermisse ich, das durch die Prärie strömen sollte; blicke ich aber auf unsere westlichen Bäche und Flüßchen, die durch ebenes Land fließen, so kann ich den Mangel nicht länger bedauern; der Silvercreek bietet ein Bild der allermeisten dar; er ist ein 20—30 Fuß breiter, hier und da flacher, oft aber recht tiefer, schmutziger Bach, zwischen tief ausgewühlten Ufern hinfließend, häufig von Baumstämmen versperrt, zuweilen rei-

ßend, die Ufer überfluthend, oft auch fast stille stehend, und an den flachen Stellen beinahe trocken. Das Land an ihm hin, sein Thal, bottom, ist flach, hie und da sumpfig, und überall zu sehr der Ueberschwemmung unterworfen, um angebaut werden zu können. Vom Bache selbst sieht man nichts, bis man an ihn kommt, und dann ist eben der Anblick nichts weniger als erfreulich. Darum kann ein solcher Bach einer Gegend grade keinen Reiz geben.

Ueber das Klima brauche ich nichts zuzufügen, indem das, was ich im ersten Hefte über das Klima oder Umgegend von St. Louis gesagt, völlige Anwendung auf diesen Distrikt findet, in welchem ich sogar einen Theil der dort gemachten Beobachtungen angestellt habe.

Den Gesundheitszustand hatte ich als Arzt die beste Gelegenheit zu beobachten, und glaube mich noch ebenso darüber aussprechen zu müssen, wie ich es in dem Eingange erwähnten Aufsatze vor 2 Jahren gethan. Allgemeine Ansichten über die Gesundheitsverhältnisse des ganzen Westens habe ich in einer Arbeit niedergelegt, welche in einem der folgenden Hefte erscheinen wird. Ich beschränke mich hier nur darauf, auszusprechen, daß ich die Gegend jener deutschen Niederlassung zu den gesundesten rechnen muß, die ich hier habe kennen lernen; oder, um mein Urtheil mehr zu motiviren, daß ich dort so wenige Krankheiten gefunden habe, als sonst irgendwo im Westen. Diese beiden Sätze sind nicht ganz gleichbedeutend; denn es ist bei mir zur festen Ueberzeugung geworden, daß die Ansiedler selbst durch ihre Lebensweise außerordentlich viel dazu beitragen, Krankheitsursachen, die das Klima bieten mag, zu entwickeln oder zu überwinden. Eine ebensowohl mäßige als auch nicht durch Entbehrungen verkümmerte Lebensweise, und Vermeiden ungewohnter übermäßiger Anstrengung hat Viele unserer Landsleute vor Krankheiten geschützt oder hat sie einzelne Anfälle leichter überwinden lassen; so wie ich auf der anderen Seite oft gesehen, daß Mißachtung solcher Vorsicht sie auf das Krankenlager geworfen und selbst dem Tode zugeführt hat. Ist also eine Gegend von solchen vernunftgemäß lebenden Bewohnern angesiedelt, so wird sie selbst unter gleichen Naturverhältnissen leicht den Ruf größter Gesundheit erlangen. Mag dem sein, wie ihm will; während der Zeit, daß ich dort praktizirte, fast 2 Jahre, erkranten von 70 bis 80 Deutschen, die jene Niederlas-

sung damals bildeten, etwa 12—15 Menschen und 2 starben, davon der Eine an einem Uebel, welches man nicht dem Klima zuschreiben konnte. Dies scheint mir ein so günstiges Resultat, wie man es in vielen Gegenden von Deutschland nicht besser findet. Seitdem herrschten namentlich im Sommer 1835 etwas mehr Krankheiten, zumal Wechselfieber; 1836 konnte man aber noch weniger klagen, als 1834 und nur zwei andere Todesfälle traten in diesen Jahren, wo die deutsche Bevölkerung sich verdoppelt hatte, ein, beide bei Leuten, die durch Mißachtung jener Vorsichten sich die Krankheit zugezogen oder verschlimmert hatten. Demnach kann ich die Behauptung aufstellen, daß solche Einwanderer, die vernunftgemäß leben wollen oder leben können, dort auf einen fast eben so günstigen Gesundheitszustand rechnen können, als sie es zu Hause gewohnt waren, daß aber Uebertretungen solcher Regeln sich hier härter und schneller bestrafen, als dort. An Brustübeln und Entzündungskrankheiten leidet man hier entschieden weniger als in den nördlichen Breiten oder den Gebirgsgegenden Deutschlands.

Nun schulgemäß über mineralischen, vegetabilischen und animalischen Reichthum der Gegend zu sprechen, kann ich mich kaum entschließen, doch erlaube mir der geneigte Leser einige Bemerkungen. Daß auf den Wiesen Gras und im Walde Bäume wachsen, wird er vermuthen; doch muß ich hinzufügen, daß von ersterem nicht viel vorhanden, und an letzteren auch hie und da Mangel ist; denn das Vieh zerstört nach und nach das Präriegras, und andere Kräuter, perennirende Blumen und Stauden nehmen seinen Platz ein, oder Haselhecken sprießen auf; und der Wald ist theilweise schon traurig durchgelichtet, so daß wenigstens an gutem Bauholz auf manchen Besitzungen Mangel herrscht. Nadelholz ist keines da, selbst die sonst so häufige felsenliebende Ceder (Bleistiftholz, virginischer Wachholder) fehlt — weil keine Felsen da sind; Eichen und Nußbaumarten bilden den Hauptbestand des Waldes, und wie gewöhnlich wachsen die brauchbarsten Arten auf und an den Höhen.

Unter der Dammerde, welche in den Prärien von 1—2 zu 10—15 Fuß stark ist, und auf den Höhen oft nur wenige Zoll beträgt, liegt meist Lehm, und unter diesem hat man beim Graben von Brunnen zähen blauen Thon oder Letten gefunden; an einigen

Plätzen der nördlichen und südlichen Hügel findet sich auch — hier eine Seltenheit — Sand, dem gelegentlich nachgegraben wird. Felsen hat man, so viel ich weiß, nur in dem Thale östlich von dem Meetinghouse gefunden, eine Art von Sandsteinconglomerat. Kalksteine werden etwas weiter nach Norden gebrochen und zum Ausmauern von Kellern und Brunnen verwendet. Von Metallen, edlen oder unedlen, findet sich keine Spur, eben so wenig hat man noch Steinkohlen entdecken können, die bei Belleville und weiter oberhalb am Silvercreek in bedeutenden Lagern gefunden werden. Worauf sich der Name letzteren Flüßchens, Silberfluß, bezieht, läßt sich nicht mehr ergründen. In der Gegend finden sich mehrere Quellen mit trefflichem Wasser, an den beiderseitigen Hügeln hin; eine davon, auf Herrn Hildebrands Besitzung, hat einen nicht ganz unbedeutenden Schwefelgehalt, der mich allerdings, aus Gründen, die es hier zu weitläufig wäre zu entwickeln, auf Steinkohlen schließen läßt. Auf den meisten Pflanzungen ist man indessen genöthigt gewesen, Brunnen zu graben, und hat dadurch, dem gewöhnlichen Vorurtheil entgegen, eben so gutes als meistens reichliches Wasser erhalten.

Habe ich dem Gewächsreich und der unorganischen Natur so viel Raum gewidmet, so muß ich nun schon gerecht sein und auch für die Thiere einige Stellvertreter erscheinen lassen. Hirsche (daß der hiesige verschieden von dem europäischen sei, und kleiner, ist bekannt) gibt es noch ziemlich viele hier; sie bilden nebst den Truthühnern und Präriehühnern und zur geeigneten Jahreszeit Enten einen Gegenstand der Jagd, welche indessen mehr des Vergnügens als des Nutzens wegen und nur gelegentlich betrieben wird. Die Vortheile aber, die diese Thiere gewähren mögen, werden wieder reichlich aufgewogen durch den Schaden, welchen die kleineren Raubthiere, das Beutelthier (Opossum), der Waschbär (Racoon), der Marder (Minx), das Stinkthier und der Fuchs nebst Habichten und Eulen unter dem Geflügel, die Eichhörnchen und Waschbären in den Maisfeldern, die Hasen oder Kaninchen (oder eigentlich ein Mittelding zwischen beiden) in Gärten und zumal an jungen Obstbäumen, und viele Vögel an Aepfeln und Kirschen anrichten. Präriewölfe (zwischen Fuchs und Wolf die Mitte haltend) lassen sich in den Prärien im Winter häufig hören, und rauben wohl auch einmal ein Schaaf oder ein junges Schwein;

Panther (Couguar) hat man seit langer Zeit nur einmal, im December 1834, am Silvercreek gespürt und von Bären weiß man gar nichts mehr. Fische gibt es einige im Silvercreek, Schildkröten in allen Bächen und auf den Wiesen; Schlangen sieht man überall; von giftigen habe ich nur die Klapperschlange gesehen, schädlicher ist aber die große schwarze Schlange, welche die Hühner erstickt und ihre Eier oder Jungen frißt. Frösche lassen sich im Frühling eine Menge hören, und in mancherlei Tonarten, des sonstigen kleinen Ungeziefers ist auch eine angemessene Proportion: Gekäfer, Schmetterlinge und Motten aller Art; Waldböcke in Hecken und Haselgebüschen in Menge; und etwas weniges Muskiten, die sich jodch meist auf die Nähe des Silvercreeks beschränken.

Der ackerbare Boden ist meistens von vorzüglicher Güte, namentlich ist in den Prärien die Lage der schwarzen Dammerde sehr stark, wie oben bemerkt. Das beste Land ist da, wo die Prärien nicht ganz eben sind, daher dem Wasser leichten Abfluß gestatten, ohne durch dasselbe abgeschwemmt zu werden; zumal zieht man das Land vor, wo Haselgebüsch wächst; ganz ebene, niedrige Präriestellen leiden öfter in nassen Jahren, werden aber immer vortreffliches Land für künstliche Wiesen bieten. Im Wald ist das Land weniger gut, und da, wo es sehr abhängig ist, wird die fruchtbare Erde von solchen Feldern, die schon einige Jahre in Cultur waren, abgespült; bei guter Behandlung, wie man sie hier freilich nicht gewohnt ist, würde dieser Boden indessen immer noch vorzüglichen Waizen, Gerste und Hafer liefern, wenn auch schon Mais nicht mehr darauf gedeihen will.

Die Produkte des Landes sind: Mais, Waizen, Hafer, Gerste, etwas Roggen; Aepfel und Pfirsiche; Gemüse jeder Art und Kartoffeln; sodann Schweine, Schaafe, Rindvieh und Pferde, von denen die drei letzteren fast nur für eigenen Bedarf gezogen werden. Mais bleibt noch ein Hauptartikel, obwohl die anderen Getreidearten immer mehr an Wichtigkeit gewinnen. Er gedeiht sehr gut und in den Prärien ganz vortrefflich; doch leidet der, welcher vielleicht wegen nasser Witterung im Frühjahr erst spät gepflanzt werden konnte, zuweilen durch Frühfröste im September und October. Waizen gedeiht nicht immer gleich gut und leidet öfter in den so sehr wechselnden, oft nassen Wintern. Besser verträgt es der Roggen hier, und Gerste und Hafer liefern gewöhn-

lich reiche Ausbeute. Die Aepfel sind, obwohl häufig nicht gepfropft, meist sehr gut; sie gerathen wohl und liefern einen ausgezeichneten Wein, welcher gut behandelt nur an Geschmack, kaum an Stärke den gewöhnlichen Weinen nachsteht. Nur im Jahre 1834 tödtete ein Spätfrost Ende April nach einer ungewöhnlich vorgerückten Frühjahrsvegetation die jungen Aepfel; ein anderer Fall der Art soll indessen nicht vorgekommen sein; Pfirsiche dagegen leiden häufig und 1836 war das erste Jahr, wo ich sie hier reichlich gefunden habe; die Bäume waren aber auch zum Niederbrechen voll, und dieses Jahr tragen sie wieder eben so viel. Die Frucht wird häufig getrocknet, auch brennt man einen guten Branntwein daraus, doch hat sie den Werth nicht für den Oekonomen, den die Aepfel darbieten. Unter die neuen Versuche der Deutschen gehört die Anlage eines Weinbergs und eines Obstgartens mit europäischen Sorten. Ersterer ist von Hrn. F. Engelmann angelegt worden, auf dem Abhange eines Hügels in einer ausgezeichnet gut gegen Kälte und besonders die verderblichen Spätfröste geschützten Lage. Die Reben, von 6—8 Sorten, wurden 1833 aus Rheinbaiern gebracht, konnten erst im Juni gepflanzt werden, litten das folgende Frühjahr wieder durch Auspflanzen, erholten sich aber nach manchem sonstigen Mißgeschick nach und nach, trugen im vergangenen Jahre einige Beeren und versprechen eine reiche Erndte in diesem Herbst. Wie sie gedeihen werden, welche Arten die besten für dieses Klima und diesen Boden sind, und ob die Trauben nicht blos zum Essen sondern wirklich auch zu Wein taugen, bleibt den nun fortlaufend anzustellenden Versuchen zur Entscheidung überlassen. Ein vielleicht weniger glänzendes aber vielleicht nützlicheres Ziel suchte Herr J. Ledergerber durch Verpflanzen europäischer (elsasser, aus Bollwiler) Obstarten hierher zu erreichen. Er ließ im Winter 1834/5 mehrere hundert Stämme veredelter Obstsorten jeder Art, namentlich Birnen, Kirschen, die verschiedenen Pflaumenarten und Wallnußbäume kommen, und pflanzte sie im März des Jahres 1835. Fast zwei Drittheile der Bäume, welche Ankauf und Transport zusammen gerechnet immer billiger kommen, als hiesige Obstbäume (unveredelte Aepfelbäume ausgenommen) sind recht kräftig gewachsen; mehrere davon blühten dies Frühjahr, und einige davon scheinen schon Früchte tragen zu wollen.

Kartoffeln gerathen vorzüglich gut hier; sie tragen sehr reichlich und sind im Durchschnitt besser als man sie im Osten findet, wenn sie schon die bessern deutschen Sorten, oder die in Wiskonsin und dem Norden von Illinois gezogenen nicht erreichen. Bataten, oder sogenannte süße Kartoffeln werden wenig gebaut; sie gedeihen nicht jedes Jahr gut, und verlangen einen warmen und dauernden Sommer. Die gewöhnlichen Gartengemüße wachsen vorzüglich schön, wenn das Wetter nicht zu heiß und trocken ist, in diesem Falle leiden allerdings die Kohlarten. Erbsen, Bohnen, Salad, Rettige und vieles Andere wächst in unendlicher Fülle bei geringer Pflege; unter die größte Sorge für den Garten gehört aber immer die, das Unkraut zurückzuhalten, welches mit erstaunlicher Ueppigkeit emporschießt. Baumwolle wird nur von den amerikanischen Nachbarn gebaut; sie liefert geringen und unsichern Ertrag und kann nur für den Hausgebrauch verwandt werden, wo sie gesponnen und mit der Schaafwolle verwebt wird. Oelsaat oder Reps hat man im Kleinen zu bauen versucht, und will günstige Resultate erzielt haben; augenscheinlich bestehen aber noch keine Mühlen, um daraus Oel zu schlagen, und ob dies Oel bei dem verhältnißmäßig geringen Preise des gereinigten Fischthrans mit diesem als Brennöl wird concurriren können, bleibt zu untersuchen. Tabak, dessen Anbau in dem benachbarten Missouri jetzt sehr in Aufnahme kommt, und der da sehr wohl gedeiht, und viel größern Gewinn als die Feldfrüchte abwirft, hat man noch nicht angepflanzt; Einige stellen in Frage, ob der schwere schwarze Boden der Prärien so geeignet sei, die feineren Sorten hervorzubringen, als der eben so fruchtbare aber leichtere Boden vieler Theile des Missourithales.

Die Viehzucht ist der Natur beinahe ganz überlassen; Wenige halten Einige ihrer Pferde eingesperrt, und nur Einer oder Zwei füttern die ihrigen das ganze Jahr, um sie immer bei der Hand zu haben und sie nicht der Gefahr des Weglaufens (vielleicht auch Stehlens) auszusetzen, wodurch die dortigen Deutschen schon 6—8 Stück verloren haben. Die meisten Pferde laufen frei herum, und werden nur, wenn sie gebraucht werden und den Winter durch gefüttert. Noch weniger thut man für das Rindvieh, welches nur nothdürftig durch den Winter Futter erhält, und dessen Fortpflanzung ganz ihm selbst überlassen bleibt. Dasselbe ist mit

Schaafen und Schweinen der Fall, die man nur so viel füttert, daß sie sich an den Hofplatz gewöhnen, und durch den Winter erhalten können. Die Schweine werden, wenn es gute Mast gibt, schon durch diese ziemlich fett, werden aber gewöhnlich mit Mais ausgemästet, und zu eigenem Gebrauch geschlachtet und geräuchert, oder an Metzger der Städte oder Kaufleute, die sie gesalzen nach New-Orleans senden, verkauft. Alle diese Hausthiere gedeihen sehr wohl; wenn aber, wie es nicht selten geschieht, gar keine Sorgfalt darauf verwandt wird, gehen auch viele wieder zu Grunde, und sind vieleicht Wochen lang schon eine Speise der Geier, ehe man ihre Abwesenheit bemerkt. Dasselbe Verhältniß tritt mit dem Federvieh ein; es vermehrt sich außerordentlich stark, aber außerdem, daß es durch Raubthiere leidet, gehen viele Jungen durch schlechte Witterung verloren. Wo indessen, wie bei einigen Ansiedlern der Fall ist, sorgfältigere Pflege statt findet, ein Hühnerhaus da ist u. s. w., gedeiht es sehr gut und belohnt reichlich die darauf verwandte Mühe.

Haben wir uns so lange mit dem Land und seinen Producten abgegeben, so ist es nun Zeit, den Bewohnern und zumal den deutschen Ansiedlern unsere Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen.

Die ersten Niederlassungen in dieser Gegend fallen in die dem letzten englischen Krieg vorausgehende Zeit, etwa die Jahre 1810—12 und waren mit in das so genannte Turkey-hill-Settlement begriffen, das damals auch die Ridge Prairie und die Gegend von Belleville einschloß, jetzt aber nur die Niederlassungen auf den südlichen Hügeln bezeichnet. Die Familien Moore, Scott, Watts und West werden unter denen genannt, welche hier der Cultur Bahn brachen; die beiden ersten wohnen noch, vielfach verzweigt, hier; die beiden andern haben die Gegend verlassen, zum Theil von Deutschen ausgekauft. Nach und nach bevölkerte sich die Gegend mehr, und bis auf 10 oder 12 neuere Ansiedlungen waren alle auf unserer Karte angegebenen schon vor 1832 gegründet. Bereits vor diesem Jahre, und meines Wissens schon 1830 waren ausgewanderte deutsche Landleute nach diesen Theilen von Illinois vorgedrungen und hatten sich in verschiedenen Richtungen um Belleville auf Congreßland niedergelassen oder hatten amerikanische Gehöfte gepachtet; einige wenige kauften Ländereien vom Staat oder aus Privathand. So waren eine oder zwei deutsche

Ansiedlungen namentlich auch auf dem Turkey hill entstanden, aber erst 1832 kam H. Merkel aus der Gegend von Seligenstadt hierher, der erste, der sich im Bereich der jetzigen deutschen Niederlassung ankaufte, und acquirirte eine Pflanzung, die sich noch immer durch ihren trefflichen Obstgarten und den Humor und die Gastlichkeit ihres Besitzers auszeichnet.

Um dieselbe Zeit richtete sich die Auswanderung aus den gebildeten Ständen Deutschlands, welche sich bis dahin nur gar spärlich in die Mississippiländer verloren hatte, nach St. Louis, und rechts und links vom Flusse, landeinwärts. Schon 1831 waren die Schweizerfamilien des Dr. Köpfli und H. Suppiger nach der Looking-glaß-Prairie im damaligen Madison- (jetzt Clinton-) Bezirke, und im folgenden Jahr Dr. Gerke und sein Sohn aus Hamburg nach dem Marinesettlement (einer ursprünglich von neuengländischen Seeleuten gegründeten Niederlassung) nicht weit von ersteren eingewandert, und beide haben seitdem einen Kreis von deutschen Niederlassungen um sich gezogen. Aber erst im Mai 1833 kamen die Brüder Th. und E. Hilgard aus Speier mit den Herren F. Wolff aus Freinsheim und J. Ledergerber aus St. Gallen auf einer Untersuchungsreise durch die Umgegend von St. Louis nach der Loopprairie und kauften, die Annehmlichkeit dieser Gegend allen andern von ihnen besuchten Strichen vorziehend, im folgenden Monate die in diesem Augenblicke von ihnen besessenen Gehöfte. Eine Verkettung von Umständen, worunter vornehmlich die zu rechnen, daß um dieselbe Zeit eine rheinbaierische Auswanderungsgesellschaft unter der Leitung von Dr. Geiger, ein Theil der bekannteren rheinhessischen Gesellschaft unter G. Sandherr und Hauptm. Wilhelm (ein anderer Theil war nach Arkansas, ihrem ursprünglichen Bestimmungsorte, gegangen) und eine unverbundene kleine Gesellschaft aus Rheinbaiern, bestehend aus den Familien Engelmann, Aben und Kölsch, in St. Louis ankamen, welche alle mehr oder weniger unter einander und mit den schon angesiedelten Brüdern Hilgard befreundet und zum Theil verwandt waren: — diese Umstände, mehrere der Neuangekommenen herüber ziehend, vermehrten schnell die kleine Ansiedlung, die nun im Herbst dieses Jahres schon aus 9 oder 10 Familien bestand. Die Meisten waren aus derselben Gegend Deutschlands, aus der schönen Rheinpfalz gekommen, die Meisten waren, wie gesagt,

schon früher unter einander eng verbunden; sie wohnten alle in einer anmuthigen Gegend und befanden sich meist in nicht ungünstigen äußern Verhältnissen; über viele Beschwerlichkeiten der ersten Ansiedlung halfen sie sich einander, halfen ihnen ihre freundlichen amerikanischen Nachbarn weg, welche bald einen Unterschied zwischen Deutschen und Deutschen zu machen lernten, und so konnte es nicht fehlen, daß ein glückliches gegenseitiges Verhältniß eintrat, was den Aufenthalt daselbst den Bewohnern angenehm und den fremden Besuchern reizend macht, in das die spätern Ansiedler erfreulich einpaßten, und das sich (ich mag kaum die wenigen, überall im geselligen Leben gelegentlich eintretenden Störungen erwähnen) immer mehr befestigt und verschönert hat.

Wenn ich vorhin von 9 oder 10 Familien gesprochen, so war das in so fern nicht ganz richtig, als mehrere unverheirathete junge Männer Land angekauft hatten. Dies waren die Herren Th. und E. Hilgard aus Speier, F. Wolf und A. Dilg aus Freinsheim und Oppenheim, J. Ledergerber aus St. Gallen und M. Rupelius aus Grünstadt; der erste und die beiden letzten verheiratheten sich noch in diesem oder dem folgenden Jahre. Die Familien, welche sich 1833 hier ankauften, waren die der Herren F. Engelmann von Imsbach, E. Haren von Winweiler, H. Kölsch aus Kirchheim, H. Fritz aus Neustadt, Wittwe Aben aus Marnheim, G. Sandherr aus Worms und J. Fleischbein aus Landau, welcher letztere sich etwas außerhalb der Grenze unserer Karte niederließ. Auch die Familien Knobloch und Fischer aus dem Darmstädtischen kamen in diesem Jahre in die Gegend, so wie überhaupt eine große Anzahl deutscher Landleute um dieselbe Zeit zumal nach den Hügeln und Thälern des Turkey hill zogen.

Viele unverheirathete junge Männer kamen um dieselbe Zeit oder etwas später hierher; Einige davon, die Herren G. Neuhoff aus Frankfurt, Busch aus Mainz und J. Leist aus Bamberg, kauften sich zusammen an; eine nicht geringe Anzahl anderer, unter denen die Herren G. Körner aus Frankfurt, K. Schreiber aus Meiningen, E. Friedrich aus Leipzig, W. Decker aus Grüneberg, W. Weber aus Altenburg, F. Lindheimer aus Frankfurt, der Verfasser dieses und die Söhne der Familie Engelmann, größtentheils Universitätsfreunde, hausten in einem, Herrn F. Engelmann zugehörigen, von seinem Wohnhaus eine halbe Meile entfernten

Gebäude, das unter dem Namen der obern Farm bekannt, jetzt verlassen unter den schönen Catalpas hervor durch die Baumgipfel herabschaut in die Wiesengründe. Ein anderer Junggesellensitz der Art war die Hilgardsche Besitzung, wo außer den beiden Brüdern, sich die Herren Th. Krafft aus Katzweiler, G. Heimberger aus Speier, Dr. Gust. Bunsen und Dr. Berchelmann aus Frankfurt und später A. Cunradi aus Augsburg eine Zeitlang aufhielten, bis im nächsten Jahr die Rückkunft des wieder nach Deutschland gereisten Hrn. Th. Hilgard mit seiner Gattin die Junggesellenwirthschaft in eine freundlichere Häuslichkeit verwandelt.

Im Jahre 1834 zerstob die große Giesener Auswanderungsgesellschaft, welche so viel versprochen hatte, und einige ihrer Mitglieder, die Herren Georg Bunsen aus Frankfurt in Verbindung mit dem schon früher angekommenen Dr. Berchelmann und Herr F. Köhler aus Altenburg siedelten sich hier an. Die Ankunft der Familie Bär und Pirschbacher fällt in dieselbe Zeit. Die Herren Neuhoff u. Comp. verkauften ihr Land an die Herren Bunsen und Berchelmann; Herr Busch verband sich mit der Wittwe des verstorbenen Herrn Fritz und Herr J. Engelmann ließ das auf der Karte mit seinem Namen bezeichnete Land ankaufen.

Früh im folgenden Jahre kamen die Herren Dr. A. Reuß und Dr. A. Schott, beide aus Frankfurt, mit ihren Familien hier an, und kauften eine der schönsten Besitzungen in dieser Gegend; bald darauf folgte die Kaisingsche Familie aus Rheinhessen.

Hatten sich bis dahin die Einwanderer, voll von den schönen Ideen über Landleben in Amerika, wie wir Alle sie in Deutschland ausgesponnen, nur zu gerne fortbauend auf Schilderungen, die in ihrer Allgemeinheit blos halb wahr waren:—hatten sich bis dahin die Einwanderer alle nach dem Lande und zusammengedrängt, so trat jetzt eine Reaction ein. Viele hatten jetzt, nach ein- bis zweijähriger Erfahrung, eingesehen, daß der Landbau hier weder so mühelos, noch so einträglich sei, als sie sich vorgestellt, sie sahen, daß sie wenig zu Wege bringen konnten, während ihre amerikanischen Nachbarn auf gleich gutem Lande treffliche Erndten machten, und die nahen deutschen Landleute zum Theil auf ärmerm Boden bald so viel verdienten, daß sie ihre Schulden abtragen konnten. Ich behalte mir vor, unten über diese Verhältnisse und die wichtigen sich daraus ergebenden Fragen einiges

Weitere zu sagen. Die Folge derselben war bei Einigen, daß sie andere Erwerbszweige neben der Landwirthschaft aufsuchten, so errichtete Herr Engelmann eine Stärkefabrik, Herr Busch eine Brantweinbrennerei und Herr Rupelius fing an zu predigen; bei andern bildete sich die Ueberzeugung, daß das Vortheilhafteste für sie sei, zu ihren früher gewohnten städtischen Geschäften zurückzukehren, oder neue ihren Neigungen angemessenere zu beginnen. Herr Th. Krafft hatte sich schon früher in Belleville mit dem hiesigen Kaufmannswesen vertraut gemacht und etablirte nun daselbst in Verbindung mit einem Amerikaner, Flanagen, eine Handlung, die jetzt in Belleville den ersten Rang einnimmt. Herr Heimberger war nach New-Orleans, die Herren Friedrich und Lindheimer nach Mexiko gegangen, von denen sich indessen ersterer jetzt nach Deutschland, letzterer nach Texas begeben hat, Herr Schreiber hatte eine Expedition nach den Felsengebrigen und dem stillen Meere begleitet, und jagt noch dort in den Wildnissen. Herr Dr. jur. Körner besuchte, das hiesige Rechtswesen zu studieren, die Universität Lexington in Kentucky, und ließ sich dann in Belleville als Rechtsanwalt nieder; eben da erfüllte Herr Kaising seinen Landbau verlassend den in civilisirter Gesellschaft nicht minder nothwendigen Beruf des Metzgers, während die Herren Fleischbein und Dilg (ersterer hatte seine Besitzung an H. v. Harthausen, letzterer seinen Antheil an Herrn Wolff und J. Schewé verkauft) die durstigen Bewohner des Städtchens und der Gegend mit trefflichem Bier zu versehen begannen.[1] Später zog Frau Aben nach Belleville, der Erziehung ihrer Kinder wegen; Herr Busch ging mit seiner Familie dahin und treibt daselbst Küferei; die Herren Hilgard und Wolff errichteten eine Dampfbrennerei dicht vor dem Städtchen. Andre Deutsche, Aerzte, Handwerker und Schenkwirthe strömten von andern Seiten dem Städtchen zu. In St. Louis dagegen etablirte sich Herr E. Haren, der sein Landgut einem andern H. v. Harthausen verkauft hatte, als Kaufmann; eben dahin ging Herr Th. Engelmann und errichtete ein Commissions- und Geschäftsbureau; später Herr Weber als Redakteur der dortigen deutschen Zeitung, des „Anzeigers des Westens“ und der Verfasser

[1] Die Bierbrauerei ging vor Kurzem in die Hände der Herren E. Hilgard und L. Wolff über; und die bisherigen Besitzer errichten eine andre in größerm Maßstab in St. Louis.

dieses als Arzt, nachdem er 8 Monate zu einer naturhistorischen Reise nach dem Südwesten der Union verwandt hatte.

Hatte auf diese Art die Niederlassung einigen Abbruch erlitten, so waren dafür die beiden H. v. Harthausen eingetreten, und sie vermehrte sich ferner in diesem Jahre durch die Ankunft der Familie Hildebrand aus Stuttgard, welche sich an der Ridge Prairie, und die des Herrn E. Köhler, der sich neben seinem Bruder ankaufte, so wie durch die Ansiedlung von Herrn Decker neben seinem Schwiegervater Engelmann.

Die Familie von Herrn Th. Hilgard aus Zweibrücken kam im Beginn des nächsten Jahres hier an, kaufte aber nicht unmittelbar in der Nähe, sondern dicht vor Belleville Land; einer ihrer Begleiter, Herr F. Hilgard aus Speier, kaufte 1837 eine kleine Pflanzung neben Dr. Reuß und bald darauf mit den Herren Cunradi und Heimberger einiges Land mit einer Sägemühle und einem Kaufladen in dem eben angelegten Städtchen Mechanicsburg, gerade außerhalb der südöstlichen Ecke unserer Karte, anderthalb Meilen vom Silvercreek an der Straße nach Shawneetown gelegen. Um dieselbe Zeit kaufte sich, als die letzten deutschen Ankömmlinge, die Familie Raith aus Göpfingen hier an.

Die Niederlassung, so weit sie in den Grenzen unserer Karte eingeschlossen ist, also auf einem Raum von 36 engl. Quadratmeilen, besteht aus 70—80 Gehöften, die von 400 bis 500 Menschen bewohnt werden, eine starke Bevölkerung für diese westlichen Gegenden, die indessen in einigen andern Theilen des Staates übertroffen wird. Von der ganzen Anzahl sind etwa 30 Gehöfte in den Händen von Deutschen, und haben etwas über 160 Bewohner.

Unter den amerikanischen Besitzungen zeichnen sich durch Ausdehnung, guten Boden, guten Anbau und gute Gebäude namentlich die von Pearce, W. Alexander, W. Middlecoff, Hughes, Gay, S. und E. Mitchell, Will, und Sam. Scott und mehrere Moore's aus. Die deutschen Niederlassungen haben vorläufig bessere Wohngebäude, indem es die Ankömmlinge beim Ankauf von Ländereien als eines der wichtigsten Erfordernisse ansahen, gute Wohnungen zu erhalten, oder alsbald solche errichteten; denn mit Recht glaubten sie sich in guten Häusern sicherer vor Krankheiten, und enthoben einer Menge von Unannehmlichkeiten und kleinen Leiden,

welche häufig so sehr dazu beitragen, dem Ansiedler die ersten Jahre zu verbittern. Die besten Häuser findet man auf den Besitzungen der Herren Schott, Reuß, Hilgard, Bunsen, Ledergerber, Engelmann und Decker. Es sind alle zweistöckige oder s. g. anderthalbstöckige Gebäude, entweder von der Art, die man hier Framehouses [1] nennt, oder nach deutscher Art von Fachwerk aufgeführt, das mit Backsteinen ausgemauert oder mit Holz und Strohlehm ausgefüllt wird. Fast alle Häuser haben unten und einige auch eine Treppe hoch Gallerien, meist nach der Südseite, zuweilen auch nach andern Seiten hin.

Das beste Ackerland haben alle die Besitzungen, welche in der Prärie liegen, oder sich aus dem Waldrande hinein erstrecken; geeigneter aber für Obstgärten und wohl auch namentlich für Rebenanlagen sind nicht so wohl wegen der größeren Wärme als wegen des besseren Schutzes vor Spätfrösten und wegen des weniger üppigen Bodens die etwas höhern nach Süden abhängigen Striche. Die besten Aepfelgärten finden sich auf den Ländereien der Herren Köhler, Merkel und Ledergerber; der von H. Engelmann zeichnet sich durch sein frühes Obst aus.

Die Größe der deutschen Besitzungen ist natürlich sehr verschieden, und wenn eine nur 30, einige andere nur 40 Acker Landes enthalten, so gibt es andere, welche über 300 Acker groß sind, und einige Amerikaner hier herum haben 800 bis 1000 Acker Land. Nicht leicht findet sich eine Pflanzung, wo nicht 20 Acker urbar gemacht wären; 30 bis 60 ist die gewöhnliche Zahl, und so viel als ein Amerikaner mit der Hülfe seiner Familie leicht bestellen kann; andere haben auch über 100 Acker in Cultur.

Der Preis des Landes wird gewöhnlich nach der Größe desselben angegeben: so und so viel für den Acker; daß er aber da, wo die Cultur etwas vorangeschritten, nicht nur nach der Lage und Beschaffenheit des Landes, sondern ebenso nach den Anlagen, die darauf gemacht sind, wechseln müsse, ist begreiflich; nur von

[1] Diese Bauart ist so viel ich weiß Amerika eigenthümlich; ein leichtes Balkengerüst wird von Außen, wie das auch bei den andern Arten von Häusern überall hier der Fall ist, mit Wetterborden beschlagen; inwendig werden die Seitenwände und die Decke mit dünnen, etwa fingerbreit von einander stehenden Latten übernagelt und auf diese ein Ueberzug von Kalk angebracht, der geglättet und zuweilen beliebig angestrichen oder mit Tapeten bekleidet, öfter aber unverändert gelassen wird. Diese wie die andern Arten von Häusern werden mit Schindeln gedeckt.

ungebautem Lande, oder da, wo die Anlagen den rohesten Anfang noch nicht überschreiten, kann diese Art der Preisangabe einen richtigen Begriff vom Werth des Landes geben. Schon 1833 wurden hier schön gelegene Besitzungen mit guten Gebäuden und größern Feldern für 10 $. den Acker verkauft; andere kamen auf 6—8 $., und wo das Haus weniger empfehlungswerth und das Land nicht ausgezeichnet war, bezahlte man 5 $. Seitdem sind aber die Preise beständig gestiegen, und wenn auch in diesem Augenblicke bei eingetretener Geldklemme notwendige Verkäufe weniger einbringen dürften als vor einem halben Jahre, so ist dennoch der Werth des Landes eher im Steigen. Ländereien, die vor 4 Jahren zu 600 $. ausgeboten wurden, sollen jetzt 1000 $. kosten, und ist dies Steigen von 16 Procent auch nicht das gewöhnliche, so darf man doch die Hälfte, 8 Procent, jährlich für sicher annehmen.

Das Leben in dieser Niederlassung wird zwar sehr wenig durch den Einfluß der amerikanischen Umgebung modificirt, denn in Sprache und Sitten verschieden isoliren sich die Deutschen vielleicht zu sehr von den frühern Bewohnern, und leben zu abgeschlossen von ihnen blos unter einander. Erst der folgenden Generation, der beide Sprachen geläufig sein werden, die in den Sitten der Eltern erzogen auch denen des vorwaltenden englischen nicht fremd bleibt, wird es gegeben sein, ganz als Einheimische zu erscheinen und zu wirken; bisher leben die Eingewanderten fast blos für sich und für einander. Nichts desto weniger scheint es passend, einige Worte über die amerikanischen Nachbarn zu sagen. Als eine eben so auffallende als erfreuliche Thatsache muß es gelten, daß diese Gegend gleich von Anfang von fast durchgehends sehr achtungswerthen Männern besiedelt wurde, von denen noch Einzelne hier leben, und deren Familien sich zum Theil über das Land verbreitet haben. Den gewöhnlichen Anfang einer amerikanischen Niederlassung in den westlichen Wildnissen, wie man sie noch so häufig an den Grenzen von Missouri und durch ganz Arkansas findet, und wovon Texas das lebendigste Beispiel darbietet, hat man hier nicht gekannt. Menschen, denen es in der Nähe von Nachbarn nicht wohl war, weil Jagd und freie Weide zu sehr beschränkt wurden, ihre dürftige Hütte und das kleine Feld, das oft gar nie ihr Eigenthum war, verlassen; oder solche,

die von den Gesetzen civilisirter Gegenden gedrängt, nach den Grenzen der Cultur ihre Zuflucht nahmen: solche hat es hier kaum gegeben. Die hiesigen Bewohner gehören fast durchgängig zu denen zweiter oder dritter Stufe, wie sie gewöhnlich den Pionieren folgen, das Land eigenthümlich besitzen, und mit der Absicht da zu bleiben und sich eine Heimath zu schaffen, mit jedem Jahre die Cultur ihrer Besitzungen erhöhen, und ihre Anlagen erweitern. Die Meisten von ihnen waren aus den südlicheren Staaten von Virginien bis Georgien, Manche auch aus Kentucky gekommen; und schon daraus mag man auf einen freiern, weniger engherzigen, weniger von Gewinnsucht befangenen Sinn bei ihnen schließen, als man ihn gewöhnlich bei den nördlichen Amerikanern findet. Von der Stellung, die manche unter ihnen in dem Vertrauen ihrer Landsleute einnehmen, zeugt der Umstand, daß die Familie Whiteside einen Senator, und die Moore's und Middlecoff's Volksvertreter in die Gesetzgebung des Staates geliefert haben, während Belleville schon mehrere Repräsentanten zum Congreß der Union gesandt hat. Alle sind sie tüchtige Landleute; einige davon treiben dabei Handwerke, besonders das Schmiedegeschäft; Pearce hat eine Mahlmühle und Branntweinbrennerei. Mit ihren deutschen Nachbarn stehen sie im freundschaftlichsten Verhältnisse, aber in wenig Verkehr, haben aber, wie schon bemerkt, wohl einsehen lernen, daß Deutschland nicht blos von Leuten bevölkert ist, deren Fleiß und Thätigkeit sie zwar alle Anerkennung zollen, deren Unbehülflichkeit aber und Unwissenheit in Allem, was ihnen von der höchsten Wichtigkeit erscheint, sie keine hohe Meinung von ihren Fähigkeiten hatte fassen lassen. — Unter den Amerikanern, die sich hier durch wirkliche Zuneigung gegen die deutschen Ankömmlinge, zugleich durch umfassendere Ansichten in Politik und freiere Gesinnung in Kirchensachen auszeichnen, muß ich vor Allen Robert Hughes nennen. In letzterem Punkte zeichnet sich auch die Familie Moore aus, während andere, z. B. die viel verbreiteten Scott's, starre Anhänger des Methodistenthums sind.

Ueber das Leben der deutschen Bewohner habe ich schon Einiges gesagt. Es läßt sich denken, daß sie im Anfang Alle außerordentlich viel mit sich selbst und ihrer ersten Einrichtung zu thun hatten; sie waren in einen neuen Kreis geworfen, in dem sie sich

fast Alles erst schaffen mußten, selbst wenn sie Besitzungen gekauft hatten, die für die genügsamen Bedürfnisse der früheren Bewohner sehr wohl eingerichtet waren. Da waren Häuser zu bauen und zu verbessern, oder einzurichten und zu verschönern, Keller und Brunnen zu graben und Backöfen aufzurichten; dann mußten Gärten in Ordnung gebracht werden, man begnügte sich nicht mit Gemüsen, man wollte auch Blumenbeete haben, legte Lauben an oder Rasenplätze; oder man hatte Stallungen aufzuschlagen oder in Stand zu setzen, oder vielleicht verfallene Umzäunungen herzustellen, alte zu versetzen und neue zu errichten; man suchte alles bequemer und netter zu machen, um sich behaglicher fühlen zu können und versäumte nicht selten, im Bestreben Alles zu thun, das Wesentlichste, den Feldbau und die Viehzucht; ohne dies hatten sich die Allerwenigsten früher je damit befaßt, oder wenn auch, so kannten sie doch nicht die hiesige Weise und erreichten mit viel Aufwand von Zeit, Kräften und Mitteln nicht das, was viel einfacher und leichter die amerikanischen Nachbarn erzielten. Oft habe ich diese ihre Verwunderung aussprechen hören, daß die Deutschen, welche sie in Pennsylvanien als die trefflichsten Ackerbauer hatten kennen lernen, hier solche „poor farmers", unbedeutende Landwirthe wären. Es erneuerte sich albald die Frage, welche in Deutschland nach dem, was man dort hatte erfahren können, als schon längst entschieden angesehen worden war: „ob der deutsche Ansiedler hier als Landmann bestehen könne, oder ob sein angelegtes Kapital zum wenigsten die landesüblichen Zinsen trage". Die Beantwortung dieser Frage ist von der größten Wichtigkeit für auswandernde Deutsche, von ihr hängt das Wohl vieler Familien ab; es sei mir daher erlaubt, mich etwas näher darauf einzulassen; indessen bemerke ich zum Voraus, daß ich noch keine 5 Jahre in Amerika bin, noch keine 5 Jahre das Beginnen und Streben meiner Landsleute beobachtet habe, und zur Ueberzeugung gekommen bin, daß diese Zeit noch nicht hinreichend war, die Frage völlig zu lösen. Die Beantwortung muß sich auf so viele Vordersätze stützen, daß es äußerst schwer ist, genügend zu entscheiden; dringend bitte ich darum Solche meiner Landsleute, deren Erfahrungen sie zu einem Urtheil berechtigen, ihre Ansichten mit Besonnenheit und Partheilosigkeit (in einer Sache, wo Partheilosigkeit so sehr schwer, aber so sehr wichtig ist) mitzutheilen.

Es ist eine Thatsache, daß der arbeitsame amerikanische Landwirth nicht nur wohl besteht, sondern auch voran kommt und sich oft ziemlich rasch Vermögen erwirbt. Eine eben so sichere Thatsache ist es, daß der deutsche Bauer nach ein Paar schweren Jahren seine Schulden bezahlt, sein Land, das er vielleicht gepachtet hatte, oder das noch Congreßeigenthum war, ankauft, und wohl gedeiht. Aber eben so gewiß est es, daß wenigstens in den ersten Jahren die meisten deutschen Ansiedler aus den gebildeten Ständen beim Landbau zusetzen mußten.

Die Ursache ist die: die Amerikaner leben sehr einfach, haben nicht so viel zu kaufen, bezahlen wenig Arbeitslohn, verrichten alle oder fast alle ihre Feldarbeit selbst, verstehen ihre Arbeit wohl, und überdies treiben sie sehr häufig einträgliche Nebengeschäfte, haben eine kleine Mühle, treiben ein Handwerk, halten Hengste, thun Fuhren und arbeiten sonst gelegentlich für Andere; und insgemein handeln sie, kaufen und verkaufen Pferde u. s. w. und verdienen damit Geld. Der deutsche Bauer ist rastlos thätig, lernt, bekannt mit dem Feldbau im Allgemeinen, sich bald in die hier als die beste erprobte Weise finden, quält sich mit Frau und Kindern um seine Erndte, lebt dabei, wenn auch viel besser als er es in Deutschland gewohnt war, spärlich, bringt alle seine Produkte, auch scheinbar noch so unbedeutende, zu Markt, und behält für sich fast nur das, was er nicht verkaufen kann; und erhält er seine Gesundheit nur einigermaßen, so sammeln sich bald Schnupftücher voll Dollars und Taschentücher voll Banknoten (obwohl er diese im Allgemeinen mit großem Mißtrauen ansieht), welche zu Ankauf von Land, Anschaffung von mehr Vieh, Wagen u. s. w. gewinnreich verwandt werden, und seltener nur der Frau ein neues Kleid, der Tochter einen neuen Hut verschaffen, oder sonst zur Vermehrung von Lebensbequemlichkeiten dienen, die sie kaum kennen, die ihnen wenig werth sind. Nach und nach nimmt allerdings eine gewisse Art von Luxus bei ihnen zu, zugleich aber auch die Mittel dazu in noch größerem Verhältnisse.

Der gebildete Deutsche dagegen hat weniger Hände zur Arbeit, und weniger Kenntniß davon; er hat dagegen oft eine große Familie zu ernähren, die ihm nicht so unmittelbar behülflich sein kann; darum sind seine Erndten im Anfang meist geringer; dagegen bedarf er viel mehr Geld sowohl als Arbeitskräfte; denn

ein Leben wie es jenen Beiden keine Aufopferung kostet, ist für ihn, für seine Familie wenigstens, fast unerträglich; daher muß Wohnung und Garten in guten Stand gesetzt werden, wie ich schon oben bemerkt; viel Geld wird in den Hausrath gesteckt; die Lebensmittel, welche seine Wirthschaft liefert, sind nicht hinreichend, andere müssen dazu gekauft werden; die europäischen Kleider sind bald ausgetragen, und nun sind neue ein theurer Artikel, selbst wenn sie im Hause gemacht werden und nur die Zeuche dazu aus dem Laden kommen, anzuschaffen; auch hierin kann er sich nicht so behelfen, wie seine Nachbarn, sondern trägt sich besser. Die Einnahmen sind gering; denn außerdem daß er weniger zieht als der deutsche Bauer oder amerikanische Farmer, behält er das Beste für sich, was ich freilich nicht tadeln will, und verkauft nur gerade das, was ihm überflüssig ist. So geht es freilich nicht Allen, aber im Allgemeinen ist das das Bild, was sich bei den gebildeten deutschen Landleuten hier zeigt.

Suchen wir nun diese Verhältnisse so viel als möglich in Zahlen darzustellen; dabei muß ich nur zum Voraus bemerken, daß sich wohl berechnen läßt, wie viel einkommen kann, aber nicht wie viel eine Familie braucht; das ist nach tausend Ursachen so verschieden, daß ich gar keinen Anschlag zu machen wage; nur so viel muß ich zufügen, daß es Unrecht wäre in den Kostenanschlag das aufzunehmen, was für einmalige Einrichtungen, Hausbau und dergl. ausgegeben wird; in einer richtigen Uebersicht dürfen nur die laufenden, jährlich sich wiederholenden Ausgaben aufgeführt werden; erstere gehören zu dem Anlagekapital. Die Frage stellt sich nun, ob die Zinsen, welche dies Kapital, auf andere Weise hier angelegt, tragen würde, nicht den Betrag übersteigen, welchen der Ansiedler in Naturalien oder Geld aus seinem Landbau zieht; es kommt dann freilich immer wieder auf die Größe des Kapitals und die Bedürfnisse des Besitzers an, ob diese Zinsen, sie mögen nun hoch oder niedrig ausfallen, für die Bestreitung seiner Bedürfnisse hinreichen, oder sie gar noch übersteigen; es kommt ferner auf die Neigung des Besitzers an, ob ihm Landleben an und für sich, und seine Thätigkeit so viel werth sind, daß er auch mit geringeren Zinsen, sobald sie seinen Bedürfnissen genügen, zufrieden ist; endlich muß noch in Anschlag gebracht werden, daß der Werth des Landes selbst unabänderlich, obwohl in

verschiedenen Graden, bald schneller bald langsamer steigt, und auf diese Art jährliche Zinsen anwachsen, welche freilich nicht augenblicklich disponibel sind, aber dafür den Kapitalwerth erhöhen. Darüber nachher.

Untersuchen wir nun den Ertrag des Landes im Verhältniß zu seinem Preis. Die hier gewöhnliche Art zu verpachten gibt uns da die besten Schätzungsmittel an die Hand; man verpachtet nämlich das urbare Land gegen die Hälfte des Ertrages, hat dann aber Vieh und Geschirr zu liefern; oder gegen ein Drittheil, wo der Pächter blos das urbare Land erhält (und allenfalls ein Häuschen, das nicht in Anschlag gebracht wird). Diese letzte Verpachtungsweise gibt eine einfachere Rechnung und auf sie wollen wir uns stützen. Das Drittheil ist aber nach der Größe des ganzen Ertrages, also nach der Geschicklichkeit und Thätigkeit des Pächters, der Güte des Landes, der Witterung u. s. w. verschieden, man setzt daher häufig ein Mittel fest, und dies ist gewöhnlich 10 oder 12 Buschel Mais für den Acker Land, der Pächter mag nun bauen was er will; diese sind jetzt an Ort und Stelle $.2½ bis 3 werth, galten früher weniger, und werden wohl noch mehr steigen; verpachtet man aber für Geld, so erhält man gewöhnlich nicht mehr als $ 2 für den Acker Landes. Nehmen wir $.2½ für den Durchschnittspreis an (der Werth des Landes und die Möglichkeit mehr daraus zu ziehen steigt hier beständig, und überdem geben jetzt Waizen, Gerste und zumal Kartoffeln einen viel reicheren Ertrag, in Geld angeschlagen), so trägt ein Feld von 80 Ackern $.200 jährlichen Pacht in Naturalien. Hat man ein solches Stück Prärieland und eben so viel Waldland vom Congreß gekauft, und ersteres einzäunen, urbar machen und mit einem Häuschen versehen lassen, so kann man für die verwandte Summe, die sich auf $.800 oder höchstens 1000 belaufen wird, 20 bis 25 Prozente jährlich ziehen. Die Sache verhält sich aber gewöhnlich ganz anders, denn eine Besitzung von 160 Ackern mit einem guten Wohnhause, Garten u. s. w., wo ein deutscher Ankömmling keine weitere Auslagen für Bauten zu machen hätte, hat hier gewöhnlich nur 30 bis 60 Acker urbares Land, wurde früher mit $.1200 bis 1500 bezahlt, und würde jetzt hier herum $.2000 bis 2500 kosten. Gesetzt der Besitzer hat nun ein kleines Stück Land, Garten, Obstgarten und Feld für Gemüse und Kartoffeln für sich behalten, und

es beiben ihm zum Verpachten 30 Acker übrig, so tragen ihm diese, je nachdem der Preis seines Landes war, 5—6 oder 3—4 Procente; freilich wohnt er dann noch dabei auf seinem Land und hat den Genuß des eben angegebenen Gartens u. s. w. und sein Feuerholz; alles dies zusammen wird wieder $.200 jährlich werth sein, so daß sich die Zinsen demnach auf 18—23 oder 11—14 Procente belaufen würden, wovon aber, ich wiederhole es, nur der kleinste Theil bar, oder in verkäuflichen Naturalien einkömmt. Rechnet man noch das beständige Steigen des Landwerthes hinzu, welches außergewöhnliche günstige oder ungünstige Einwirkungen abgerechnet in der dortigen Gegend jährlich 6—8 Procente betragen mag, und in der letzten Zeit viel bedeutender war, so ergibt sich endlich, daß kein Kapital sicherer und vortheilhafter angelegt werden kann, als in Land, am besten in rohem Land, das man von den Staaten kauft, aber auch selbst dann, wenn man hohe Preise für schon angebautes Land bezahlt. Daß man die Zinsen immer höher steigern kann, je mehr Land man urbar machen läßt, und verpachtet, versteht sich von selbst.

Anders scheint mir, stellt sich das Resultat heraus, wenn man fragt, ob gebildete deutsche Familien allein vom Landbau leben können. Die Erfahrung scheint dagegen zu sprechen, denn wir haben gesehen, daß eine große Anzahl derselben sich zu städtischen Geschäften gewandt hat, und daß der Zug der deutschen Einwanderung, der sich früher fast ganz dem Lande zugewendet, jetzt fast in gleichem Verhältnisse nach den Städten geht.

Setzen wir dem oben angegebenen Fall einen recht günstigen noch dazu; daß eine Familie nach Abzug aller Reisekosten mit einem Vermögen von 4000 Gulden oder $.1600 hier ankam; sie kauften eine Pflanzung von 160 Acker, wo sie ein wohleingerichtetes Haus, Garten und Obstgarten fanden, 40 Acker waren urbar; Pferde und sonstiges Vieh waren in den Kauf einbegriffen. Für alles das hatten sie nur $.1200 bezahlt, so bleiben ihnen vom Ankaufspreis $.400 übrig. Von ihrem Lande verpachten sie 30 Acker und erhalten dafür 360 Buschel Mais, $.75 werth; von dem Mais brauchen sie einen großen Theil wieder, um ihre Pferde, Kühe und Schweine zu füttern, und wenn ihnen selbst die Hälfte übrig bleibt, und sie die Zinsen von den noch nicht verwandten $.400 dazuschlagen und sie selbst noch etwas aus dem überflüssi-

gen Ertrag des Obstgartens lösen: — können sie davon leben? Vielleicht geht es, wenn sie sich einschränken, und keine neuen Anschaffungen zu machen oder theure Rechnungen des Arztes zu bezahlen haben; sollte dies aber der Fall sein, oder sonstiges Mißgeschick eintreten, wie es den neuen Ankömmling so oft trifft, Pferde weglaufen, Vieh umkommen u. s. w., so wird der Kapitalrest bald angegeriffen werden, und die Familie kann, obwohl sie so viel Zinsen zieht, und ihr Land vielleicht 10 und mehr Procente steigen mag, in die drückendsten Verhältnisse kommen. Gesetzt aber sie begnügen sich nicht mit dem gewissen Ertrag von 360 Buschel Mais, und wollen selbst mehr gewinnen, so arbeiten sie selbst, mühen sich ab, und bringen am Ende doch, nachdem sie oft noch Zugvieh, Geschirr und dergl. dazu kaufen, vielleicht noch Arbeiter bezahlen mußten, nicht mehr heraus; denn da sind hundert kleine Ursachen, die jeder, der hier gelebt hat, erfahren mußte, die es aber hier zu weitläufig ist, zu entwickeln, warum der Gentleman-Farmer hier in den ersten Jahren keine volle Erndte zu Stande bringen kann; und da verlache Keiner meinen Skepticismus, ehe er selbst gegen alle die kleinen Miseren angekämpft und sie ehe zwei Jahre vergangen, mit Glück überwunden hat. Darum zeigt es sich wohl immer als das Beste, den größern Theil des Landes zu verpachten. — Viel günstiger steht sich der, welcher eine größere Besitzung gekauft hat und viel urbares Land verpachten kann; er zieht daraus so viel an Geld oder Geldeswerth, daß er mit seiner Familie gut davon leben kann. Wer wenigstens 60 bis 100 Acker in Cultur hat, thut vielleicht noch besser, sein Land unter eigener Aufsicht durch monatsweise oder tagweise gemiethete Arbeiter bebauen zu lassen, wenn er nur immer sicher sein könnte, Arbeiter zu mäßigen Preisen haben zu können. Für Alle indessen, sie mögen große oer kleine Pflanzungen, oder blos rohes Land besitzen, wird zuletzt dies Eigenthum, wie gezeigt worden, sehr gewinnbringend. Wie viel Land aber jemand verpachten müsse, um von diesem Ertrage gut leben zu können, kommt wie gesagt zu sehr auf Umstände und Bedürfnisse an, als daß sich auch nur eine annähernde Bestimmung machen ließe.

Es ist hier nicht meine Absicht, Orakel für Auswanderer zu geben, sondern ich wünsche Zustände darzustellen, die sich meiner Beobachtung dargeboten haben; die Lehren daraus mag sich jeder

nach seiner Individualität und seinen Verhältnissen selbst ziehen; dennoch weiß ich wohl, daß die Meisten, welche herüber wandern werden, einen Theil wenigstens von diesen Erfahrungen dennoch an sich selbst werden wiederholen müssen. In dem obigen Beispiel blieben $.400 baares Geld übrig, was ausgeliehen oder sonst verwandt werden konnte; öfter behält man weniger übrig, indem Reisekosten und viele kleine Ausgaben die vorläufigen Anschläge bei Weitem übersteigen; ja es traten Fälle ein, wo für die Abtragung eines Theiles des Kaufschillings auf Zuschüsse aus der Heimath oder, was schlimmer ist, auf den Ertrag des Landes gewartet wurde.

Bisher habe ich über den Feldbau allein geredet; dabei hat sich dem Leser schon die Frage aufgedrängt, ob der gebildete Deutsche blos wenn er reich ist, und eine ausgedehnte Besitzung kaufen konnte, angenehm und sorgenfrei auf dem Lande leben kann; ob es keine anderen Wege gibt, um auf dem Lande auch bei geringeren Mitteln noch außer dem Feldbau den Unterhalt zu gewinnen; und was denn der, welcher sein Land verpachtet hat, mit seiner Zeit anfängt. Auf alle diese Fragen kann ich nun auf einmal antworten. Wir haben die Erfahrung, daß der gebildete Deutsche auch mit geringern Mitteln, nachdem er einige schwere Probejahre überstanden, sein Einkommen wenigstens bis zu dem Grade zu steigern gelernt hat, daß es zur Bestreitung der Bedürfnisse seiner Familie hinreicht. Setzen wir immer den Fall, daß er sein Feld, oder einen großen Theil davon verpachtet hat, so bleiben ihm Zeit und Kräfte zu andern Beschäftigungen: diese bestehen dann theils in Vermehrung der Producte seines Landes, indem er einträglichere Gewächse baut, als Getreide; namentlich glaube ich, daß Wiesenbau, Hanf und Tabak sich besonders vortheilhaft zeigen werden, obwohl wenigstens mit den beiden letzten Erzeugnissen noch keine Erfahrungen in der Gegend, von der ich rede, angestellt worden sind. Oder er erweitert seinen Obstgarten, wo ihm ohne große Mühe jeder tragende Aepfelbaum einen bis zwei Dollar einbringen muß, selbst wenn er einen bedeutenden Theil der Frucht selbst verbraucht. Macht er aus den Aepfeln Cider, so bereitet er sich ein gesundes Getränke für den nächsten Sommer und kann den Erlös seines Obstgartens noch erhöhen; doch muß für den Verkauf der Aepfelwein auf eine besondere Art

gemacht sein, daß er nicht ausgärt und seine Süßigkeit behält; so wird er hier am liebsten getrunken. Außer den Aepfeln mag er andere Obstsorten und Weintrauben ziehen, welche ihm noch mehr eintragen werden, wenn es auch nicht wahrscheinlich sein sollte, daß letztere hier mit Vortheil zu Wein benutzt werden können.

Ein anderer Weg, und zwar ein noch einträglicherer ist der, seine oder seiner Pächter Landerzeugnisse selbst zu Mehl, Stärke oder Branntwein zu verarbeiten, oder Vieh zum Verkauf damit zu mästen. Im letzten Fall erscheint es wohl als das Vorteilhafteste, Schweine zu ziehen, und fett zu machen; sie vermehren sich schnell, können den größten Theil des Jahres ohne Futter im Walde erhalten, und sind dann im Winter bald zum Verkauf gut. Daß man Pferde oder Rindvieh hier zum Verkauf zöge, ist mir unbekannt; meist zieht man sie nur für eignen Gebrauch; schlachtet was man nöthig hat, und verkauft gelegentlich Ueberflüssiges. Viehmast betreibt jeder mit seinen eigenen Erzeugnissen; wer aber Mehl, Stärke oder Brantwein fabriciren will, muß das Geschäft viel weiter ausdehnen. Der Amerikaner Pearce hat hier eine von Ochsen (die auf einer beweglichen schiefen Fläche gehen) getriebene Mühle und eine Brennerei, und ist durch beide einer der wohlhabendsten Männer in der Gegend geworden. Herr Bunsen legt jetzt eine ähnliche Mühle an. Das gewöhnliche Verfahren auf diesen kleinen Mühlen ist das, daß der Besitzer nur wenig Mehl zum Verkauf fabricirt, sondern meist das von den Nachbarn gebrachte Getreide gegen einen gewissen Antheil (ein Fünftel oder Viertel) mahlt: blos die großen Dampfmühlen kaufen Getreide, und versenden Mehl, werden daher merchant-mills, Handelsmühlen, genannt. Eine Brennerei ist von Herrn Busch errichtet und dann an Herrn von Haxthausen abgetreten, und von diesem vervollkommnet worden. Ueber ihren Erfolg läßt sich noch nichts sagen; eben so wenig noch ist die von Herrn Engelmann errichtete Stärkefabrik oder die von Herrn Decker und Scheurer angelegte Seifen- und Lichterfabrik in vollem Gange.

Seine Geschicklichkeit und Kenntnisse kann übrigens neben seinem Landbau der Handwerker oder der Arzt recht wohl geltend machen, und sichert sich dadurch gewöhnlich eine sehr gute Existenz; wo ihm dann, je nachdem er beschäftigt ist, der Landbau oft nur

Nebensache sein mag. Die letzte, und vielleicht einträglichste und leichteste, wenn auch zuweilen gefährliche Art, seinen Unterhalt zu erwerben, und selbst Vermögen zu sammeln, ist der Handel; nicht selten findet man, daß Deutsche auf dem Lande sich damit befassen; in unserer Niederlassung hat indessen noch niemand regelmäßig diesen Erwerbszweig ergriffen; in Belleville hat indessen Hr. Th. Krafft und in Mechaniksburg Hr. A. Cunradi eine Handlung in Gesellschaft mit Andern, welche beide sehr gewinnbringend sein sollen.

Der Verkauf von Erzeugnissen, welche man nicht selbst verbraucht, geschieht häufig an Ort und Stelle, besonders werden Mais und Schweine oder was man sonst gelegentlich von Vieh zu verkaufen hat, so abgesetzt; oder sie werden nach Belleville geführt, wohin man namentlich Waizen bringt, oder nach St. Louis, wo der beste Markt jeder Art ist, und man viel höhere Preise als im Lande erhält, das aber auch oft durch die schlechten Wege ganz abgeschnitten ist.[1] Man führt dahin gewöhnlich Gerste, Hafer, auch Schweine, seltener Mais oder Waizen, und besonders Aepfel, Pfirsiche und zuweilen Gartenprodukte.

Nach dieser Abschweifung über die äußere Lage der deutschen Ansiedler und die Möglichkeit einer ihren früheren Verhältnissen entsprechenden Existenz, habe ich von dem häuslichen und geselligen Leben unter ihnen zu sprechen. Im Hause haben die meisten ihre früher gewohnte Lebensweise beizubehalten gesucht, so fern sie mit den neuen Verhältnissen verträglich war. In vielen Familien trifft man selbst Dienstboten, doch gelang es nicht Allen, dieselben, besonders die männlichen Arbeiter, ganz nach Wunsch zu haben, und zumal für längere Zeit zu behalten. Der Lohn für diese ist jetzt gewöhnlich 10—12 und für die weiblichen Dienstboten 5—7 Dollar den Monat. Gewöhnlich werden sie als mit zur Familie gehörig betrachtet, essen mit am Tische, und werden überhaupt viel rücksichtsvoller behandelt, als man es in Deutsch-

[1] Die Legislatur von Illinois hat ein Anleihen von 8 Millionen Dollar zu machen verordnet zum Bauen von Straßen und Canälen. Ein Theil davon wird zu einer chaussirten Straße verwandt, welche von St. Louis nach Belleville und nach dem Wabash führen soll; in diesem Augenblick wird sie ausgesteckt. Eine Privatgesellschaft ist ferner damit beschäftigt, eine Eisenbahn von St. Louis nach Belleville zu bauen. Diese beiden Verbindungen werden sehr viel zum Emporblühen von Belleville und der ganzen Umgegend beitragen.

land findet. Meistens habe ich sie nichts desto weniger bescheiden gefunden, und hier selten Klagen gehört, wie man sie anderswo nicht selten über die unerträgliche Anmaßung solcher aus ihren früheren Verhältnissen erhobenen Leute vornimmt.

Die Männer haben mit ihren Geschäften, seien sie, welche sie wollen, recht viel zu thun, im Feld oder im Wald oder in der Werkstätte thätig, enteilt ihnen der Tag schnell; manchem bleibt gelegentlich etwas Zeit zur Jagd übrig und Sonntags sieht man oft größere Gesellschaften zu diesem Zwecke Prärie oder Wald durchstreifen. Die Geschäfte bringen auch häufig Besuche bei Nachbarn mit sich, und zu Pferde legt man die Entfernungen zwischen den einzelnen Pflanzungen, die höchstens 4—5, meist nur 2—3 Meilen betragen, rasch zurück; so verbringen auch nicht selten die, welche nicht selbst Familien haben, einige Abendstunden bei benachbarten Freunden, und reiten im glänzenden Mondscheine oder dem hellen Sternenlichte nach Hause; sollte das Wetter aber zu ungestüm geworden sein, so findet sich überall auch ein Bett für den Gast, oder wenn deren Viele sind, wenigstens ein Strohsack oder ein Büffelfell.

Weniger leicht können sich die Frauen bewegen; obwohl Viele unserer Landsmänninen recht bald eben so geschickte als kühne Reiterinnen geworden sind, so werden sie doch durch die häusliche Thätigkeit und durch ihre Familie immer mehr ans Haus gefesselt; noch ist es nicht bei ihnen eingeführt, die Kinder hinter sich und vor sich aufs Pferd zu nehmen; und das Wägelchen, welches man bei den Meisten findet, einzuspannen, ist so weitläufig, daß dies gewöhnlich nur Sonntags geschieht, wenn man nicht selbst Besuch erhält oder erwartet.

Für die Kinder ist hier ein Paradies; wohl 8 Monate im Jahre leben sie fast ganz im Freien und wachsen naturgemäß auf, und gedeihen herrlich. Ihre Erziehung ist zunächst ganz auf das, was Mutter und Vater ihnen geben können beschränkt; wie das mit der Zeit werden wird, wenn das junge Volk heranwächst, und das Bedürfniß nach Unterricht sich vermehrt, muß sich zeigen.

Geistige Thätigkeit, durch Erziehung und Gewohnheit den Meisten ein Bedürfniß geworden, leidet allerdings etwas durch die vermehrten Geschäfte draußen und im Hause, indessen wird

sie doch rege erhalten; auf beinahe allen Niederlassungen findet sich eine artige Bibliothek, die bei einigen Ansiedlern selbst bedeutend ist und wohl benutzt wird. Außerdem bildet eine Gesellschaftsbibliothek, auf Betrieb von Dr. Schott errichtet, einen geistigen Vereinigungspunkt; sie ist jetzt freilich noch nicht sehr umfassend, wird aber mit der Zeit wohl die achtungswerthe Grundlage größerer Anstalten bilden. Musik ist vielen eine angenehme Erholung, und bei 4 Familien, glaube ich, findet man Pianofortes.

Außer der sonstigen häufigen Verbindung, in der die Bewohner mit einander stehen, finden sich auch oft Gelegenheiten zu Zusammenkünften, behufs gemeinschaftlicher größerer Arbeiten und gegenseitiger Hülfsleistungen, z. B. beim Aufrichten von Gebäuden, oder zu kleinen Festen, der Einweihung eines neuen Hauses u. dgl., zu Hochzeiten und Kindtaufen oder dergl. Außerdem kommen ein- oder zweimal im Jahre, namentlich auf Pfingsten, alle deutschen Bewohner der Niederlassung im Freien zu einem Picknick zusammen, wobei sich gewöhnlich viele amerikanische Gäste aus der Umgegend und Deutsche aus Belleville und St. Louis einfinden.

In ihren bürgerlichen Verhältnissen fühlen sich die Ansiedler sehr zufrieden, und indem sie die besondere Wohlthat, die ihnen die Constitution von Illinois dadurch gewährt, daß sie schon nach halbjährigem Aufenthalt einen Jeden zum Bürgerrecht zuläßt, anerkennen, suchen sie ihre Pflichten gegen ihr neues Vaterland aufs gewissenhafteste zu erfüllen. Wenn sie schon bei den Milizübungen eifriger sein könnten, wenn sie auch aus Grundsatz dem Beispiel der Deutschen in den östlichen Städten nicht folgen, und nichts von einer „deutschen" Militaircompagnie wissen wollen, so fehlen sie doch nie bei den Wahlen, und das einsichtsvolle Urtheil von ihnen und ihren Freunden in Belleville, verbunden mit dem gesunden Sinne der zahlreichen deutschen Bevölkerung der weiten Umgegend, gibt bei den Wahlen für diesen und die benachbarten Bezirke nicht selten den Ausschlag.

Schließlich habe ich noch einige Worte über die Plankarte zu sagen, welche zu diesem Aufsatze gehört. Ebenso, wie sie die Lage und Ansicht der hier behandelten Gegend, und die gegenseitige

Lage und Größe der deutschen und die Lage der amerikanischen Ansiedlungen darstellt, — ebenso gibt sie auch ein deutliches Bild der Landvermessung, wie sie von der Regierung ausgeht, und liefert dadurch eine werthvolle Erläuterung zu einer nächstens folgenden Abhandlung, welche sich speciell mit diesem Gegenstand befaßt. Auf diese verweise ich denn auch den Leser und beschränke mich hier auf wenige Bemerkungen.

Die Karte begreift eine Stadtschaft, Township, in sich, die, wie immer, ein Quadrat von 6 Meilen Länge und Breite bildet, und wieder in 36 kleinere Quadrate, jedes von einer Quadratmeile oder 640 Acker Landes, welche man Sectionen nennt, eingetheilt wird. Die Nummern der Sectionen laufen, wie auf der Karte angegeben, immer so, daß die in der nordöstlichen Ecke gelegene die erste, und die in der südöstlichen die 36ste ist. Die Sectionen werden von den Feldmessern in Viertelsectionen abgetheil, und auf den Landämtern kann man auch halbe Viertel und unter Umständen selbst viertel Viertel, welche 80 und 40 Acker groß sind, kaufen. So besitzt z. B. J. Engelmann zwei Achtzig-Acker-Stücke und A. Baer hat zwei Vierzig-Acker-Stücke gekauft u. s. w. Andre Umgränzungen der deutschen Pflanzung, die man auf der Karte findet, haben durch Privatvertheilung ihre unregelmäßige Gestalt bekommen. Im westlichen Theil unserer Karte findet man indessen mehrere Landstrecken in schiefliegenden Vierecken abgegränzt; diese stammen aus einer Zeit her, wo hier Land besessen wurde, ehe die Regierung der V. Staaten es verkaufte. Sie sind unter dem Namen der „Ansprüche, Claims," noch jetzt bekannt, obwohl das, was ehedem blose Ansprüche gewesen sein mögen, meistens längst von dem Congreß bestätigt worden ist. Jetzt ist meines Wissens hier nur noch ein nasser Theil der 15. Section unverkauft; auch die 16. Section ich noch nicht in Privathände übergegangen; sie wird bekanntlich nach Congreßbestimmung zur Bildung eines Schulfonds zurückbehalten.

Es fällt auf, daß die Besitzungen vieler Deutschen aus mehreren Theilen bestehen, die von einander zuweilen bis zu drei und mehr Meilen getrennt liegen. Es ist dies ein Uebel, das man häufig in Präriegegenden findet. Prärieland zieht man durchgängig zum Feldbau vor, und Wald ist unumgänglich zum Betrieb desselben, Hausbau, Feuerung, etc. nothwendig; aber nur

ein Theil der Niederlassungen kann so ausgesucht werden, daß sie Prärie und Waldland vereinigen; eben so häufig findet man beide getrennt; so wohnt Hr. Th. Hilgard in der 29. Section und hat sein Waldland in der 32. und 33. Die Hrn. Sandherr, Harthausen, Busch und die Wittwe Kölsch wohnen in Section 20 und 21 und haben ihren Wald (ein Theil liegt auch in der Nähe der Wohnungen) am Silvercreek in der 25. Section. Die Herren Schott und Reuß haben dagegen ihre Wohngebäude im Wald in der 4. Section, wobei etwas Feld für Garten, Obstgarten und Weide urbar gemacht ist; der größte Theil ihres Baulandes liegt aber in der Prärie in Section 10, wo man auch 2 Häuser, die von Pächtern bewohnt sind, bezeichnet findet. Die Mehrzahl der Ansiedlungen liegen indessen immer am Saume des Waldes, wie das die Karte namentlich in den Sectionen 9, 10, 11, 14 und 23, ebenso am südlichen Rande der Prärie u. a. a. O. angibt.

II

Beleuchtung des Duden'schen Berichtes über die westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas.[1]

Von Gustav Körner.

(Geschrieben im Jahre 1834.)

Unter all den vielen Schriften, die über Auswanderung aus Europa und Ansiedelung in den nordamerikanischen Freistaaten in Deutschland erschienen sind, hat wohl keine mehr und vorzugsweise mehr auf die gebildeten Stände gewirkt als „Duden's Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas." Wer sich nur um den allerdings nicht unwichtigen Punkt der Auswanderungen interessirte, suchte Belehrung oder Bestätigung seiner Ansichten in diesem Buche; vielen Familien war es tägliche Lectüre bevor der Ausführung ihres Entschlusses und eine unumstößliche Autorität geworden. Freunde und Begünstiger der Auswanderung haben viele tausend Abdrücke dieses Berichts besorgen lassen, um auch für die weniger Bemittelten die Anschaffung zu erleichtern und ihnen über die zu erwartende Lage und Stellung hinreichenden Unterricht zu zu verschaffen.

Gewiß hat dieses Buch viele Vorzüge vor den meisten Berichten, Mittheilungen, Tagebüchern, die über den gleichen Gegenstand geschrieben worden sind, und die beinahe alle entweder der Spekulation oder einer bittern Laune nach getäuschter Hoffnung ihr Entstehen verdanken. Eben so gewiß ist es aber auch, daß dieses Buch seinen Ruf vorzüglich dem günstigen Zeitpunkt, in dem es erschien, verdankt; gewiß ist es, daß die herrschende Sehnsucht nach Auswanderung auf günstige Aufnahme Einfluß gehabt hat, und daß wohl zu keiner Zeit der Boden geeigneter war, die hervorgebrachten Eindrücke in sich aufzunehmen und zu entwickeln. Je größer aber der Einfluß ist, den irgend eine Darstellung oder Mittheilung hervorbringt, je größer der Kreis, der

[1] Dieser Aufsatz ist hier nach Körners eigenem Handexemplar wiedergegeben, in das er die von der deutschen Censur gestrichenen Stellen eingetragen hat. Die betreffenden Stellen sind als „Censurlücke" bezeichnet.

den Worten oder Schriften irgend eines Erzählers lauscht, desto mehr ist es Pflicht, mit der größten Genauigkeit das Vorgebrachte zu untersuchen, desto strenger muß die Prüfung und Beurtheilung der Lehren und aufgestellten Ansichten ausfallen. Was sich dem denkenden Leser von selbst als das Produkt eines einseitigen entweder niedergedrückten oder durch seltenes Glück gehobenen Gemüthszustandes kund gibt, oder was offenbar nur als plumpe Anlockung zum Zwecke selbstsüchtigen Vortheils erscheint, das darf man ruhig dem Strome der Zeit überlassen, der es bald überspült haben wird. Wo man aber oft reife Urtheile, Resultate langer Erfahrungen, und tiefe Raisonnements findet, da hat man sich am meisten zu wahren, daß man nicht unbedingt traut, da muß am sorgfältigsten gewacht werden, daß nicht neben richtigen Bemerkungen Täuschungen der Phantasie und Irrthümer in der Beurtheilung als Wahrheit aufgenommen werden.

Nicht der Sucht zu verkleinern, nicht getäuschten Hoffnungen und Erwartungen dankt diese kurze Beleuchtung ihr Entstehen; noch weniger der Ansicht, daß die Auswanderungen überhaupt, sowohl ihrem Principe nach verwerflich, als auch in ihrer Ausführung besonders schwierig seyen. Es wäre wirklich ein Leichtes, die Auswanderungslustigen mit Schilderung von Unannehmlichkeiten und Gefahren abzuschrecken, und ohne etwas besseres an die Hand zu geben, rein negirend aufzutreten. Duden gesteht selbst, daß wenig hinreiche, sein ganzes Gemälde ins Dunkel zu setzen, daß es einfach sey, durch Aufsuchung der Schattenseiten, zu einem ihm entgegengesetzten Resultate zu gelangen. Man darf nur Ereignisse aus ihrem Zusammenhange reißen, aus einzelnen Beobachtungen allgemein gültige Schlüsse ziehen, die Feder in Unmuth tauchen, und das grade Gegenbild von Dudens Schilderung kann erscheinen.

Nein, ich bin mit Duden einverstanden, daß Auswanderungen aus Europa nothwendig, und, wenn r i ch t i g geleitet, auch vortheilhaft sind, wenn ich auch gleich andere Ursachen und Erstehungsgründe dieses Auswanderungstriebes annehme. Ich habe zu meinem Zweck nur die Mittheilungen Dudens über die Lage und Stellung der anempfohlenen Länder zu prüfen, seine Darstellung des Lebens und Treibens zu würdigen, und seine Schlüsse auf die Vortheile und das Glück der neuen Ansiedler genau zu

untersuchen. Ich bin nicht entschieden anderer Ansicht wie Duden, aber dennoch kann ich vielen seiner Aussprüche nicht beistimmen, und muß seinen Bericht für eine zu glänzende und viel zu lebhaft gefärbte Schilderung jener Gegenden, und der Stellung halten, die der Einwanderer finden soll. Bei dieser Uebereinstimmung mit Duden in so wichtigen Punkten, sollte man wohl glauben, daß ich es nicht hätte für nöthig halten sollen, meinen Ansichten Oeffentlichkeit zu verleihen. Wer die Auswanderung in Menge billigt, grade dieselben Gegenden besonders zur neuen Ansiedlung für vortheilhaft hält, wie sollte der sich gedrungen fühlen, wegen vielleicht wenigen wesentlichen Punkten bekämpfend aufzutreten? Und doch halte ich es für meine Pflicht, das Duden'sche Gemälde der neu aufgeschlossenen westlichen Staaten etwas zu verdüstern, doch halte ich es für nothwendig, meine abweichende Ansichten mitzutheilen. Ich weiß es, wie sehr selbst Täuschungen in Nebendingen des neuangekommenen Einwanderers schon mißmuthig und verstimmt machen können, ich weiß es, was es heißt, wenn neue Etablissements mit Unlust und Mißmuth unternommen werden. So mancher scheint nur als Opfer des ungewohnten Klima's hinzusterben, der doch vorzüglich wegen geistiger Niedergeschlagenheit, ja wahrer Melancholie den Anfällen der Krankheit nicht widerstehen konnte. Ich hörte die Klagen der neuen Ankömmlinge, ja oft ihre Verwünschungen, ihre Flüche. Eine kurze Zeit reicht zwar meistens hin, die Getäuschten wieder etwas aufzurichten, sie finden, daß man doch noch leidlich hier leben könne, wenn auch gleich das geträumte Paradies verloren ist. Aber warum sollte es nicht zur Aufgabe gemacht werden, die Gegenstände von ihrem Schein zu entkleiden, warum sollte es eine undankbare Mühe seyn, seinen Mitmenschen Täuschungen und Unannehmlichkeiten zu ersparen?

Duden unterläßt nicht, in Kürze seine wissenschaftliche Vorbereitungen zu seinem Aufenthalte, ferner den Standpunkt im Lande selbst, von welchem er beurtheilte, anzugeben, um damit seinen Lesern einen Maßstab für seine Auffassungsfähigkeit sowohl in geistiger als physischer Hinsicht vorzulegen. Ich glaube mich auch zu einer ähnlichen Mittheilung verpflichtet.

Es lag keineswegs früher in meiner Absicht, nach Amerika zu reisen, viel weniger die inneren Gegenden des Freistaates zu besuchen. Mehr Zufall als Wahl führte mich hierher. Doch war

mir im Ganzen die geographische und politische Beschaffenheit des Landes nicht fremd, und namentlich war ich durch Dudens Briefe auch mit den westlichen Gegenden etwas bekannter geworden. Reisen durch alle Gegenden Deutschlands und Frankreichs hatten mich früher gelehrt, Beobachtungen über die Verschiedenheit der Länderbildungen und des leiblichen und intellectuellen Zustandes der Bewohner anzustellen.

Die Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten selbst machte ich in Begleitung einer zahlreichen und gebildeten Familie und ebenso war ich Zeuge der neuen Einrichtung, wenn auch grade nicht neuen Ansiedlung, sowohl dieser als vieler befreundeten Familien. Nicht vom Hotel irgend einer größern Stadt, sondern von einer einfachen amerikanischen Hütte aus habe ich beobachtet, mitten unter neuen Einrichtungen und neuen Beschäftigungen. Obgleich Illinois, der Staat, der östlich den Missouristaat begrenzt, mein beständiger Aufenthalt war, habe ich doch viele Berichte über den Missouri gehört und endlich im Herbste des Jahres 1833 selbst eine Reise an die Ufer des Missouri gemacht, die Ansiedelungen beinahe aller gebildeten Deutschen dort besucht und endlich grade die Gegenden gesehen, die Duden den meisten Stoff zu seiner Mittheilung gegeben haben. Eben so wenig wie Duden ein Landwirth von Fach, habe ich es nicht unterlassen, mich bei allen Sachverständigen um landwirthschaftliche Gegenstände zu befragen, und überhaupt das Urtheil aller Ansiedler über die Gegenden, die sie bewohnen, ihre Lage und endlich über die Schilderung, die von beiden gemacht worden ist, einzuholen. Duden hat einen längeren Aufenthalt voraus, ich dagegen habe das Resultat seines Aufenthalts in Händen, und hatte, was ich noch höher anschlage, Gelegenheit, grade eine größere Familie bei ihrer Reise und ihrer ersten Einrichtung zu beobachten. Bei Allem diesen habe ich noch den Vortheil, persönlich nicht befangen zu seyn, indem ich mich nie anzusiedeln gedachte, deßwegen selbst keine Täuschungen erlitten habe, im Gegentheil — da zu meiner Befriedigung nur eine politisch-glückliche und vernünftige Einrichtung des Staates hinreicht, und ein auf bürgerliche Freiheit und Gleichheit gebautes Regierungswesen, — meine Erwartungen bei weitem übertroffen worden sind.

Duden hat seinen Bericht hauptsächlich in Briefen geschrieben,

Abhandlungen über einzelne Gegenstände in einer streng wissenschaftlichen Form diesen Briefen nur angehängt. Es ist daher nicht ohne Schwierigkeit, wenn man nicht grade der historischen Ordnung seiner Mittheilung folgen will, Betrachtungen an seine Darstellung anzuknüpfen. Doch will ich es versuchen, meiner Beurtheilung eine gewisse Ordnung nach den Hauptpunkten, worin Meinungsverschiedenheit herrscht, anzupassen.

Duden's Bericht hat die Eigenthümlichkeit, daß man ihm den Vorwurf nicht machen kann, als seyen die Unannehmlichkeiten und Widerwärtigkeiten, die in irgend einer Hinsicht den Einwanderer treffen, wirklich gar nicht berührt. Wer das Buch ganz aufmerksam und prüfend lies't, findet wohl überall leise Andeutungen. Der Eindruck des ganzen Buches läßt aber diese schlechteren Parthien nur gar zu leicht übersehen. Es liegt Vorzug und Nachtheil, beides in seinem gehörigen Maaße, auf den Waagschalen, aber diese Waage selbst ist nicht ganz richtig und die Zunge schnellt zu bedeutend auf die Seite der Vortheile. Es ist dies keine Absicht, nichts liegt Duden wohl ferner als absichtliche Entstellung; ohne daß er es weis, läßt ihn seine Liebe zu dem neuen Boden, vorzüglich zu der Gegend, die er gewählt hat, Alles in einem reizenderen Lichte erscheinen. Er, der Einzelne, durch seine frühere Beschäftigung mit den Wissenschaften schon fähig, sich für eine Zeit mit Nutzen zu isoliren und für sich allein zu leben, durch keine Rücksicht und Noth eingeengt oder bedrängt, immer in der Lage, sich jeden möglichen Genuß zu verschaffen, stets im Stande, die härteren und unangenehmeren Beschäftigungen durch Andere verrichten zu lassen, er konnte nicht ganz unbefangen urtheilen, er mußte zu einer Ansicht gelangen, die der Wirklichkeit nicht ganz gleich kam. Seine gute Stimmung verschönerte Alles um ihn herum, und wo Andere kaum einen leidlichen Aufenthalt sahen, erblickte er Gärten und reizende Parthieen. Keiner, der Duden's Bericht gelesen hat, bekommt daraus eine ganz richtige Vorstellung von dem Aussehen und der Beschaffenheit des Landes, das er künftig bewohnen, und in dem er seine Wünsche und Hoffnungen niederlegen will. Ich will es versuchen, gestützt auf eigne Anschauung, weit mehr aber auf die vortrefflichen geographischen und statistischen Werke amerikanischer Schriftsteller, eine kurze

Skizze der äußeren Beschaffenheit der westlichen Staaten Amerikas zu geben.[1]

Die ungeheure Länderstrecke zwischen den Alleghani, auch Apalachen genannt, deren Zweige in den verschiedenen Staaten wieder verschiedene Namen haben, östlich, den Felsgebirgen (Rocky Mountains), einer Fortsetzung der Andes oder Cordilleren Südamerikas, und der großen Wasserscheide im Norden Amerikas, westlich; nördlich begrenze von den englischen Besitzungen und südlich von dem mexicanischen Meerbusen bespült, ist eine große weite Ebene von den bedeutendsten Wassermassen der ganzen Erde durchschnitten. Der Mississippi, der Missouri, der rothe Fluß, Arkansas, Ohio, der Tennessee, Kentucky und Illinois, mit ihren bedeutenden unzähligen Nebenflüssen durchströmen diesen fruchtbarsten aller Landstriche. Zahlreiche und bedeutende Seen, aus denen Flüsse wie der mächtige Lorenzo ihren Ausgang nehmen, haben sich im Norden dieses Platteaus gesammelt. Das einzige Ozark-Gebirge im Arkansas-Gebiete, welches Gebirge sich in dem Missouristaate zu Hügeln verflacht und eine ganz eigenthümliche, sowohl von den beiden Hauptgebirgen als auch von den übrigen Erdbildungen verschieden Steinformation ist, scheint sich unzusammenhängend auf dieser ungeheuren Fläche erhoben zu haben, die man unter dem Namen Mississippi-Stromgebiet umfaßt und die eine Ausdehnung von 1,300,000 englischen Quadrat-Meilen oder 833,000,000 Acres in sich schließt. Die Erhöhungen in dieser Ebene sind eigentlich nur durch Flußthäler gebildet, sie sind nur Einschnitte, nur die Gegensätze der Strombette. Von den Amerikanern, die in dergleichen Unterscheidungen scharf sind, werden sie auch nie Hügel oder Berge genannt, sondern mit dem nur westlich der Alleghani bekannten Worte Bluffs, einen Ausdruck, den wir etwa nur durch erhöhte Flußufer würden geben können. Treten auch diese Bluffs öfter meilenweit zurück, sie erscheinen nie als eigentliche Gebirgszüge, sondern sind stets nur

[1] Für die der englischen Sprache mächtigen Auswanderer und für jeden, der sich für Amerika interessirt, ist wohl kein Werk von größerer Belehrung und Bedeutung als: Timoth. Flint's History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley, Cincinnati, 1832. Ein anderes schätzbares Werkchen, besonders für Amerikanische Auswanderer aus den vorderen Staaten der Union geschrieben, ist das von Peck, Prediger in Rockspring in Illinois: A Guide for Emigrants, containing Sketches of Illinois and Missouri and the adjacent parts. Boston 1831.

die Marken der Flüsse. Diese Bluffs sind alle Kalksteinbildungen, wie überhaupt diese ganze Ebene, von der wir sprechen, eine Kalkunterlage hat. Nur in den Alleghani und den Rocky Mountains findet sich Granit, und in den letzteren auch vulkanische Bildung, nur diese beiden Gebirgszüge, die dem Golf von Mexico zu einander nähern, können Urgebirge (primitive Rocks) genannt werden.

Schon diese rein geographische Darstellung wird es dem Gebildeteren einleuchtend machen, daß hier wohl unendlich fruchtbares und zum Anbau fähigs Land, doch keineswegs eine im Ganzen schöne und ansprechende Natur zu finden sey. Der gewöhnliche Auswanderer freilich, der dem härtesten Drucke durch sein Vornehmen zu entgehen sucht, und der seine Lage ändert, um nicht sich und seine Familie in Dürftigkeit untergehen zu sehen, dem ist es wohl gleichgültig, ob er reizende Thäler, steile Felsklippen und zum Himmel anstrebende Gebirge antrifft oder nicht, im Gegentheil er wird flache Ebenen und von Hügeln nicht durchschnittenes Land als am besten zum Ackerbau vorziehen. Am Ende darf der Mangel großartiger Naturschönheiten keine Klasse der Auswanderer abschrecken, denn keine geringfügige Ursache wird es sein, die den Menschen vom Orte seiner Jugend, seiner theuersten Erinnerungen, aus den Umgebungen seiner Freunde, und aus den Grenzen seines Vaterlandes forttreibt, — aber doch weiß ich, daß so Viele gerade von denen, für welche Duden am Meisten berechnet ist, kein geringes Gewicht bei ihrer Auswanderung auf die zu findenden zauberischen Naturschönheiten legten, daß Alle gewiß die neuen und schönen Eindrücke der reizenden Landschaften in der frischen jungfräulichen Erde mit in Auschlag brachten.

Als wir den angenehmen Hudson hinauffuhren, die wirklich oft reizenden Ufer des Mohawks, und die Wasserfälle dieses Flusses und des Genessee sahen, glaubten die Meisten meiner Reisegefährten nur den schwachen Abdruck der großartigen Bilder zu erblicken, welche am Ohio, am Mississippi, dem Väter der Ströme, am brausenden Missouri endlich ihren staunenden Blicken begegnen würden. Die Getäuschten! mit den letzten Zweigen der Alleghani-Gebirge verlor die Gegend ihren interessanten Charakter, und eine ungeheure Einförmigkeit trat an die Stelle reizender Landschaften.

Wirklich gibt es im Verhältniß zu der außerordentlichen Ausdehnung nicht leicht ein monotoneres Land, als das in Frage stehende. Die Erdbildungen, die Mineralien sind von den Canadischen Seen bis zum mexicanischen Meerbusen fast dieselben, die Pflanzenwelt hat bei aller Abweichung, die hinsichtlich des Klimas in einem Lande herrschen muß, welches sich von beinahe dem Wendekreis des Krebses bis fast zum 50. Grade nördlicher Breite erstreckt, eine seltene Uebereinstimmung. Auch die Menschen, die ursprünglich diesen Boden bewohnten, sind bekannt für ihre außerordentliche Aehnlichkeit. Ueber 60 verschiedene Stämme der Indianer bedeckten einst diese weiten Striche, und doch waren alle Zweige wenig von einander unterschieden. Der Canadier gleicht dem Cherokesen am mexicanischen Meerbusen in Sitte und Gewohnheit, in äußerer Bildung und in Charakter mehr, als der Bewohner eines Schweizercantons dem Landmann aus dem Nachbarcanton.

Duden spricht nun zwar nicht sonderlich viel von den Naturschönheiten diesseits der Alleghani, und zwar aus sehr begreiflichen Gründen, allein das, was er gelegentlich mittheilt, erweckt doch ganz andere Bilder, als sie in Wirklichkeit existiren. Er spricht von den waldigen Höhen im Ohio, die steil und hoch seyen, und in Deutschland Berge heißen würden, (8ter Brief), er spricht ferner noch öfter von solchen Anhöhen, die der Deutsche gewiß Berge nennen würde. Der Amerikaner nennt diese Erhöhungen freilich nicht Berge, weil er, wie ich schon früher gesagt habe, in der Bezeichnung von Gegenständen der äußern Welt etwas genauer ist, und ich glaube selbst, daß mancher Deutsche im Laufe der Erzählung oder des leichten Gesprächs sich des Wortes „Berge“ zur Bezeichnung bedienen würde, aber es grenzt fürwahr an's Lächerliche, mit diesen Hügeln, die n i r g e n d s die Höhe von wenigen hundert Fuß übersteigen, gegen Europäer groß zu thun. Jeder Deutsche, der mehr als die Ufer der Düssel oder der Spree gesehen hat, weiß recht gut, was eigentlich Berge sind, und was nicht, wenn er es auch öfter mit der Benennung „Berg“ nicht so scharf nimmt und selbst mäßige Erhöhungen mit diesem Ausdruck beehrt. Wirklich muß der Auswanderer, wenn er solche Redensarten lies't, glauben, hier eine wahre Alpennatur zu finden, er muß auf die Meinung gerathen, daß seine Vorstellungen von

Größe in diesem Lande der Wunder gar nicht mehr ausreichten. Ich habe die Ufer des Missouri bis Jefferson hinauf bereis't, aber es ist mir nicht im Geringsten eingefallen, von beträchtlichen „Kuppen" etwas zu sehen, zu denen sich die Hügel am Flusse erheben sollen. (13ter Brief). Ich sah stets nur Erhöhungen, die allerdings öfters steil gegen den Fluß abfallen, und nicht uninteressante Felsenparthien bilden. Der Ohio ist der Fluß, der von all den westlichen größeren Strömen der anziehendste ist, aber man darf sich keineswegs die klaren Fluthen des Rheins vorstellen. Duden weis't auf die französische Benennung des Flusses: „la belle riviere" hin, und spricht mit etwas Enthusiasmus von den „reizenden Ufern des milden Stromes."

Aber es ist fast unzweifelhaft, daß die Franzosen ihm diese Benennung lediglich im Gegensatz zu dem trüben und schlammigen Mississippi gaben, von welchem letzteren Flusse aus sie zuerst mit den einströmenden Wassern des Ohio bekannt wurden, die allerdings schön und herrlich im Vergleich mit dem cocythischen Mississippi sind. Am wenigsten haben wohl die Ufer die Franzosen, die vielleicht von den Ufern der Rhone, Loire oder Garonne kamen, veranlaßt, vom belle riviere zu sprechen. Zur Zeit, als sie den Ohio kennen lernten, waren dessen Ufer so ausschließlich mit Wald bedeckt, daß von einer An- oder Aussicht gar keine Rede seyn konnte.

Der Osage hat schöneres Wasser als der Ohio, aber der dicht mit Wald umgebene Fluß, der nirgends einen gelichteten Punkt hat, vermag nur wenige Augenblicke das Auge des Wanderers zu fesseln. Jetzt, wo der Ohio an vielen Orten gelichtet ist, und freundliche Ansiedelungen und niedliche Städtchen und Städte in seinen Wellen sich spiegeln, fehlt es allerdings nicht hie und da an hübschen Aussichten; der Wald selbst, der größtentheils die Ufer noch bedeckt, wird durch seine unendlich üppige Vegetation den Reisenden anziehen, aber von romantischen Lagen, pittoresken Parthien, vollständigen und großartigen Landschaften kann auch hier noch keine Rede seyn. Der Mississippi hat von der Ohio-Mündung bis St. Louis hinauf eine Strecke von etwa 200 engl. Meilen nur äußerst wenig interessante Parthien. Wer freilich die Lage von Cincinnati „romantisch" finden mag, hat sich auch bei den Ufern des Mississippi zufrieden gefunden. Den

schlimmsten Eindruck macht aber doch gewiß der Missouri auf den Beschauer. Wären die Ufer auch noch so schön, der Bottom (das Flußthal) noch üppiger und reicher in Vegetation, die Felspartien viel großartiger und imposanter als sie wirklich sind, doch würde der häßliche Fluß zu sehr contrastiren und den Eindruck unangenehm dämpfen. Die Farbe des Wassers spielt ins Gelbliche und ist stets schmutzig trübe. Der Missouri ist es, der den Mississippi so unangenehm macht; denn vor der Vereinigung ist letzterer Fluß klar und hell. Nirdgends beinahe kann man des Stromes Breite ungehindert übersehen. Zahllose Inseln und Sandbänke ragen aus ihm hervor. Oft hat der Fluß sein altes Bett verlassen, und nur bei hohem Wasserstande wird die zurückgebliebene nackte Sandfläche überspielt. Wolken von leichtem Triebsande werden aufgejagt, und hindern die Aussicht zugleich und belästigen die Augen. Beständig werden Stücke des Ufers abgerissen, und so kommt es vor, daß eine Menge verdorrter Bäume aus allen Theilen des Wassers drohend herausstehen. So schön es sonst seyn mag, an großen und schiffbaren Strömen zu wohnen, so unendlich fruchtbar die Bottoms des Missouri sind, so wenig wird der Deutsche sich hier leicht gefallen und die heimathlichen Fluren vergessen lernen.

Von klaren hellen Bächen, murmelnden Wasserfällen, plätschernden Quellen, wie man es sich meist in Deutschland denkt, und die auch Dudens Schilderungen vermuthen lassen, weiß man hier auch nicht sonderlich viel. Wenig Bäche widerstehen der trocknenden Hitze des Sommers, und selbst, nach ihrem Bette zu urtheilen, beträchtliche Flüßchen haben im Sommer und Herbst kein Wasser. Kies oder Sandsteinlagen sind sehr selten und meist fließt das Wasser über Lehm. Beinahe alle kleineren Gewässer haben einen schleichenden Lauf und beleben die Umgebung bei weitem nicht so sehr als unser Gebirgswasser. Die Worte: „unberührte Erde, Urwald, frische Natur," ich weiß es wohl, sie üben an dem Fremdling einen unwiderstehlichen Zauber aus. Aber es bedarf nur eines kurzen Aufenthaltes, um sich über alle diese Herrlichkeiten zu enttäuschen. Versteht man unter Urwald die Waldungen, die noch keines Menschen Fuß betreten, oder in denen noch keines Sterblichen Axt erklungen ist, so gibt es freilich deren hier genug, versteht man aber darunter ungeheure Massen zum

Himmel strebender Riesenbäume, die viele Menschenalter vorher entsproßt sind, so irrt man sich in Etwas. Gerade in dichten Waldungen zerstören die alten Bäume den jungen Nachwuchs, der sich dann zu Gestrüpp verdichtet. Große Bäume drängen sich nicht leicht zusammen, und wo sie einmal dicht aneinander aufkommen konnten, hindern sie sich doch in der Ausbreitung. Tausende von Schlingpflanzen ersticken in ihren Umarmungen die schönsten Bäume. Hat der Baum seine Zeit gelebt, und er lebt nicht länger wie die gleiche Art bei uns auch, so stirbt er ab, fällt nieder und begräbt mit seinem Sturze den jungen Nachwuchs. Die ungeheure Platane, hier Sykamore genannt, ausgenommen, die in dem fetten Bottom Lande zu außerordentlichem Umfange gedeiht, habe ich weder am Ohio, Mississippi oder Missouri, größere Bäume gesehen als in Deutschland auch, ja ich muß sagen, daß ich hier noch keine so mächtigen und hohen Wälder gesehen habe, als im östlichen Holstein. Der schöne Ahornbaum in Tyrol und den Salzburger Alpen (acer pseudo platanus), wird selbst von der hiesigen Platane nicht viel übertroffen werden.

Wenn ich es gleich hier versucht habe, die Eindrücke, die Dudens Gemälde der westlichen Natur auf die meisten Leser macht, etwas zu mäßigen, so darf doch Niemand darum glauben, daß ich für diese Gegenden ganz unempfänglich gewesen wäre, ja daß ich wohl gar wegen dieser Spärlichkeit an Naturschönheiten dem Einwanderer in diese Länder abzurathen gedächte. Ich gestehe mit Vergnügen, daß es an a n m u t h i g e n Parthien, wie wir sie so oft in den nördlichen Gegenden Deutschlands, besonders in Mecklenburg und Holstein finden, nicht fehlt. Wo nur gelichtet ist, wird die Gegend schon schöner, und späteren Generationen ist manche, gewiß sehr reizende Parthie vorbehalten. Man muß gerade in diesen Gegenden gereist seyn, um recht lebhaft zu empfinden, wie doch nur der Mensch die Natur schön und interessant macht, wie einförmig und langweiligend selbst correkte Ansichten werden, wenn menschliches Leben und Regung fehlt. Drei Axtschläge, wenige Balken zu einer Hütte verbunden, ein freundlich rauchendes Kamin würden oft hinreichen, einem jener zahlreichen Thäler im Westen den schönsten Anstrich zu verleihen. Es ist nichts der Art zu sehen, und unbefriedigt wendet sich der Blick von der starren Einförmigkeit ab. Einen ganz besonders schönen Anblick bie-

ten indeß die Prairien, wo sie mit Wald vermischt, oder auch nur am Saume bekränzt, vorkommen. Das Auge erfreut sich an einer Fernsicht, die es in den dichten Wäldern vergebens sucht. Im Frühling, wenn alles vom jungen Grün und dem lebhaftesten Blumenschimmer erglänzt, oder im Herbste, wenn sich die Blätter färben und vom schönsten Roth erglühen, ist der Anblick der Prairien wirklich allerliebst. Die gewöhnliche Uebersetzung dieser überaus fruchtbaren Ebenen, mit Steppen, erweckt leicht falsche Ansichten. Wiesen, was ja auch das französische Wort ausdrückt, sehen sie eher ähnlich, an unwirthliche Haiden ist kein Gedanke.

Alles, was Duden über die Fruchtbarkeit dieser westlichen Gegenden sagt, ist nicht im Geringsten übertrieben. Die größte Fruchtbarkeit ist in den Flußthälern, Bottoms, und dann in den Prairien. Doch ist auch bei weitem das meiste Land, auch entfernt von den Flüssen, immer noch ergiebig genug und sobald noch nicht einer künstlichen Erhöhung der Fruchtbarkeit bedürftig. Im Amerikanischen Bottom (American Bottom), dem Strich, der sich östlich vom Mississippi, von der Mündung des Kaskaskia südlich, bis zur Mündung des Illinois nördlich erstreckt, pflanzen die meist aus Franzosen bestehenden Ansiedler schon über hundert Jahre Mais und indianisches Korn, eine Pflanze, die den Boden am meistens ausmergelt, und noch immer gedeiht sie ohne alle Mittel in gleicher Güte, in gleicher Menge.

So richtig sonst die Amerikaner in ihren Angaben von der Beschaffenheit ihres Landes sind, so leicht können selbst ihre gewissenhaftesten Schriftsteller im Punkte der Annehmlichkeit und Schönheit der westlichen Staaten irre führen. Einerseits kann man dem Amerikaner eine gewisse Vorliebe für sein Vaterland, welches ihm eine sowohl geistig als physisch genügende Existenz gewährt, gewiß nicht verargen, andrerseits verbindet er aber auch mit der Vorstellung von schön, ganz andere Begriffe. Der Amerikaner kennt nichts weniger, als das, was wir Romantik nennen. Die Richtung seines Geistes ist durchaus praktisch, seine Wünsche sind vorzugsweise auf erstrebbare Realitäten gerichtet. Fruchtbares Land, das hundertfachen Ertrag gibt, ist ihm schönes Land; er begreift kaum, wie man noch andere Ansprüche stellen könne. Liegt dieses Land zugleich in der Nähe von Straßen,

Kanälen oder schiffbaren Flüssen, ist es also zum Absatze günstig, so hat es nach seiner Ansicht den Gipfel von Schönheit und Vollkommenheit erreicht. Auf unsere Frage nach der Beschaffenheit des westlichen Landes, die wir so oft auf unserer Reise an die Amerikaner stellten, erhielten wir gewiß immer die Antwort: O, schönes Land, mächtig schönes Land, das schönste in den Vereinigten Staaten. Diese gleichmäßige Auskunft, die dem Sinne der Frage nur halb entsprach, war mit eine Ursache, daß so Viele unserer Gesellschaft glaubten, die wahren Herrlichkeiten würden jetzt erst kommen. Ich rathe Jedem wohlmeinend, die Schönheiten der vorderen Staaten, die Ufer des Hudson, die Wasserfälle des Mohawk und besonders des Niagara, oder die schönen Parthien in den Alleghani, an den Ufern des Susquehana und Potowmak ja zu besuchen. Je weiter westlich, je schwerer wird es ihm fallen, sich einen ähnlichen Genuß zu verschaffen. Wenn irdgendwo, so ist es hier praktisch, im Augenblick zu genießen und dem Schooße der unsicheren Zukunft keine Freuden anzuvertrauen.

Ein bei weitem wichtigerer Punkt aber, als die äußere Erscheinung und Bildung dieser neuen Länder ist aber deren Klima und die Wirkungen des letzteren auf die Bewohner, namentlich auf die neuen Einwanderer. Duden hat über diesen Gegenstand eine viele Seiten lange Abhandlung geschrieben, die indeß, so viel Gedachtes und Richtiges sie enthalten mag, den wenigsten Einwanderungslustigen von besonderem Vortheil seyn wird. Es handelt sich bei dem Zwecke, den sein Buch eigentlich haben soll, weniger um die Prüfung der Theorie von der mittleren Temperatur oder um die Richtigkeit oder Unrichtigkeit der Volney'schen Witterungs-Scalen als nur einfache Angabe, welche Art von Klima der Ankömmling hier eigentlich anzutreffen habe. Ich würde zu weit gehen, und den Zweck meiner Darstellung verfehlen, wenn ich bei meiner Betrachtung über das Klima mehr als das ganz Allgemeine von dem großen Mississippi-Stromgebiet sagen würde; ich beschränke mich daher vorzüglich auf die Länder, die jetzt sowohl den Amerikaner, als den Europäer am meisten interessiren, und die nach Mittheilung aller Männer von Prüfung dem Auswanderer und besonders dem deutschen Auswanderer am meisten Vortheil gewähren. Es sind dies die Staaten Ohio (wiewohl hier schon der Preis des Landes sehr steigt), Indiana, Illi-

nois, Missouri. Kein Deutscher wird sich leicht südlich des Ohioflusses wohl finden und sich dem ihm fremden Plantagenbau ergeben, eben so wenig als ihm die Gegenden nordwestlich des Eriesee's besonders zusagen werden. Zwar haben sich kürzlich Deutsche nach Arkansas, in die Gegend von Little Rock am Arkansasfluße gewendet, und viele Amerikaner ihren Auswanderungszug nach dem Gebiete Michigan gelenkt, welches von dem Michigan, Huron und Eriesee westlich, nördlich und östlich, von Indiana und Ohio südlich begrenzt wird. Allein diese Gründungen sind noch zu neu, um von Erfolg sprechen zu können, und jedenfalls jetzt noch den bewohnteren Gegenden nachzusetzen. Selbst die nördlichsten Striche von Illinois mögen für den, der auch ein gelinderes und heiteres Klima sucht, nicht ganz annehmlich mehr seyn.

Mein Aufenthalt in den Vereinigten Staaten ist noch von zu kurzer Dauer, als daß ich lediglich Resultate meiner eignen Beobachtungen mitzutheilen wagen dürfte. Wer von diesem glühend heißen Sommer (1833), wo eine wahrhaft tropische Hitze alles vertrockenen und verschmachten ließ, von diesen frühen Fröften und der auffallenden Erscheinung, daß wenigstens am Missouri, wo ich mich gerade befand, am 20. Oktober schon Schnee fiel, auf das beständige Klima schließen wollte, würde gewiß zu voreilig handeln, wie wohl ich versichern kann, daß ich viele ältere Ansiedler, namentlich am Missouri gesprochen habe, die weder die Hitze des Sommers, welche die neuen Ankömmlinge so ausnehmend drückte, noch die frühe und starke Kälte besonders ungewöhnlich fanden. Die amerikanischen Einwohner freilich, die gerade in den Gegenden wohnten, nach denen sich der Zug der Auswanderer und Kauflustigen wendete, waren klug genug, diese unangenehme Erscheinungen für ganz außergewöhnlich zu halten.

Die amerikanischen Statistiken, welche ich zur Benutzung habe, stimmen darin überein, daß das Klima des Mississippi-Thales im weiteren Sinne genauer mit seiner Lage unter diesem oder jenem Breitegrade harmonire, als wohl in irgend einem andern Theile der Erde. Es ist ein überraschender Anblick, die gleichmäßige Abstufung in Entwicklung oder Absterben der Pflanzenwelt zu beobachten, wenn man von Norden nach Süden hin den Mississippi hinunter fährt, entweder zur Zeit des Frühlings oder des Herb-

stes. Gleichmäßigkeit der äußeren Bildung, Ermangelung aller Gebirge geben sie, und gewiß mit Recht, als Gründe dieser Erscheinung an. Diese Angabe reicht aber keineswegs hin, das Klima zu charakterisiren. Sie dient nur zur Vergleichung der einzelnen Theile dieses großen Thales mit einander, die alle gleichen Einflüssen ausgesetzt sind, und auf die alle gleiche Ursachen wirken. Nun zu schließen, daß sie deßwegen hinsichtlich des Klimas den Ländern unter gleichen Breitegraden der alten Welt, oder den östlichen Staaten Amerikas gleich seyen, wäre durchaus unrichtig. Ueberhaupt ist ein Vergleich verschiedener Länder, wenn man nicht außer der geographischen Lage auch auf die unzähligen Ursachen, die auf das Klima Einfluß haben, Rücksicht nimmt, stets sehr mißlich. Wie in den glücklichen Fluren der Lombardei, oder in den ebenen Theilen von Neapel oder Griechenland wird das Klima hier nie werden, weil gerade der gänzliche Mangel an Bergen den Winden einen ungeheuren Spielraum gibt. Die Quellen des Mississippi und aller der Gewässer, die in die nördlichen Seen ausströmen, entspringen keinen Bergen, nur ganz mäßigen Erhöhungen, die ihnen Fall verleihen.[1] Kein schützender Gebirgsrücken kann den Zug der hereinstreichenden Nordwinde aufhalten. Eben so weht die glühende Luft vom mexicanischen Meerbusen ungehindert den Mississippi hinauf, nach dem fernsten Norden. Daraus ergibt sich auch die auffallende Erscheinung, die einigermaßen mit den oben angeführten amerikanischen Schriftstellern in Widerspruch zu stehen scheint, daß in Neu-Orleans am Meerbusen von Mexico die Kälte weit geringer ist, als am nördlichen Rock River und nur weit kürzer anhält, und daß eine beinahe eben so verschmachtende, wenn gleich bei weitem kürzere Hitze am Michigan-See, als in Louisiana herrschen kann. Dieser Umstand erklärt auch die rasch abspringende Temperatur, die Duden für den größten Theil des Jahres in Abrede stellen will, je nachdem der oder jener Wind die Oberhand erhält. Die von Duden beobachtete Gleichmäßigkeit der Winddrehung, die hier herrschen soll, verhindert diese rasche Abwechselung nicht, indem

[1] Ich erinnere mich deutsche Weilandische Karten gesehen zu haben, wo an den Quellen dieser Flüsse starke Gebirgszüge hingezeichnet sind, allein die, welche die Gegenden bereis't haben, namentlich Major Long, wissen nichts davon.

er natürlich selbst zugeben muß, daß viele Ausnahmen in diesem regelmäßigen Windlauf Statt finden. Zudem ist diese Regelmäßigkeit überall zu beobachten, nicht bloß hier und namentlich auf der offenen See längst in Erfahrung gebracht worden, und gibt dem Seeman die sicherste und einfachste Wetter-Prognose zugleich.

Es ist dieser schnelle Absprung von Wärme und Kälte und umgekehrt, die allgemeine Klage jedes Europäers in diesen Ländern, und selbst die kurze Zeit meines Aufenthaltes reichte hin, mich lebhaft diese Abwechselung fühlen zu lassen. Reise und erste Einrichtung auf den neuen Ländereien machten freilich ständige Beobachtungen des Thermometers unmöglich. Doch ist mir eine Beobachtung erinnerlich, die zum Beweise meiner Mittheilung dienen mag. Der Thermometer stand den 29. Juli auf 31° Reaumür zur Mittagszeit, und den 30. Juli ebenfalls um die Mittagszeit nur auf 21°, also ein Unterschied gegen den vorigen Tag um 10°. Die Ursache war, daß der Südostwind in Nordost übergegangen war. Den ganzen heißen Sommer hindurch waren die Nächte ausnehmend kühl, und im Durchschnitt um 12° und mehr von der Tagestemperatur verschieden. Alle amerikanischen Schriftsteller sind über diesen Punkt einig, und leiten vielleicht mehr als nöthig, von dieser Erscheinung die häufigen Krankheitsfälle ab.

Bei allem diesem wird kein vernünftiger Mensch läugnen, daß im Ganzen die Witterung hier angenehmer, der Sommer wärmer, der Winter gelinder sey, als in Deutschland. Wir haben hier im November neben wenigen unfreundlichen Regentagen und kurzer aber unangenehmer Kälte die herrlichsten Sommertage gehabt, wie wir sie nie, selbst in den mildesten Gegenden des Rheins gesehen haben. Der Himmel ist heiterer und namentlich ist am Missouri und Illinois die Luft reiner und trockener, wie an den atlantischen Staaten Nordamerikas und wohl auch in vielen Gegenden Deutschlands. Allein wer mag deßhalb einer so emphatischen Ergießung beistimmen, wie wir sie in Dudens Bericht im dreißigsten Briefe finden, wo es heißt: „Wer endlich bei dem Worte: „Klima" dem Gedanken an das fröhliche Gedeihen der Menschen den gebührenden Rang einräumt, dem wird die Kunde über die Heiterkeit des Himmels nicht weniger wichtig

dünken, als die über die Temperatur. Der Himmel der Mississippiländer hat vor dem des mittleren Europas und namentlich vor dem trüben (?) Himmel Deutschlands, einen solchen Vorzug, daß dadurch allein jeder Nachtheil, welcher von der Ansiedlung in den sogenannten Wildnissen für die Gesundheit des Deutschen zu fürchten ist, im Uebermaße aufgewogen wird."

Der Himmel erscheint über den pontinischen Sümpfen gewiß heiterer als über Franken und dem Rheinlande, und wer wird die ersteren Gegenden den letzteren in Rücksicht der Gesundheit vorziehen. So viele andere Umstände wirken hier in den neuen Ländern auf das Körpersystem der Menschen, daß es gewiß übertrieben ist, sie alle durch den Einfluß eines heiteren Himmels für aufgehoben zu halten. Bei seiner Schilderung des Winters scheint ihm am meisten der milde Winter von 1824—1825 vorgeschwebt zu haben; auf allgemeine Charakterisirung dieser Jahreszeit darf seine Darstellung keinen Anspruch machen. Sie entspricht ebensowenig der Wirklichkeit, als das, was er von der steten Annehmlichkeit der Sommermonate mittheilt. Eine Hitze von 32° Reaumür (104° Fahrenheit), welche um mehr als zwei Grade die Blutwärme übersteigt, und wie sie diesen Sommer über vier Wochen anhielt, und auch während Dudens Aufenthalt (30ster Brief) vorkam, ist den Deutschen sehr drückend, ja beinahe unerträglich. Bei einer solchen Wärme hört nicht nur alle körperliche Thätigkeit beinahe gänzlich auf, sondern auch alle Fähigkeit zum Denken. Der dumpf hinbrütende Orientale mag sich bei solcher Witterung wohl fühlen, nicht aber der bewegliche und thätige Bewohner des gemäßigten Europas. Es grenzt ans Komische, wenn Duden versichern will, daß bei heiterm Himmel eine solche Hitze (30ster Brief) nicht so lästig sei, als man glaube, und daß die dichten Wälder selbst die größte Hitze erträglich machten. Die Bewohner der Bottomwälder, und alle die, welche in Waldungen, die dem Luftzug nicht ausgesetzt waren, gingen oder arbeiteten, versichern allgemein, daß es dort noch viel weniger auszuhalten gewesen wäre, als in den freien Lichtungen oder Prairien. Zudem kann es weder der Reisende, noch weniger aber der neue Ansiedler einrichten, daß er gerade im Walde zu wandeln oder zu arbeiten habe, wenn der Strahl der Sonne am meisten drückt. Das kann wohl der einzelne Privatmann, der lediglich

zur Beobachtung seinen Aufenthalt da oder dort wählt; für die bei weitem größte Mehrzahl ist eine solche Schonung ihrer Person unmöglich. Nicht minder ist der Winter, wenn auch im Ganzen gelinder als im mittleren Europa, doch öfter mit sehr kalten Tagen vermischt.[1] Auch bei uns beginnt eine andauernde Kälte nicht leicht vor dem Januar. Der Missouri und Mississippi sind öfter längere Zeit zugefroren, und zwar so, daß sie mit beladenen Wagen befahren werden können. Im Jahre 1818 war der Mississippi neun Wochen mit festem Eis bedeckt.[2] Ist zwar gleich ein solches Gefrieren mehr die Wirkung der aus dem hohen Norden ankommenden Eismassen, als der etwa bei St. Louis herrschenden Temperatur, so ist dennoch diese Erscheinung in ihren Einflüssen gleich unangenehm, und verbannt eben so den Gedanken an einen milden und linden Winter, als wenn ihre Ursachen andere wären. Ganz besonders kömmt es aber zur Berücksichtigung, daß man hier fast gar keinen Schutz gegen die eindringende Kälte und unangenehme Witterung hat, und daß selbst der gelindeste Winter dem Deutschen, der gutgebaute Häuser und warme Oefen gewohnt ist, fühlbarer ist, als ein strenger in seiner Heimath. Die beste amerikanische Wohnung auf dem Lande gewährt keinen hinreichenden Schutz und kennt nur Kamine. Viele Jahre werden aber verstreichen, ehe der neue Ansiedler sich eine Wohnung im europäischen Style wird aufrichten können; ja die Mehrzahl wird sich ihre Lebenszeit mit amerikanischen, oder doch einfach nach amerikanischem Schnitt erbauten Hütten behelfen müssen. Spätere Generationen werden eine mildere Temperatur erleben, denn der Mensch kann auch hierauf einwirken; für jetzt aber denke der Auswanderer an keine nur „rauhe Jahreszeit" (13ter Brief), welche an die westindischen Inseln oder an Länder gleicher Lage nur zu sehr gemahnt, sondern mache sich auf einen oft strengen, wenn gleich nicht anhaltenden Frost gefaßt, und versehe sich mit Oefen, Bettwerk und Winterkleidern.

[1] Im Januar 1834 war es acht Tage hindurch so kalt, als es wohl je in Deutschland war. Den 2ten Januar fiel der Thermometer 17° unter 0, den 3ten 18, den 4ten 22°. Auf offenen Prairien sogar bis auf 27 und 28°!! Kein Winter in Deutschland wurde von den neuen Ansiedlern so gefühlt, als dieser. Der Schnee lag ebenfalls acht Tage lang.

[2] Tim. Flints angeführtes Werk. 2te Ausgabe. Seite 294. 1. Thl.

Wäre aber auch die Temperatur, das Klima im engeren Sinne, noch angenehmer, der Gesundheit noch zuträglicher, so gibt es doch hier im Westen noch ganz besonders viele, auf den Menschen stark einwirkende Erscheinungen, die man gewöhnlich unter dem Worte Klima im allgemeinen Sinne mitbegreift. Diese von der eigentlichen Witterung ganz unabhängige Erscheinungen sind es, welche hauptsächlich als die Quelle so vieler Unannehmlichkeiten, so vieler Krankheiten betrachtet werden müssen. So oft nun auch Duden diese Einflüsse berührt hat, so wenig wird doch der Leser wissen, wenigstens der Leser, der nicht mit ganz prüfender Aufmerksamkeit den Darstellungen folgte, was er eigentlich davon zu glauben habe, oder nicht. Theils sind die Bemerkungen über diese Krankheitsursachen so zerstreut gegeben, theils sind sie durch Nebensätze so motivirt, daß am Ende von seitenlangen Erörterungen über diesen Punkt, gar kein Resultat herauszukommen scheint. Indessen geht doch aus allen seinen Mittheilungen hervor, als ließen sich die in Frage kommenden Krankheitsursachen ebenso leicht, als gewiß heben. Es ist dieß aber keineswegs der Fall, und die Einflüsse des stark ausdünstenden vegetabilischen Bodens, der Ausdünstungen der stehenden Wasser, der niedrig gelegenen feuchten Wiesen, der starrenden Sümpfe und der dichten mit modernden Stämmen erfüllten Wälder, können nur mit der Zeit und mit Zunehmung der ganzen Bevölkerung, nicht durch Vorsichtsmaßregeln und Kraftanstrengung des Einzelnen gebrochen werden. Es könne diese Länder nördlich des Ohio und östlich und westlich des Mississippi einst die gesündesten und für den Europäer zuträglichsten Gegenden werden, sie sind es aber *jetzt* noch keineswegs. Ehe nicht die Wälder dieser Staaten zum größeren Theile gelichtet, die niedrigen Prairien und sumpfigen Stellen ausgetrocknet, die Niederungen der Flüsse, welche Ueberschwemmungen ausgesetzt sind, durch Dämme geschützt und befestigt sind, ehe darf man dem Gedanken an ein ungestörtes, frisches, fröhliches Gedeihen, wie es bei dem sonst milderen und doch nicht entnervenden Klima möglich wäre, keinen Raum geben.

Ich muß auch hier wieder auf die Mitteilungen der früher hier angesiedelten Europäer und die Auskunft, welche inländische Schriftsteller hinsichtlich des Gesundheitszustandes geben, zurückgehen; denn, wollte ich von den Erfahrungen dieses Sommers

1833 einen allgemeinen Schluß ziehen, so würde das trübste und abschreckendste Bild erscheinen. Wie ich die glühende Hitze dieses Jahres als Ausnahme gelten lassen will, so will ich auch die zahllosen Krankheiten, die hier herrschten, Unregelmäßigkeiten im Laufe der Natur nennen. Westlich des Mississippi besonders wüthete die Cholera nicht bloß in den größeren Plätzen, sondern auch auf dem Lande; mit dieser Krankheit zeigte sich zugleich, wie auch die Aerzte in andern Ländern gefunden haben wollen, eine bedeutende Anlage zu andern Krankheiten; gewiß ist es, daß jedes auch nur leichte Unwohlseyn einen bösartigen choleraähnlichen, ja oft gleichen Charakter annahm. Ganz besonders wirkten diese herrschenden Krankheiten, mehr noch als die Cholera das Gallenfieber, auf die neuangekommenen Einwanderer, die durch die weite Reise, die drückende Hitze und ungewohnte Lebensart besonders erschöpft und angegeriffen waren, und so kam es, daß die Zahl der Ankömmlinge mehr als decimirt wurde und die Meisten mehr oder minder Anfälle von Krankheit hatten. Ich will nicht sagen, was wir in St. Louis, seit Dudens Bericht der Strebepunkt der deutschen Einwanderer, Schreckliches erlebt haben. Auch in Paris, in London, in vielen Gegenden Europas waren die Verheerungen schrecklich, und keine Vorsichtsmaßregeln, keine Anstrengung der Aerzte konnte dem Umsichgreifen auch dort besonderen Einhalt thun. Warum sollten hier, wo keine schützende Maßregeln von Verwaltungswegen ergriffen wurden, wo ferner die Arzneikunde noch in der Wiege liegt, weniger traurige Resultate erwartet werden dürfen.

Der Gesundheitszustand war und ist aber auch sonst nicht zum Besten. Ich sprach so viele ältere Ansiedler über diesen Punkt, sah selbst so viele Krankheiten, die gänzlich unabhängig von den diesen Sommer herrschenden Seuchen waren, daß es kaum mehr einer Bestätigung der amerikanischen Schriftsteller bedurfte. Es ist bei den Eingeborenen längst fester Erfahrungssatz, daß ein neu unter Kultur gebrachtes Land, ein new country, wie sie sagen, mehr oder weniger ungesund sey. Es ist gewiß, daß namentlich die Schriftsteller der älteren Staates Amerika's die Besorgnisse für die Gesundheit in neuen Ländern übertrieben haben, und daß sie zu wenig in Anschlag brachten, daß die Mississippi-Gegenden ihrer südlichen Lage wegen doch auch wieder von

vielen Krankheiten, namentlich von Brustkrankheiten befreit sind. Aber eben so gewiß ist es auch, daß, je weniger Eins oder das Andere dieser Länder cultivirt ist, ein Heer von Fieberkrankheiten den Bewohner treffen wird. Duden in seiner wohlmeinenden Ansicht, gibt gleich so vielen Schriftstellern die besten Vorschriften für die Auswanderer. Er räth die Bottoms und Niederungen, gleich wie die Nähe von Sümpfen und stehenden Wassern zu vermeiden, er empfiehlt dringend an, die Hügel aufzusuchen, der frischen Luft und besonders des bessern Wassers wegen. Das ist Alles gut und schön, ist aber oft in der Ausführung unmöglich, oder wenn auch ausgeführt, doch immer nicht hinreichend. Ich verwerfe das Vorurtheil der Amerikaner, die im tiefen Flußthale leben und halte ihre Behauptung, daß es auf den Höhen wegen der aufsteigenden Dünste ungesunder sei, als in der Ebene, für lächerlich; allein ich kann eben so wenig glauben, daß eine Entfernung von wenigen Meilen vom Fluß Bottom hinreichend gegen allen übeln Einfluß schütze, und wenn auch gelinde Hügel vom Flusse trennen. Die Ausdünstung der fetten Erde und des dichten Waldes bleibt dennoch. Zudem ist es eine eigne Sache, sich gerade vom fettesten und besten Lande auszuschließen, und statt der unendlich fruchtbaren Ebene, doch den wenigstens im Vergleich mageren Boden der Hügel zu bebauen. Die wenigsten Einwanderer widerstehen der Versuchung, und die meisten Ansiedelungen sieht man nur am Bottom der Flüsse, oder wenn auch im höher gelegenen Lande beinah ausschließlich am Ufer der kleinen Creeks.[1] Der Unterschied der Produktion ist zu verschieden, als daß nicht, so lange der Raum nicht beengt, die bewässerten Gegenden vorzugsweise gesucht würden. Dudens Wohnhaus, von den Deutschen meist mit dem scherzhaften Namen „Dudens Luftschloß" oder auch „Dudens Grab" benannt, steht selbst zwar etwas erhaben, doch dicht an einem Creek (Lake Creek), der, wie ich ihn sah, an den meisten Orten stille stand, an wenigen nur langsam schlich. Die Ausdünstungen dieses Wassers, das dem ungesunden See in Dudens Nähe entspringt, kann unmöglich einen zuträglichen Einfluß auf den Anwohner haben. Es ist wirklich für die Wanderer eine überraschende Erscheinung, in die Bottoms von der Höhe

[1] Creek, Name für kleine Flüßchen und größere Bäche.

hinunter zu treten. Eine unendlich üppige und vom höheren Lande verschiedene Vegetation umgibt den Eintretenden. Tausende von Schlingpflanzen, die den malerischsten Anblick gewähren, hemmen seine Tritte, und eine zahllose Menge umgestürzter Bäume ändern jeden Augenblick seinen Weg. Aber auch ein betäubender und die Nerven angreifender Duft weht ihm entgegen, und läßt ihn wünschen, den Reizen der Umgebung recht bald zu entfliehen. Besonders auffallend ist diese starke und betäubende Ausdünstung im Frühling und im Herbste. Was aber die Einwanderer ganz besonders in die Nähe der Flüsse oder Kanäle, also auch in die Nähe von Niederungen und dichten Wäldern (namentlich im Missouir sind gerade an den Flüssen die meisten Waldungen zwingt, ist der Vortheil der Wasserstraßen, und damit des Absatzes und des geselligen Verkehrs. Es bleibt also immer ein schwieriges Dilemma, welches noch einer Lösung bedarf, den besten Boden zu suchen und doch den gesundesten Wohnort. Es gibt gewiß Stellen, die beiden Ansprüchen genügen, aber sie sind selten und werden immer seltener, da man sie natürlich mit Vorliebe wählt. Die mit so großer Aufwendung von Pomp nach Europa verkündeten Eigenschaften der hiesigen Lande in Hinsicht auf Fruchtbarkeit und Ueppigkeit des Bodens, bleiben also vor der Hand noch etwas illusorisch und sind mit den Reizen eines herrlichen Gartens zu vergleichen, zu welchem aber eisernes Gitter dem sehnenden Neugierigen den Zutritt wehrt. Duden erzählt selbst, wie er vom Gifte des kaum gelichteten Waldbodens spricht, daß er, wenn er sich in der heißen Jahreszeit *zuweilen* im Garten beschäftigt, jedesmal die Folgen gespürt habe, und daß er sie durch den vorherigen und begleitenden Gebrauch von Arzneien, Bittersalzen, Schwefelsäure und Naphten (wahrhaftig doch Mittel genug) nicht ganz zu verhüten im Stande gewesen sey. (28ter Brief.) Wer arbeiten *muß*, und die meisten Auswanderer werden nicht im Stande seyn, durch fremde Hände für sich arbeiten zu lassen, wird also wohl noch ernstere Folgen empfinden, um so mehr als man annehmen kann, daß die Wenigsten für ihren Gesundheitszustand alle die Mittel anwenden werden oder auch nur anzuwenden die Zeit finden, wie es Duden im Stande war. Eben so wenig kann jeder die verlangte Vorsicht anwenden, das Wasser, welches an den meisten Stellen, da es über Lehm oder Kalk fließt,

der Gesundheit nicht sehr zuträglich ist, in den ersten zwei Jahren nur mit Schwefelsäure vermischt zu trinken. Wer jemals selbst rüstig in der Hitze gearbeitet hat, der weiß, wie unerträglich es ist, solche Vorschriften immer und unter allen Umständen anzuwenden. Für den Arbeiter, der nicht bloß beobachtet, sind solche Rathschläge nicht ausführbar. Sie erinnern an die wenig tröstlichen Versicherungen, die in Deutschland so oft von wohlmeinenden Aerzten und Nichtärzten beim Herannahen der Cholera gegeben worden sind, daß nämlich, wer n i e einen Diätfehler mache, stets die Abendluft vermeide, beständig die Zimmer räuchere, endlich diese oder jene Binde, dieses oder jenes Pflaster immer auf dem Leibe trage, ziemlich sicher sey, die Cholera nicht im hohen Grade zu bekommen. Solches Leben ist schon halber Tod, ja dieses beständige Schweben in Angst und Zweifel für Viele mehr als der Tod. Ich gebe gern zu, daß die ungewohnte und noch obendrein gewiß schädliche amerikanische Lebensart, der Mangel einer geschützten Wohnung in der ersten Zeit und endlich der deprimirte Gemüthszustand, wie Duden sich ausdrückt, viel zur Neigung für Krankheiten beitragen, aber trotz alledem steht der Satz fest, daß an wenigen ganz besonders günstigen Lagen ausgenommen, der Neuangekommene darauf rechnen kann, wenigstens Anfälle der allgemein herrschenden Krankheiten aushalten zu müssen. Ich habe im Missouri besonders, wo ich in mehr als hundert theils deutschen, theils amerikanischen Ansiedelungen gewesen bin, keine zehn Menschen getroffen, die nicht über den schlechten Gesundheitszustand geklagt hätten. Die meisten Deutschen, und es war bei h e r e i n b r e c h e n d e m Winter, wo an keine Folge eines allgemein verbreiteten Krankheitsstoffes mehr gedacht werden konnte, die meisten Deutschen, ich wiederhole es, litten an Fiebern, die zwar im Ganzen nicht sehr gefährlich, aber wie nicht leicht eine Krankheit unangenehm und niederdrückend waren. Unsere nächste Umgebung in Illinois, die vom großem Bottom des Mississippi (American Bottom genannt) schon bedeutend entfernt und auf der höheren Prairie oder dem Waldlande liegt, litt zwar weniger, als die Ansiedler im Missouri, die meist im oder dicht am Bottom liegen, doch kamen auch Fieberfälle genug vor. Duden hat in der That die Sache etwas z u l e i c h t genommen und ist wohl manchmal wenig verläßigen Angaben gefolgt. Wie könnte er

sonst von St. Louis sagen, man lebe in keiner Stadt Deutschlands gesünder als dort. (23ter Brief.) Es ist schon unwahrscheinlich, daß eine Stadt, welche mit Neuorleans, bekanntlich dem beinahe beständngien Aufenthalt von Krankheiten aller Art, besonders aber des gelben Fiebers, in der lebhaftesten Verbindung steht, ausnehmend gesund seyn soll. Die Schnelligkeit der Dampfschiffe, deren Anladen und Ausladen durch keine Maßregel auf Gesundheit im geringsten beschränkt ist, vermittelt die Krankheiten in einem hohen Grade. Wenigstens versicherten mich mehrere Bewohner von St. Louis, daß seit dem raschen Verkehr mit Neuorleans durch die Dampfschiffahrt der Gesundheitszustand sich bedeutend verschlimmert habe. Ein Blick auf die Sterbelisten, auf welchen die nur für einige Zeit dort lebenden Fremden, die gerade am häufigsten Opfer der Krankheit werden, sich nicht einmal verzeichnet finden, hätte Duden eines bessern belehren können. Die oben angeführte Schrift von Peck enthält eine Stelle, die wirklich zu sehr mit Dudens Behauptung contrastirt, um nicht angeführt zu werden. Es heißt da, Seite 238: „Ich feierte die Hochzeit einer mir bekannten jungen Dame in St. Louis mit; in 8 Tagen war sie eine Wittwe. Bei dem Begräbniß eines Mannes in demselben Jahre (1821), der eine Wittwe unter 20 Jahren hinterließ, waren 13 Wittwen zugegen, von denen keine 24 Jahre alt war, und die ihre Lebensgefährten alle in diesem Jahre verloren hatten." Später unten folgt die Angabe, daß St. Louis in diesem Jahre nicht über 8000 Einwohner gezählt habe und daß auf 30 Personen eine gestorben sey. Gerade rücksichtlich des Gesundheitszustandes muß man in seinen Angaben sehr vorsichtig seyn; denn dieses ist der Punkt, bei welchem man sich den meisten Vorwürfen, ja Verwünschungen aussetzen kann, wenn Täuschungen mit unterlaufen. Nichts ist auch mehr geeignet, den Einwanderer in eine traurigere Lage zu versetzen, als körperliche Leiden. Der traurigen Fälle nicht zu gedenken, wo durch den Tod des Familienhauptes die Angehörigen oft in die betrübteste und elendeste Lage versetzt werden, reicht schon Krankheit eines der Glieder der Familie öfter hin, Noth und Kummer auf den Ankömmling zu häufen, der hier das Land der Freude und der Verheißung zu finden gehofft hatte. In diesem Lande, wo unser gewohntes geselliges Leben mehr oder minder vermißt wird, wo an keine Zerstreuung, an keine auf-

heiternde Muse so leicht zu denken ist, wo nur die freie Bewegung in einer kräftigen Natur, im Vollgefühle der Gesundheit Genuß bringen kann, da auf dem Krankenbette gefesselt zu liegen, drückt doppelt und dreifach schwer den Geist nieder. Es ist daher die heilige Pflicht, die Einwanderer ernstlich und nicht mit verdeckten Redensarten aufmerksam zu machen, und Entschlüssen, die nicht auf fester und ernster Ueberzeugung der geistigen oder physischen Nothwendigkeit gegründet sind, vorzubeugen. Die Uebel, auf welche man vorbereitet und gefaßt ist, werden jedenfalls leichter ertragen, wenn sie wirklich eintreffen. Bleiben sie aus, so wird die Freude um so größer seyn, und man wird wenigstens den nicht schelten, der damit vertraut gemacht hat. Wohl trifft aber Tadel beinahe unter allen Umständen den, der ins Schöne gemalt hat; denn es ist ein alter Satz, daß des Menschen Sinn und Verlangen nie ganz befriedigt wird.

Eben so wichtig aber, wie die Erörterung, wie es in dem Raume, wohin der Auswanderer strebt, aussehe, und welches dessen äussere Bildung und Beschaffenheit sey, bleibt die Untersuchung, wie man sich in diesem Raume bewegen könne, und welche Stellung man bei den oder jenen Mitteln zu erwarten habe. Und zwar muß sich diese Untersuchung nothwendig auf zwei Felder wenden, und zwei Fragen beantworten, was nämlich für das äußere physische Leben, die körperliche Existenz, und was ferner für das innere geistige Seyn zu hoffen und zu erwarten sey. Duden hat diesen Fragen einige eigene Briefe (29, 31) und endlich eine eigends angehängte Abhandlung gewidmet, und auch sonst noch oft Gelegenheit genommen, seine Ansichten mitzutheilen. Es sind diese bezügliche Stellen gewiß die gelungensten im ganzen Buche, und dienen zum Beweise, daß er die äußern und innern Verhältnisse der Freistaaten zu einem Gegenstande sorgfältiger Prüfung gemacht hat. Keineswegs aber gebe ich hiermit zu, daß ich mit Dudens philosophischen Deductionen, die er besonders in dem Anhange „Ueber die Natur der amerikanischen Freistaaten" vorbringt, übereinstimme. So oft ich im Resultat dem Verfasser Recht geben muß, so himmelweit ist doch meine politische Ueberzeugung von der seinigen verschieden; doch verlangt der Zweck meiner Darstellung weniger eine Prüfung von Dudens Philosophemen, welche die meisten Leser ohnehin auf sich beruhen lassen.

als eine Untersuchung über die Richtigkeit seiner factischen Angaben und seiner aus der Natur des Bodens und der Bewohner unmittelbar hergeleiteten Schlüsse.

Um nun zunächst die die mehr äußere Stellung des Einwanderers ins Auge zu fassen, so ist das Ergebniß von Dudens Beobachtungen, daß es in jeder Hinsicht leicht, und in keinem Vergleich angenehm, besonders in den westlichen Staaten Amerikas zu leben sey, wenn nur anders bestimmte Voraussetzungen erfüllt wären. Auch ich müßte ein Thor sein, wenn ich nicht die großen Vortheile anerkennen wollte, die vor allem der, welcher Landwirthschaft, unbedingt hier die sicherste Basis der Existenz, treiben will, hier vor Europa findet. Fruchtbares Land, durch Abgaben keineswegs beschwert, Leichtigkeit wo überall Grundeigenthum und alle bürgerlichen Rechte zu erwerben, Freiheit des Handels und jeglichen Gewerbes, ein Klima, welches dem Eingewöhnten nicht ungünstig ist, gute Land- und Wasserstraßen, die den Verkehr vermitteln, und geselligen Umgang erleichtern; dieß alles muß den segensreichsten Einfluß auf die äußere Stellung gewähren. Allein der Genuß dieser Herrlichkeiten ist wenigstens für die erste Zeit an so viele Entbehrungen und Aufgebungen geknüpft, daß der neue Ankömmling meist der Meinung ist, daß die Nachtheile bei weitem nicht von den Vortheilen aufgewogen würden, und daß die erlangte Lage der gebrachten Opfer keineswegs werth gewesen sey. Vor solcher niederdrückenden Ansicht kann ebenfalls nichts besser schützen, als eine gewissenhafte Angabe der Widerwärtigkeiten und Entbehrungen, die man anzutreffen, und eine aufrichtige Schilderung des Lebens, welches in den ersten Jahren selbst der bemittelte Ankömmling zu suchen hat. Duden hat auch hier keineswegs unterlassen, auf dieses oder jenes Unangenehme, auf dieses oder jenes Hinderniß hinzudeuten; er hat sich mehrmals ausgesprochen, daß nur ein, wenn auch nur mäßiges Vermögen, Bedingung eines baldigen glücklichen Zustandes sey, daß Fleiß, Thätigkeit und Ausdauer, unerläßliche Forderungen seyen, daß endlich eine ganz vereinzelt gegründet Niederlassung vom größten Nachtheil werden könne. Aber alle diese so zerstreut vorgebrachten Fingerzeige, sie werden nur zu leicht verwischt durch den Eindruck, den so viele enthusiastische Ergießungen, an andern Stellen wieder hervorbringen. Alle, vielleicht die gerechtesten Zweifel schwin-

den dem Leser, wenn er von einem Manne, der in seinen Mittheilungen im Ganzen einen gewissen steifen Ernst, eine handfest gelehrte Trockenheit gezeigt hat, Aussprüche wie die folgenden liest: „Man wird und kann es in Europa nicht glauben, wie leicht und angenehm sich in diesen Ländern leben läßt." „Es klingt zu fremdartig, zu fabelhaft. Der Glaube an ähnliche Oerter auf der Erde, war schon zu lange in die Märchenwelt verbannt." Ueber solche excentrische Sätze lächeln jetzt freilich die Deutschen in Amerika; aber für sie alle gab es eine Zeit, wo sie sich mit Bitterkeit an diese und ähnliche Erhebungen erinnerten, wo sie sich und Andere mit Härte anklagten, solchen glänzenden Ausmalungen getraut zu haben.

Selbst die wahrhafte Aufführung von Beispielen, wie Amerikaner in kurzer Zeit an äußerem Wohlstand zugenommen haben, wird dem fremden Einwanderer keinen richtigen Maßstab für seine eigene Zukunft abgeben. Der Amerikaner hat so ausnehmend wenig Bedürfnisse — welches weniger die Folge einer tiefen Philosophie, sondern zum Theil wenigstens die Folge eines geringeren Grades geistiger Bildung ist, — daß er schneller zu einer gewissen Wohlhabenheit und einer doch nur beziehungsweise glücklichen Stellung gelangen kann, als irgend ein eingewanderter Europäer. Was wir Behaglichkeit, Bequemlichkeit nennen, das kennt wenigstens der Bewohner dieser westlichen Gegenden durchaus nicht. Der wunderbare Hang der Amerikaner zu neuen fernen Gründungen, wiewohl doch sonst ihrem Charakter alles Abentheuerliche fremd ist, überwiegt jede Rücksicht auf eine feste, annehmliche und behagliche Lage. Anhänglichkeit an irgend einen erbauten Wohnsitz, an irgend einen ihm lieb gewordenen Platz, kennt der Amerikaner gar nicht. Es ist nichts ungewöhnliches, daß eine Familie, die sich durch Fleiß und Anstrengung ein angenehmes und bequemes Leben in einem netten und geräumigen Wohnhause geschaffen, die sich die umliegenden Wälder gelichtet und die umgebenden Obstbäume selbst gepflanzt hat, nach mehr als 20jährigem Aufenthalte, und ohne alle Noth denselben verläßt, und keinen Anstand nimmt, von neuem Land urbar zu machen, und mehrere Jahre lang abgeschnitten von allem Verkehr, in einer elenden Hütte zu wohnen und alle Entbehrungen wie bei ihrem ursprünglichen Anfange von neuem zu ertragen. Der

Europäer, namentlich der Deutsche, hat Anhänglichkeit an seinen früheren Wohnsitz, und liebt eine gewisse behaglich fortdauernde Existenz. Er wird die neuen Entbehrungen zehnmal mehr empfinden, als der amerikanische Ansiedler. Es ist ihm rein unmöglich so zu leben, wie der Amerikaner lebt. Eine Lage, worin der letztere vergnügt und glücklich ist, vermag den europäischen Einwanderer in die trübste Stimmung zu versetzen. Es ist eine Täuschung, aus der Leichtigkeit wie der Amerikaner lebt, schließen zu wollen, daß der Fremde eben so leicht leben könne. Demgemäß würde der träge Indianer der glücklichste seyn, der gar keine Bedürfnisse hat, als den nothwendigsten Lebensunterhalt, und also auch keine Anstrengung kennt, um seine Wünsche zu befriedigen.

Der Amerikaner hat es nicht so leicht, er macht es sich leicht, und zwar auch in solchen Fällen, in denen es der Europäer nicht über sich bringen kann. Der Amerikaner, der nur den Augenblick erwartet, wo er mit einigem Gewinn seine Ansiedlung verkaufen kann, geht um die Arbeit zu sparen mit einer solchen Verschwendung hinsichtlich seines Bodens, seines Holzes, seiner Früchte zu Werke, wie es der Eingewanderte, dessen Absicht es in der Regel ist, für sich eine bleibende Wohnstätte, für seine Kinder einen angenehmen zukünftigen Aufenthalt zu schaffen, nie zu thun im Stande ist. Duden schweben für diese gerühmte Leichtigkeit oft wohl keine besonders gute Beispiele vor Augen. So habe ich, um nur eins anzuführen, versichern hören, daß der Amerikaner mehr Fleiß auf die Bestellung des Mais anwende, wie Duden angibt, indem er nicht nur einmal, sondern zwei und dreimal die aufgegangene Saat noch durchpflüge. Die von Duden beschriebene Weise werde nur von der leichtfertigen Klasse befolgt, die gerade so viel bauen, um nicht verhungern zu müssen, größtentheils auf und von der Jagd leben, und einige hundert Meilen weiter ziehen, wie das Wild abzunehmen beginnt. Ueberhaupt hat Duden bei den ganzen Ansiedlungsunternehmungen Eingeborene vor Augen, und eine amerikanische Ansiedlung ist es auch, welche er in seinem vierzehnten Briefe ausführlicher beschreibt. Der Europäer kann daraus noch keine Schlüsse auf sich machen, und er wird mit bei weitem mehr Widerwärtigkeiten und Hindernissen zu thun haben.

So bringt auch Dudens Darstellung leicht auf den Gedanken, als sey die Urbarmachung des Waldbodens von weniger Schwie-

rigkeit. Es sind schon viele handfeste Europäer hier hergekommen, aber alle haben es für eine Unmöglichkeit erklärt, sich mit diesem Geschäfte zu befassen. Wenn man auch gleich die dickeren Stämme stehen läßt, (doch bleibt nicht leicht einer unter zwei Fuß Durchmesser), so irrt Duden doch sehr, wenn er glaubt, daß die Sträucher und Stauden mit den Wurzeln wegzuschaffen, eine Kleinigkeit sey. Indeß hindert weniger die Schwierigkeit der Arbeit, als die Gefahr vor Krankheit, die mit dem Bearbeiten und dem Aufbrechen der „unberührten, jungfräulichen Erde" verknüpft ist. Die Riegel für die Umzäunungen (fences) zu verfertigen, ist ebenfalls ein Geschäft, vor dem sich alle Europäer um so mehr scheuen, als es ihnen selten gelingt, dem Eingeborenen oder schwarzen Arbeiter in Schnelligkeit beizukommen. Wer aber, wie Duden meint, die Lichtung eines Acre mit 6 Dollar bezahlen soll, der handelt wahrlich besser, eine fertige Ansiedlung zu kaufen, auf welcher ihn der Acre, freilich gebautes und ungebautes Land zusammengeschlagen, im Durchschnitt nicht mehr als 6 bis 8 Dollar kommen wird. Er erhält dabei auch eine freilich nur amerikanische Wohnhütte, und die nothwendigsten Wirthschafts-Gebäulichkeiten.

Ueberhaupt liegt der ganzen Dudenschen Berechnung stets die Voraussetzung zu Grunde, daß der Ansiedler sich auf Congreßland niederlasse. Der Preis ist zwar wirklich nicht bedeutend, und beträgt gegenwärtig nicht mehr wie 1¼ Dollar (Dollar = fl. 2. 30 kr.) der Acre; auch wird nach einem neuen Gesetz des Congresses schon ein Stück von 40 Acres vom Staate verkauft — doch nur nach der eidlichen Versicherung, daß man das Stück selbst und zwar sogleich unter Kultur nehmen wolle, damit hierdurch die Speculanten verhindert werden, dem weniger Bemittelten, die kleinen guten Parzellen wegzukaufen — aber dennoch hat der Ankauf von Congreßland allein stets für den Europäer seine besondere Schwierigkeiten. Ganz abgesehen von der Unbequemlichkeit und dem Nachtheil, sich erst eine Hütte errichten, den Boden lichten und brechen, wenigstens zwei Jahre ohne alle Erndte zu bestehen, und endlich auf oder doch dicht an dem neuaufgebrochenen äußerst ungesunden Boden wohnen zu müssen, fehlen dem Fremden bei Weitem die richtigen Kennzeichen des vortheilhaften Bodens, in welcher die Amerikaner nicht zu täuschen sind. Viele kleinere Umstände, vor allem aber die Pflanzen, die dem Boden entsprossen, geben

ihm sichere Anhaltspunkte, welche der neue Ankömmlinge nicht finden wird. Wer hier nicht ganz besondere Vorsicht anwendet, läuft Gefahr, sowohl sehr ungesundes, als, wenigstens vergleichungsweise, schlechtes Land zu kaufen, wie denn auch wirklich die Amerikaner den Deutschen besonders den Vorwurf machen, daß sie in der Auswahl des Landes sehr unglücklich seyen. Seit Dudens Abwesenheit hat sich indeß auch Vieles hinsichtlich des Congreßlandes geändert, was zu andern Ansichten und Entschlüssen bringen muß. Vorzüglich sucht man die Thäler der Flüsse (Bottoms), und namentlich der größeren schiffbaren Flüsse, und in den Prairiegegenden, die Strecken, welche an Waldungen grenzen. Ich bin aber sowohl im Missouri als Illinois versichert worden, daß an diesen gewünschten Plätzen, vor allem im Missouribottom bis hinauf nach Boon und Howard-County, kein unbesetztes Staatsgut mehr sey. Theils ist vieles schon Eigenthum fleißiger Pflanzer, theils sind aber auch ungeheure Striche in den Händen von Spekulanten, oder Anbauern, die noch kein Eigenthum erworben haben, besetzt. Solche Ansiedler vom unbezahlten Congreßland wegzudrängen, verbietet eben sowohl Menschenfreundlichkeit als allgemeine Sitte, und zudem sind die meisten von ihnen doch im Stande, nöthigenfalls das Land zu bezahlen, und nach dem Gesetz genießen sie noch das Vorkaufsrecht. Mit welcher klugen Berechnung die schlechten Stücke alle liegen geblieben sind, ist kaum zu glauben. Wer noch unbeschränkte Wahl hat, wählt sich gewöhnlich so, daß er entweder ein Stück Wald bekommt, an welches große Prairien grenzen, die er dann für lange Zeit benutzen kann, da bei Mangel an Wald in der Nähe, die Prairie nicht gesucht wird; oder daß er eine kleine Prairie erhält, die vom Wald umkränzt wird, da Wald allein auch wieder selten gesucht wird. Man kann mit ziemlicher Gewißheit aussprechen, daß in den Staaten der Union, nicht in den Gebieten, die vor der Hand wenigstens den Einwanderern theils wegen ihrer Lage, theils wegen ihrer indianischen Bevölkerung, nicht rathsam sind, gutes Congreßland schon selten ist, am meisten aber natürlich in den Gegenden, die schon angebauter sind. Aber grade diese angebauteren Gegenden haben für den europäischen Einwanderer, der oft so viel Theures verlassen mußte, den meisten Werth, den größten Reiz. Der abentheuerliche Franzose, der als Halbkultivirter sich unter

Indianerstämmen herumtreibt, der stets neues und noch fruchtbareres Land, oder mehr Hirsche und Truthühner suchende Amerikaner, sie mögen an den äussersten Grenzen die Vorläufer der Kultur seyn, die meisten Europäer hingegen, vor Allen der Deutsche, wird sich im fruchtbarsten Boden unglücklich fühlen, wenn er auf lange Zeit, vielleicht für immer, den meisten Bequemlichkeiten des Lebens, jedem freundschaftlichen geselligen Umgang entsagen soll. Je weiter von großen Städten, Flüssen oder Kanälen entfernt, je geringer wird für den Landwirth auch der Absatz seyn, je weniger wird sich für ihn, und die nächsten Nachkommen sein Fleiß und seine Entsagung belohnen. Keine von den vielen Familien, die Europa verließen, dachten an etwas anderes, als an große Ankäufe von Staatsland. Ich kann versichern, daß ich k e i n e getroffen habe, die der gebildeteren Klasse angehörte, die zuerst oder ausschließlich Congreßland gekauft hat. Sie zogen bescheidene, schon gegründete Ansiedlungen den ungemessen fruchtbaren Regionen vor, die meist nur noch in Büchern billig zu haben sind.

Wohl weiß ich, daß man auch gegen diese Abgeschiedenheit und die daraus entstehende Unbequemlichkeit des Einzelnen mit wohlgemeinten Rathschlägen nicht ausblieb. Man müsse sich zu Gesellschaften, zu geschlossenen Vereinen bilden, sich nach einem Punkte hinwenden, in Gemeinschaft große Strecken ankaufen, Schulen, Städte, Universitäten u. s. w. gründen, und nach weniger Zeit werde ein neues, schönes, gesellschaftliches Band die Einwanderer umschlungen haben, eine neue Heimath werde verjüngt erblühen, und des früheren Landes Cultur und Gesittung werde veredelt und geläutert fortbestehen. Auch Duden deutet auf so einen Plan hin, und theilt uns selbst die Ordnungen und Grundsätze mit, die eine solche Gesellschaft nach seiner Ansicht leiten und beherrschen sollen. (Ueber die Natur der nordamerikanischen Freistaaten, S. 324. Anhang zu diesem Briefe), „um," wie er sich ausdrückt, „der spöttelnden Flachheit zu zeigen, daß nicht von luftigen Plänen die Rede ist." Man pflegt gewöhnlich die Richtigkeit von Unternehmungen nach deren Erfolgen zu beurtheilen, und wenn ich mir dieß hier erlaube, so kann Dudens Plan, wenn auch gerade nicht für einen luftigen, doch wenigstens für ziemlich unausführbar gelten. Wenn man so hinter seinen vier Wänden

sitzt, dünkt es einem rein unmöglich, wie das nicht Alles so oder so gemacht werden könne, man kann den Einwurf der Unausführbarkeit gar nicht begreifen. Nach Erscheinung des Dudenschen Berichtes hatte man in Deutschland nichts Eiligeres zu thun, als Auswanderungsgesellschaften nach angegebenen Plänen zu gründen. Es fehlte nicht an guten und wie es schien billigen Grundsätzen, — ebensowenig schienen die Zwecke unausführbar. Keine von allen diesen Gesellschaften hat hier in Amerika Stand gehalten! Gewöhnlich wurden die Mitglieder, obgleich sie vielleicht Jahrelang vorher mit den Verkündigern des gelobten Landes correspondirt hatten, von einer Menge neuer Verhältnisse und unbekannter Erscheinungen überrascht, so daß sie gar nicht mehr wußten, an was sie sich halten sollten oder nicht. Frühere Verpflichtungen erschienen unter dem neuen Lichte einer völligen Freiheit und Gleichheit, und bei dem gänzlichen Aufhören einer Rangordnung oder Dienstabhängigkeit, unbillig und wurden zerrissen. Die Meisten fanden die ergriffenen Maßregeln, wenn auch im allgemeinen noch für ausführbar, doch jetzt für sich, und den vorliegenden Fall unpassend, zweifelten an der Fähigkeit oder Aufrichtigkeit ihrer Commissaire, Spediteure oder Vorsteher, und lösten sich meist unter Zwist und Hader, dem Keime zu neuen Unannehmlichkeiten und Zerwürfnissen, denen man gerade entflohen zu seyn glaubte, so rasch als möglich auf. Zu verschieden sind die Interessen, welche die Auswanderer zu ihrem Entschlusse bewegen, zu gemischt in Hinsicht auf Bildung und Charakter sind die Glieder solcher Gesellschaften, als daß man von ihnen erwarten dürfte, sie würden in einer festen, zum gemeinschaftlichen Nutzen geschlossenen Organisation beharren. Nur religiösen Schwärmern, oder doch solchen, welche die Religion als Deckmantel für ihre Absichten um sich warfen, ist es bis jetzt gelungen, eine Schaar von unmündigen Gläubigen um sich versammelt zu erhalten, und durch Glaube das aneinander zu ketten, was sich durch billige und vernünftige Principien noch nicht halten ließ. Es ist hier wohlbekannt, daß in der neuesten Zeit in Deutschland einige wackere Männer mit dem Gedanken umgehen, in geschlossenen Massen nach einem Punkte der vereinigten Staaten sich hinzuwenden, um einen neuen Staat zu gründen, in dem vorzugsweise deutsche Sitte und ein dieser Sitte entsprechendes Recht sich feststellen und bewahren sol-

len. Es liegen zwei Schriftchen vor mir, die von diesem Vereine ehrenwerther Männer ausgegangen sind, und die beabsichtigen, die Gleichgesinnten zur Bildung eines neuen deutschen Staates, eines verjüngten Deutschlands im Arkansasgebiete aufzufordern.[1] Ich will nichts über den Plan sprechen, (Censurlücke. Es hieß: An die Stelle des veralteten Vaterlandes ein neues, wiedergeborenes hinzustellen, die politisch und menschlich würdige Stellung einzunehmen, welche anderwärts untersagt ist, hier am Mississippi eine geltende Stimme . . . [Rest unleserlich und unzusammenhängend, am Rande mit Bleistift geschrieben und z. T. vom Buchbinder beschnitten]. Eine Erörterung dieser Art würde den Zweck meiner Mittheilungen zu sehr erweitern. Ich will ebensowenig meine Ansichten über die Ausführbarkeit oder Unausführbarkeit dieses Entwurfs hier folgen lassen, um so weniger, als die Männer, welche an die Spitze getreten sind, Mittel an Händen haben, die genauesten und sichersten Angaben über die westlichen Staaten, besonders aber über das in Frage stehende Gebiet zu erfahren. Ich will vielmehr annehmen, alle folgenden Colonisationsversuche in Masse gelängen, so werden doch die Glieder solcher mehr oder minder großen Associationen mindestens für die ersteren Jahre, einen Unterschied in den Entbehrungen und Unannehmlichkeiten mit dem Einzelnen verglichen nicht sonderlich empfinden. Auf äußere Gestaltung des Landes, des Klimas und dessen Einwirkungen hat ohnehin das Zusammenseyn in größerer Zahl keinen Einfluß. Es ist daher auch unter der Voraussetzung, daß keine einzelne Gründungsversuche gemacht werden, immer noch rathsam, aufrichtig und ohne Hehl mit allen drohenden Uebeln bekannt zu machen, und den täuschenden Duft von allzu zauberischen Gemälden abzuwischen. Was ich indeß hier von den bis jetzt unternommenen Ansiedlungsgesellschaften bemerkt habe, bringt dem Satze keinen Eintrag, daß es sehr angenehm sey, in der Nähe von Freunden und Landsleuten sich anzusiedeln, und daß so freundliche Nachbarn die Amerikaner auch immer seyn mögen, zu einem baldigen Genuß der besseren Stellung an dem neuen Wohnort, unbedingt ein Zu-

[1] Aufforderung an deutsche Auswanderer zu einer größeren gemeinschaftlichen Ansiedlung in den Freistaaten von Nordamerika. Gießen, 1833. Zweite Aufforderung und Erklärung im Betreff einer Auswanderung im Großen. Gießen, 1833.

sammenleben mit denen gehört, die gleiche Erinnerungen, gleiche Schmerzen und gleiche Freuden, zu einem geistigeren und herzlicheren Umgang allein fähig machen.

Es ist möglich, daß Dudens Berichte vielleicht bei Manchen die Ansicht erregt haben, als sey außer für eine sorgenlose und behagliche Lage, hier auch der Ort, sich schnell große Reichthümer zu erwerben. Sollte einer oder der andere diesen Gedanken gefaßt haben, so bitte ich ihn recht sehr, sich dieser Einbildungen ja recht bald zu entschlagen. Namentlich wird der Landwirth, wie leicht er sich auch eine bei weitem glücklichere und unabhängigere Lage als in seiner früheren Heimath verschaffen kann, durch den bloßen Feldbau, bei dem hohen Arbeitslohn, den niedrigen Preisen der Gegenstände, die er producirt, und dem theuern Preise aller Sachen, welche er kaufen muß, keine Schätze sammeln. Feine nie trügende Spekulation vermag zwar gewiß hier noch mehr in die Höhe zu bringen, als in der alten Welt, aber nur wenigen Köpfen ist eine solche richtige Berechnung eigen und unglückliche Versuche sind hier ebenso nachtheilig wie anderwärts. Wer sich auf Feldbau legt, und für die meisten Ansiedler wird ja der Fall eintreten, muß in den ersten Jahren lediglich auf Zulegen rechnen, um so mehr, als ihm die Einrichtung der besten amerikanischen Ansiedlung, die er etwa kauft, nicht genügen wird. Handwerker finden meiner Ansicht nach hier den meisten Gewinn, der mit dem Erwerb, welchen andere Berufsarten bringen, in gar keinem Vergleich steht. An Aerzten ist in den östlichen Staaten Ueberfluß, selbst im „fernen Westen" kein Mangel. St. Louis, eine Stadt von 8—10,000 Einwohner, zählte vor einiger Zeit deren etwa 60.

Für Kaufleute bieten allerdings diese neu aufgeschlossenen Gegenden, die von den besten Wasserstraßen der Welt durchschnitten sind, einen ungeheuren Spielraum; doch wird der fremde Handelsmann bei Unkenntniß der hiesigen Produkte, deren Quellen und Absatzplätze, bei der Unsicherheit der meisten amerikanischen Handelsleute, und endlich bei der Verschiedenheit der Art und Weise des hiesigen Handelsbetriebs, welches freilich dem gelehrten Duden nicht auffiel, einen sehr schweren Standpunkt erhalten. Der Rechtsgelehrte müßte nothwendig erst nicht nur vollkommen die Sprache und die Rechte des Landes erlernen, sondern auch tief in die Sitten und den Geist des Volkes eindrin-

gen, wenn er anders den zungenfertigen und praktischen Advokaten entgegentreten, wenn er anders zu dem Herzen und der Ueberzeugung der Geschworenen, die auch in Civilsachen ihre Stimme abgeben, sprechen wollte. An Duden, der doch selbst Rechtsgelehrter war, fällt es auf, daß er von den amerikanischen Advokaten behauptet, rhetorischer Wortschwall sey ihnen fremd. (29ster Brief.) Dieser Schluß, der ganz schulmäßig aus dem allgemeinen Charakter der Amerikaner gezogen ist, wird keineswegs durch die Erfahrung bestätigt. Es ist jedem fremden Rechtsgelehrten auffallend, mit wie wenig Rücksicht auf das grade vorliegende Gesetz, dessen Auslegung oder Anwendbarkeit gesprochen wird, und daß vielmehr hauptsächlich auf das, was man gesunden Menschenverstand zu nennen pflegt, und auf moralische, nicht rechtliche Ueberzeugung zu wirken gesucht wird. Der eigentliche Gelehrte ist hier im Westen, wo die Wissenschaften noch ganz in ihrer Wiege liegen, nie ihrer selbst, sondern nur desjenigen willen, was dem allerbegrenztesten praktischen Leben Nutzen bringt, behandelt werden, gar nicht zu Hause. Er wird hier, wo nur die physischen Kräfte von Werth und Ertrag sind, eine bemitleidenswerthe Rolle spielen, und sich und andern zum Ueberdrusse werden.

Einzelne kleine Verschönerungen Dudens hinsichtlich des leichten und reichlichen Lebens des Pflanzers, mögen nur ganz kurz berührt werden. Daß die Hausthiere ohne alle Spende überwintern können, ist beinah nie der Fall, und würde sich durch den schlechten Zustand, ja das Wegsterben der Thiere sehr bestrafen. Darreichen von Futter geschieht also nicht, wie Duden meint, mehr um sie an den Ort zu fesseln, sondern ganz einfach deßwegen, damit sie nicht verhungern. So werden auch die Hirsche meist gegessen und nicht liegen gelassen, wie er meint; denn was der Jäger nicht verzehrt, bekommen die Nachbarn, die sehr dankbar dafür sind. Es gibt zwar allerdings amerikanische Pflanzer, die so leidenschaftlich der Jagd obliegen, daß sie die von Duden angegebene Art wohl öfter ausüben, allein von solchen indianischen Müßiggängern kann man nicht auf die Mehrzahl schließen. Auch hat man mich im Illinois und Missouri versichert, daß die Truthühner selten die Schwere von 15 Pfund erreichten, und daß man sehr gerne dergleichen auch unter 12 und 10 Pfund nehme. Ich führe diese Unbedeutendheiten nur an, um zu zeigen, wie lebhaft

oft des Berichterstatters Pinsel malt, auf zwei Gegenstände aber, die zwar von Duden auch besprochen sind, aber in seiner gewöhnlichen Weise, will ich noch etwas aufmerksam machen, nehmlich auf die Mousquitos-Plage und den Mangel an irgend einer fremden Hülfe in den Feld- und häuslichen Geschäften.

Freilich sind die Mousquitos nichts anders, als deutsche Schnacken, culex pipiens, wie Duden sagt, aber diese culex pipiens ist an den Ufern der Flüsse, in der Nähe der Kanäle, Sümpfe und feuchten Wiesen in solcher ungeheuren Menge in den neuen Ländern zu treffen, daß an ein ausreichendes Schutzmittel nicht gedacht werden kann. Die gegen diese Insekten am meisten abgehärteten früheren Bewohner der Rheinniederungen, fanden doch hier diese Plage beinah unerträglich. Nur wer durch einen Mousquitair, einen Vorhang von Gaze geschützt ist, darf auf nicht schlaflose Nächte rechnen. Gewöhnlich erzeugen die Stiche eine Art von brennendem Ausschlag, der ebenso entstellend als schmerzhaft ist. Diese Mousquitos sind eine stehende Sommer-, ja oft Herbstplage, und werden nur mit der Lichtung der ungeheuren Waldungen und dem Austrocknen der vielen stehenden Gewässer abnehmen, in den Bottoms der Flüsse aber nie ganz verschwinden. Sie sind keine seltene Erscheinung, wie Duden meint, für deren Entstehen man sich lange um Erklärungen zu bemühen braucht. St. Louis ist nicht frei von diesen Quälgeistern, wie aus dem 23sten Briefe hervorzugehen scheint, sondern vielmehr ihr Lieblingsaufenthalt und Haupttummelplatz.

Der Mangel an Bedienung aber ist eine der hauptsächlichsten Unannehmlichkeiten, denen sich der Einwanderer aussetzen muß. Der Erfolg hat gezeigt und zeigt noch täglich, wie wenig in Europa abgeschlossene Dienstverträge hier gehalten werden. Wer helfende Leute mitbringt, die nicht durch persönliche Zuneigung an ihn oder an die Familie gefesselt sind, darf gewiß seyn, in den ersten Monaten schon allein dazustehen. Der Mangel an Händen ist besonders in den westlichen Gegenden zu fühlbar, als daß nicht der rüstige Arbeiter Bedingungen angeboten bekäme, denen der Auswanderer, der nicht leicht ohne beträchtliche finanzielle Opfer sein Vaterland verlassen konnte, keine gleichen entgegenstellen kann. Nun ist es zwar hier, wie in Deutschland auch, nothwendig, daß der Landwirth wohl überall selbst Hand anlege und sich nicht

bloß auf eine allgemeine Oberaufsicht beschränke. Aber der Geschäfte gibt es hier so tausenderlei, der amerikanische Landmann muß sich so vielerlei verrichten, was er in Europa um geringen Preis gefertigt hätte erhalten können, er muß in den meisten Fällen sich selbst Handwerksmann seyn, so daß er auch, selbst wenn die eigentliche Feldarbeit noch weniger Schwierigkeit machte, als meistens geglaubt wird, nicht gut allein fertig werden kann. Ist die Familie gar groß und sind der rüstigen Glieder nicht viele, so ist wirklich die Lage der Eingewanderten, besonders der Frauen äußerst unangenehm. Ich habe Familien getroffen, die bloß aus dem einzigen Grunde, weil sie keine Hülfe erhalten konnten, auf der Stelle zu ihrer früheren Heimath zurückgekehrt wären, wenn es ihnen anders noch möglich gewesen wäre. Nun bleibt zwar der Ausweg übrig, sich Sklaven zu kaufen, aber dazu gehört ein beträchtliches Vermögen, da unter 500 Dollars nicht leicht ein Sklave zu haben ist, und dann ist auch dieser Ausweg ein Weg, den ein Mann von Rechtlichkeit und Ehre nie betreten wird. Wir können die Bewohner der Provinzen, in welchen die Sklaverei gesetzlich besteht, nur bedauern, dieses von ihren Eltern und Ureltern eingepflanzte Vorurtheil, welches ihrem Interesse zu entsprechen scheint, noch nicht von sich geworfen zu haben, die neuen Ankömmlinge aber, die diesem Grundsatz huldigen, und denen doch von Jugend auf vor dieser groben und empörenden Art des Sklaventhums Abscheu eingeflößt worden ist, denen Allmacht des Vorurtheils und jahrhundertlange Gewöhnung nicht zu einiger Entschuldigung gereicht, muß man verachten, und doppelt und dreifach verachten, wenn sie mit der Lüge hier auftreten, als habe ihre politische Ueberzeugung sie gezwungen, den republikanischen Boden Amerikas zu betreten. Zur Ehre der im Missouri lebenden Deutschen sei es gesagt, daß noch keiner von ihnen Sklaven gekauft hat, doch hätten sie besser gethan, diesen Sklavenstaat zu meiden; denn wovor sie vielleicht noch eine Scheu haben, wird ihren Kindern und Enkeln nicht mehr verabscheuungswerth vorkommen, und Macht der Gewohnheit und der Umgebung wird auch sie abstumpfen und zu trägen Herren unglücklicher Knechte machen.

Aber auch dieser „Ausweg der Unehre" steht nur in den Ländern südlich des Ohio und in dem Missouri-Staat offen, indem glücklicherweise die andern Staaten dem Principe des Egois-

mus und der Unmenschlichkeit nicht huldigen. Die Länder Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, die in so vielen Beziehungen Vorzüge vor dem Missouri-Staat haben, müssen dann von der Ansiedlung ausgeschlossen bleiben. Außer dem Vortheil einer bei weitem größeren Kultur und der daraus entstehenden Bequemlichkeiten, eines weit regeren und bertiebsameren Lebens, größtentheils Folge der Abschaffung der Sklaverei, sind auch die genannten Staaten in Hinsicht auf den Feldbau vorzuziehen.

Im Missouri ist hauptsächlich nur der Bottom des Missouri-Flusses bewohnt, welcher, wie Duden selbst gestehen muß, der Gesundheit äußerst nachtheilig ist. Die andern Gegenden sind theils hügelig, theils sind es ungeheure Prairien, die aber keineswegs zu den besonders fruchtbaren gehören. Es ist Dudens größter Irrthum, daß er die Länder westlich des Mississippi vorzugsweise Waldländer nennt. (30ster Brief.) Nur die Flußthäler, die aber doch im Verhältnisse zur ganzen Oberfläche des Landes beinahe verschwinden, sind mit dichtem Walde bedeckt. Wenige Meilen vom Flusse hört die Waldung auf und die Prairiegegend fängt an, die anfangs noch mit Gehölz untermischt vorkömmt, sich aber bald zu einer ungeheuren Ebene ausdehnt, die sich über tausend Meilen weit bis an den Fuß der Felsengebirge erstreckt. Freilich wohnen die jetzigen Anbauer des Missouri-Staates meist noch in dichten Wäldern, weil sie im Thale und auf den nächsten den Fluß umgebenden Höhen sich angesiedelt haben, aber ein Berichterstatter, wie Duden, hätte doch ein Weniges weiter ins Land hinein sehen sollen. Westlich des Mississippi herrschen nicht die Wälder vor (30ster Brief), sondern gerade umgekehrt die Pairien. Wer auf Dudens Berichte sich lediglich gestützt hat, wird sich nicht wenig wundern, wenn er Stellen wie die folgenden in einem der besten amerikanischen Schriftsteller über Geographie und Statistik findet: „Das größte Hinderniß im Missouri für die Art, wie man jetzt den Landbau betreibt, ist der Mangel an guten Materialien zu Umzäunungen. Wenn nicht Wälder angelegt werden, so wird bald ein gänzlicher Mangel an zureichendem Holz zu einer Umzäunung eintreten. Wenn die Bebauer dieses Landes ihren wahren Vortheil verstehen, werden sie sogleich anfangen Hecken zu pflanzen." —Ferner: „Die Anpflanzung der weißen Alleghani-Fichte und

der Kastanie sollten Gegenstände unmittelbarer Aufmerksamkeit seyn. Die Spärlichkeit von Brenn- und Bauholz verlangen gebieterisch von denen, die nur irgend einen Gedanken für die künftigen Generationen haben, auf diese Art von Verbesserung Acht zu haben.“ [1] Duden gehe an den Illinois, Sangamon, Kaskaskia im Staate Illinois, und er wird in dem Lande, von dem er glaubt, daß es eine weite Savannenstrecke sey, Wälder genug finden. Freilich sind auch unermeßliche Prairien hier, aber sie sind ohne Vergleich und anerkannt fruchtbarer, als die des Missouri, wie denn überhaupt Illinois unbedingt das fruchtbarste Land der vereinigten Staaten ist. Krankheiten ist es nicht mehr ausgesetzt, als alle westlichen neuen Länder, und der Ruf seiner Ungesundheit ist lediglich dem Umstande zuzuschreiben, daß die ersten Einwanderer (die Franzosen) sich nicht im Innern niederließen, sondern in dem bekannten Stück des Mississippi-Flußthales, American Bottom, der denn freilich für die unendlichen Gaben seiner Fruchtbarkeit des Menschen edelstes Gut, seine Gesundheit rückfordert.

Es bleibt mir nach diesen Erörterungen jetzt nur noch ein Gegenstand der Besprechung übrig, auf welcher Stufe nehmlich in der nordamerikanischen Republik besonders aber in den neuen westlichen Staaten die geistige und politisch-sittliche Ausbildung stehe, und welche Anforderung auf Befriedigung geistiger Genüsse der gebildetere Einwanderer allenfalls stellen könne. Wer Amerika nur als einen Zufluchts- und Rettungsort gegen Nahrungssorgen und harten leiblichen Druck betrachten muß, für den wird freilich eine solche Beurtheilung, wenn auch gerade nicht ohne alles Interesse, doch ohne irgend ein Gewicht in seinen Bestimmungen und Entschlüssen seyn; wer aber dort Raum für eine freie eben sowohl geistige als physische Bewegung und Entwicklung sucht, der wird sich diese Frage gewiß aufstellen und jeder Beantwortung, sie gehe aus von wem sie wolle, einige Aufmerksamkeit schenken.

Von einem Volke, welches weder durch eine geistliche noch weltliche Herrschaft auf seinem Entwickelungsgange gehemmt wird, welches täglich durch neue Einwanderungen aus allen Theilen Europas an Wachsthum zunimmt, welches von drückenden Nahrungssorgen weniger gehemmt, zu einer geistigeren Ausbildung geeigneter und aufgelegter ist, von einem solchen Volke muß eine

[1] Flints angeführtes Werk, Bd. 1, 2te Ausg. Seite 290, 291.

Charakterisirung des jemaligen gegenwärtigen sittlichen und wissenschaftlichen Zustandes nur von vorübergehender Wahrheit und Treue, nur von vorübergehendem Interesse und Werthe seyn. So undankbar die Mühe ist, von den Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten ausführliche Topographien und Statistiken zu bearbeiten, da beinahe mit jedem Tage dem unbebauten Waldboden Städte oder doch wenigstens ihre Anfänge entsteigen, da kein Jahr vergeht, wo nicht neue Wasserstraßen und Eisenbahnen dem Handel und dem Verkehr andere und neue Verbindungswege eröffnen, in weniger Zeit, aus früher nur von indianischen Stämmen durchstreiften Gebieten, geschlossene und rührige Staaten entstehen, kaum gebildete Staaten in einigen Jahren den alten an Volkszahl, Reichthum und politischer Macht gleich kommen; so wenig lohnend würde eine Lösung der Aufgabe seyn, die sittlich wissenschaftliche Stellung der Freistaaten Nordamerikas erschöpfend auszuführen. Diese Erkenntniß, noch mehr aber der eigentliche Zweck dieser wenigen Bogen, mögen mich entschuldigen, wenn ich nur in ganz flüchtigen Zügen, ein Gemälde dieser geistig politischen Lage der Republikaner zu entwerfen versuche.

So zahlreich auch in den Staaten Nordamerikas, selbst schon in den westlichen Ländern die Anstalten für Erziehung und geistige Ausbildung sind, so viele Gymnasien (Colleges), Seminarien, Universitäten, für die höhere Bildung berechnet, in jedem Staate sich befinden, und noch täglich gegründet werden, so darf man doch daraus keineswegs auf den Standpunkt der Wissenschaft schließen. Der eigentlichen Universitäten gibt es zu viele, als daß nicht die vorzüglichen Lehrtalente zu zersplittert würden, und ihre Einrichtung ist noch zu sehr die Nachahmung der mittelalterlichen klösterlichen Stiftungen Alt-Englands, als daß von ihnen eine freie allseitige Ausbildung erwartet werden könnte. Die Vorbereitungs- oder Mittelschulen sind aber trotz ihrer glänzenden Namen weit mehr für einen reichlichen Erwerb des einzelnen Privatunternehmers, als für eine tüchtige allgemeine Volksbildung berechnet. Nur in einigen der älteren Staaten, und dem jungen Ohiostaate, der sich überhaupt mit überraschender Kraft und Schnelligkeit entwickelt, ist ein geordnetes und der Regierung anvertrautes Gemeinschulwesen, nach dem Vorbilde Massachusetts, eingerichtet. Weniger Mangel an Interesse für eine tüchtige Er-

ziehung, als vielmehr eine republicanische Aengstlichkeit, daß man der Regierung so wenig als möglich zu regieren gebe, ist die Ursache, daß die meisten Schulanstalten bis jetzt noch Privatunternehmungen sind, und ihre Zwecke nur gar wenig erreichen. Noch mehr aber als die mangelhafte Einrichtung des Schulunterrichts hindert und hemmt der den Amerikaner und noch mehr den Einwanderer beseelende Gedanke, recht bald sein gutes Auskommen und ein behagliches Leben zu gewinnen. Die Wissenschaft wird beinahe lediglich dem Erwerb untergeordnet und nur so weit betrieben, als sie ihm dient. Da schon mittelmäßige Regsamkeit und spärliches Wissen in diesen Ländern die Existenz sichern, um so leichter tritt der Fall ein, daß nur oberflächlich an höhere Kenntnisse gestreift wird. Freilich entgeht der Amerikaner wie nicht leicht irgend ein anderer der Pedanterie und gelehrter Verschrobenheit, aber er bleibt auch auf der andern Seite ebensofern der reinen Freude, welche die Wissenschaften bei einem tieferen Eindringen ihren Anhängern gewähren. Es bedarf für dieses Urtheil keiner großen Beweisführungen. Ich bin wahrhaftig nicht der Erste, dem dieser Mangel einer ächt wissenschaftlichen Bildung, und also auch so mannigfaltiger Genüsse, welche ein näheres Zusammenseyn mit unterrichteten und geistvollen Männern bringt, aufgefallen wäre. Und wer weiß es nicht, wie wenig wir den Amerikanern auf dem Gebiete des Wissens verdanken? Die Forschungen und Entdeckungen ausgenommen, die sie in Physik, Technik und Nautik etwa gemacht haben, alles Wissenschaften, die vorzugsweise dem praktischen Leben dienen, sind ihre wissenschaftlichen Anstrengungen von nicht großer Bedeutung. Nur große Unkenntniß, oder unverantwortliche Partheilichkeit, kann daher über das g e i st i g e Leben in den Freistaaten, worunter doch zum Theil wenigstens ein durch Wissenschaften veredeltes und geläutertes mitbegriffen wird, Aussprüche billigen, wie wir sie in Dudens 29stem Briefe finden, wo er folgendes über diesen Gegenstand bemerkt: „Es ist ein lächerliches Selbstlob, wenn die Deutschen behaupten, daß unter ihnen mehr g e i st i g e s Leben sey, als in Nordamerika. Die Amerikaner können den Deutschen diese Entschädigung im Gebiete der Einbildung wohl nachsehen; ich aber halte mich verpflichtet, die Sache beim rechten Namen zu nennen. Nur in Deutschland kann man solche Gedanken äußern, ohne ver-

spottet zu werden.“ Ferner: „Wenn dergleichen einer Widerlegung werth wäre, so bedürfte es nur einer Hindeutung auf die alten asiatischen und egyptischen Colonien am Mittelmeer, und vorzüglich auf das herrliche Gedeihen der Griechen in Italien.“ Ferner: „Wer aber sagt, daß in Amerika das materielle Leben die Kräfte zu sehr beschäftigt, der lerne das Land, wovon er spricht, besser kennen, und verwechsele die Lage der ersten Colonisten nicht mit dem Verhältnisse eines heutigen Ansiedlers mitten in einem nach allen Richtungen von Poststraßen durschnittenen Raume.“ Solche kurz hingeworfene absprechende Sätze sollen mich nicht schrecken, das Gegentheil zu behaupten, noch weniger aber die im Hintergrunde gedrohte Hindeutung auf asiatische, egyptische und griechische Colonien. So wenig, wie alle Völker ohne erst durch die Schule der Wissenschaften gegangen zu seyn, zu einer reinen ideellen K u n st sich erhoben, wie es zum Beispiel den glücklichen Griechen gelang, so wenig haben alle Völker eine gleiche Fähigkeit zu wissenschaftlicher Entwicklung und geistiger Ausbildung. Zudem ist gar wohl bekannt, daß die Colonisation bei den alten Völkern auf eine ganz andere Weise sich begab wie in den späteren Zeiten. Bei ihnen war Auswanderung und Ansiedlung in andern Ländern Folge politischer Erkenntniß und wurde mit ganz anderer Umsicht und Besonnenheit ausgeführt, wie jetzt. Es waren diese Colonien Auswanderungen irgend eines bestimmten Stammes, keine Zusammensetzungen aus Völkern aller Länder Europas. Solche Züge brachten Kunst und Wissenschaft, in der Blüthe mit, in welchen sie in der Heimath standen, und hegten und pflegten sie mit so mehr Sorgfalt, als sie von ihrem theuren Mutterlande abgeschnittener waren. Bei einem so ausgebildeten Sclavenwesen, wie es die Alten hatten, war nicht daran zu denken, daß das „Materielle Leben“ die besten Kräfte hätte in Anspruch nehmen müssen, und ungehindert konnte sich in den neuen Pflanzungen die Größe und Bildung entwickeln, worauf Duden anspielt. Abgesehen davon, daß man die Amerikaner, selbst die Bewohner der fünf östlichen Staaten, des sogenannten Neuenglands, nicht als Nachkömmlinge eines Volkes, der Britten, betrachten kann, wie die eifrigsten Vaterlandsfreunde beim Ausbruche des Unabhängigkeitskrieges selbst aufs schärfste bewiesen, und daß man also von keiner für alle vorgefundenen Geschichte und Literatur sprechen

kann, gehörten die frühesten Einwanderer und die meisten zugleich zu einer gedrückten, und an Bildung meist nachstehenden Klasse in Europa, zu einer Klasse, die aber gerade vorzugsweise durch den Druck das lebendigste und glühendste Gefühl für Unabhängigkeit und Freiheit erhalten hatte. Sie verließen meistens ihr Vaterland zu einer Zeit, wo höhere Bildung ein Vorrecht der Reichen und Mächtigen war, und wo die Künste und Wissenschaften lediglich der Aristokratie und Hierarchie dienten. Kein Wunder, daß in dieser Zeit ein tiefer Haß bei den Gedrückten gegen Gegenstände Wurzel faßte, die an und für sich schätzenswerth und ehrwürdig sind. Und diesen eingewurzelten Haß gegen Alles, was Glanz des Geistes, Feinheit der Bildung hieß, brachten die neuen Einwanderer, die kaum dem Kerker oder dem Henkerstode entflohen waren, ganz mit herüber über den Ocean und vererbten ihn auf Kinder und Enkel. Es dauerte lange, ehe man wieder zur wahren Einsicht und Unterscheidung kam, aber Niemand wird leugnen, daß die scharfe und abstoßend streng religiöse und politische Ansichten der früheren Bewohner den Fortschritt der Künste und Wissenschaften gehemmt haben und der genauere Beobachter wird noch jetzt in dem sauern und rigoristischen Wesen so mancher Sekten, namentlich der im Westen so verbreiteten Methodisten ein der geistigen Ausbildung widerstrebendes Element erblicken.

Gilt nun mein Urtheil über den Zustand der wissenschaftlichen Bildung von allen, so gilt es noch ganz besonders von den südlichen und westlichen Staaten. Die ersteren verdanken die geringe Stufe ihrer Ausbildung vorzüglich dem Sclavensystem, vielleicht auch, doch ich wage es nicht zu entscheiden, zum Theil der drückenden, die Denkkraft fesselnden Hitze. Es wäre sonderbar, wenn man für den Westen die Gründe für eine weniger hohe geistige Stellung nicht ganz einfach gerade in der Ursache suchen sollte, daß der neue Ansiedler, und aus neuen Ansiedlern besteht die Bevölkerung jetzt, zu sehr von dem materiellen Leben in Anspruch genommen werde. Er, und was wegen den Nachwirkungen noch bedeutender ist, seine Kinder müssen sich, selbst wenn auch der Vermögenszustand nicht unbedeutend ist, bei der Schwierigkeit sich dienende Hülfe zu verschaffen, beinah lediglich auf den Feldbau und die häuslichen Verrichtungen wenden. Grade, wer das Land besser kennen lernen will, wie Duden es

wünscht, wird sehen, wie wenig Zeit der Landmann für geistige Ausbildung sowohl für sich, als seine Kinder findet, und wird an der Unkenntniß der sonst so vernünftigen und hellsehenden Ansiedler in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht den besten Beweis finden. Die entgegengesetzte Behauptung eines Deutschen ist um so lächerlicher, als es den Amerikanern (denen ich weit entfernt bin Fähigkeit, sich wissenschaftlich auszubilden, in geringerem Grade als andern Völkern zuzusprechen), wohl bewußt ist, wie sehr der Westen an Bildung den östlichen Staaten und allen gebildeten Ländern nachsteht. Würde es nicht die Grenzen dieser Beleuchtung überschreiten, so könnte ich die Verhandlungen der letzten jährlichen Zusammenkunft einer literarischen Gesellschaft in Cincinnati,[1] und eine gediegene und würdige Adresse dieser Gesellschaft an alle Freunde des Unterrichts, worin eben so klar, als wahr der Mangel genügender wissenschaftlicher Bildung auseinander gesetzt, als auch die Mittel zur Verbesserung angegeben werden,[2] den Lesern mittheilen. Nur der Anfang dieser Adresse möge zum Beweise meiner Angabe folgen: „Die Erziehung steht bei uns noch auf einer sehr niedrigen Stufe. Wir müßten uns einer vorsätzlichen und niedrigen Schmeichelei anklagen, wollten wir anders reden. Die Erfahrung von uns Allen bezeugt diesen Umstand. Jede andere Kunst oder jedes andere Gewerbe hat größere Vollkommenheit erreicht, und wird mehr begünstigt und ermuthigt, als die Kunst des öffentlichen Unterrichts."

Wenn Duden im Gegentheil von einer höheren Erleuchtung der Masse des Volkes in geistiger Hinsicht spricht, und die sieben freien Künste der amerikanischen Ansiedler zum Schlusse aufzählt, so kann man nur lächeln und die gänzliche Verwirrung der Begriffe bedauern. Mag auch der Amerikaner immerhin 1) den vegetabilischen Dünger von den eigentlichen Erdarten zu unterscheiden, 2) die mannigfaltigen Holzarten zu beurtheilen und anzuwenden, 3) Häuser und Ställe aufzuführen und das Kalkbrennen, 4) die Urbarmachung des Bodens und die Bestellung von Tabak, Baumwolle u. s. w., 5) die Geschäfte der

[1] Western Literary Institute and College of professional teachers.

[2] Diese Adresse befindet sich unter andern in dem Provinzialblatt abgedruckt: St. Clair Gazette, No. 2, welche zu Belleville, St. Clair County, Illinois, erscheint.

Viehzucht und das Schafscheeren, 6) das Schuh-, Potasche-, Seif- und Zuckermachen, und endlich 7) die Jagd und das Gerben der Wildhäute, gründlich verstehen, so ersetzt dieses Alles noch nicht eine gewisse Bildung des Geistes, und Fertigkeit des Schließens, die jeder Mensch und namentlich der Republikaner haben muß, soll er nicht lediglich das Lastthier der Gesellschaft, und ein unselbstständiges und lenksames Werkzeug jedes Klugen und Ehrgeizigen werden. Bei aller Liebe für die graden und biedern Bewohner der westlichen Staaten, kann ich dennoch nicht anders sagen, als daß sie in den allgemeinen nöthigen Schulkenntnissen in dem Maße hinter den gebildeten Völkern Europas zurückstehen, als es die Städtebewohner, der Kaufmann und der Geschäftsmann, in fremden Sprachen und höheren Kenntnissen gegen den Europäer gleicher Beschäftigung sind.

Was soll ich aber von dem Zustande berichten, in welchem sich in den vereinigten Staaten die Kunst befindet. Wenn strenge, oft finster religiöse Ansichten den Fortschritten der Wissenschaften hemmend entgegen traten, so zeigte sich dieser Religionseifer dem Aufkommen und Ausbreiten der Künste noch viel feindseliger. Musik und Malerei, beide zur Zeit der ersten und häufigsten Einwanderungen im Dienste der herrschenden und verhaßten Kirche, der man sich zu entreißen suchte, fanden, wenn es ihnen wohl auch einmal gelang, über das weite Meer zu dringen, hier eine so schlechte Aufnahme, daß sie verkümmern und untergehen mußten. Jahrhunderte haben diesen oft blinden Haß gemildert und vertilgt, aber noch haben die verschüchterten Musen und Grazien Amerika ihre Gunst nicht zugewendet. Nichts ist bei den Bewohnern dieser großen Länderstrecken weniger ausgebildet, als ihre Phantasie, ein Vermögen, welches Bedingniß aller künstlerischen Schöpfungen ist. Selbst Cooper, einer ihrer besten Schriftsteller, ist nur da ausgezeichnet, wo er beschreibt, nicht wo er erfindet. Was sich bis jetzt an Kunsterzeugungen hier vorfindet, ist nicht Ergebniß und Schöpfung eigenthümlichen Schönheitssinnes, der im Volke liegt, es ist fremde Aneignung, die mit den Umgebungen in keinem Verhältniß, in keiner Verbindung steht, und deshalb wenig Eindruck macht und erfreuet. Reichthum und Prachtliebe hat in den größeren Städten der vorderen Staaten manches Kunstwerk angebracht, aber eine eigentliche Liebe

oder gar Leidenschaft zur Kunst hat sich noch nirgends geregt. Um aufrichtig zu sprechen, sind die Amerikaner hinsichtliche der Kunst halbe Barbaren, im Geschmack nicht viel besser als die indianischen Urbewohner, die sich Metallblättchen durch die Nase ziehen. Bei ihnen wird ein künstlerischer Sinn nur das Ergebniß der höchsten wissenschaftlichen Bildung sein, nie aber in der ganzen Bevölkerung eine Beförderung und Stütze finden. Wer also Europa auf immer verläßt, der nehme Abschied von all den Museen, Gallerien, gothischen Kirchen und griechischen Tempeln, von all den Mausoleen, Gärten und Theatern, die ihm vielleicht so vielfache Genüsse bereitet haben, und mache sich mit dem Gedanken vertraut, daß ihm für Alles dieses nur das Grün der dichten Wälder und der Blumenflor ausgebreiteter Prairien einigen Ersatz leisten werden.

Je weniger aber bei den Amerikanern die Einbildungskraft ausgebildet und thätig ist, desto besonnener und berechnender ist ihr Verstand. Kein Volk ist wohl überlegender, keins wägt die Rechte und Pflichten schärfer gegen einander ab, als sie. Von Gemüthsbewegungen wenig geleitet, äußern Eindrücken ziemlich unempfänglich, entscheidet bei ihnen allein nur der gesunde Menschenverstand. Vor dieser, ihrer scharfen Beurtheilung, von den Vorfahren ererbt, durch die neue Lage in fremdem Lande, durch beständiges Ringen mit Entbehrungen aller Art, durch unaufhörliches Ankämpfen gegen eine große wilde Natur, erstarkt und gereift, mußte das Mittelalter mit all seinen Einrichtungen, an denen noch jetzt die meisten Staaten Europas kränkeln, zusammenstürzen, mußte alle weltliche und geistliche Suprematie in den Staub sinken. Minnedienst und Lehenstreue, Ritterschaft und Klosterseligkeit, alle diese Herrlichkeiten des ancien regime fanden hier nie Eingang, und wurden also noch weniger gehegt und gepflegt. Kein Mantel von Hoheit oder Heiligkeit schützte vor kaltblütiger Untersuchung, kein Hochamt, kein Weihrauch konnte vor der gesunden Vernunft die Blößen des Wahnes decken. Die englische Revolution von 1648, im Mutterlande nicht zur beabsichtigten Entwickelung gereift, erreichte ihren vollständigen Gipfel in den vorzugsweise von Britannien abgestammten Kolonien, und mußte sich hier mit der Unabhängigkeits-Erklärung und dem gänzlichen Sturze des Königthums vollenden. Von Männern, wie Samuel Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, dem Engländer Thomas

Paine durch Worte und Schriften geleitet, schuf sich dieser praktische vernünftige Sinn des Volkes Institutionen, um die sie schon längst alle gebildeten Völker der Erde beneiden, und die für alle Opfer und Entbehrungen dem Einwanderer aus der Ferne hinreichenden Ersatz bieten können. Ich beabsichtige hier keineswegs eine Schilderung der staatsrechtlichen und inneren bürgerlichen Verhältnisse, der Bundesverfassung und des Gerichtswesens. Dieses sind längst Gegenstände ernster Betrachtung bei den gebildeteren Europäern geworden, und dürfen als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden. Auch hat Duden über diese Gegenstände die nöthigen Zusammenstellungen gemacht, und seit Erscheinen dieser Schrift ist, so viel mir bekannt geworden ist, keine wichtige, die Einwanderer besonders interessirende Veränderung in den Staatseinrichtungen gemacht worden.[1]

Auch der Schilderung der in den Freistaaten Nord-Amerikas sich befindenden politischen Partheirichtungen hat Duden einige Seiten gewidmet (29ster Brief), und da meine Beurtheilung die Bekanntschaft mit dessen Berichten nothwendig voraussetzt, darf ich auch hier nur einiges Wenige bemerken, was Duden entweder übergangen, oder gegen meine Ansicht dargestellt hat. Außer der großen, aber keineswegs scharfen Entgegensetzung in Föderalisten, solche, die für den sich vornfindenden Zustand gestimmt sind, und in Democraten, die für jede neu aufgefundene Wahrheit auch auf der Stelle eine äußere Repräsentation in der Staatsgesetzgebung und Einrichtung fordern, theilen sich die Bewohner der Freistaaten noch hauptsächlich in Jacksonsmänner, und Gegen-Jacksonsmänner. Diese Spaltung, die früher mehr als eine vorübergehende betrachtet werden konnte, und die mit dem politischen oder leiblichen Tode des Generals vielleicht verschwunden wäre, da sie mehr auf verschiedene Beurtheilung von des jetzigen Präsidenten Persönlichkeit zu beruhen schien, hat in der neuesten Zeit einen ernsteren und bleibenderen Charakter angenommen. Es bewahrte und regte sich von je in den südlichen Staaten, besonders in Kentucky das allerängstlichste Mißtrauen gegen jede Regierungsgewalt. Mit der größten Sorgfalt bewachten diese

[1] Neuer als Dudens Bericht ist die vom Congreß erlassene Verfügung, daß auch Stücke von 40 Acres vom Staatseigenthum verkauft werden können.

Staaten jeden Schritt der Bundesriegierung (Congreß) und sahen in den meisten Bestimmungen Eingriffe in die Rechte der einzelnen Bundesstaaten. Je schwieriger die Feststellung und Begrenzung der Gewalten in einer solchen conföderativen Republik, wie sie die vereinigten Staaten gebildet haben, in der That ist, um so leichter fehlte es nicht an Collissionsfällen und scheinbaren Rechtsverletzungen. Jackson repräsentirt nun vorzugsweise das System der festen Geschlossenheit, der Einheit der Republik, während im Gegensatz eine Anzahl der Bewohner des Südens auf Kosten der Einheit mehr Selbstständigkeit verlangt, und vorzüglich den einzelnen Staaten das Recht vindiciren will, die Gesetze und Beschlüsse des Congresses, wenn sie dem Wohl des einzelnen Bundesstaates entgegen seyen, zu nullificiren, wegen welchen Anspruchs diese Parthei den Namen Nullifiers erhalten hat. Wer nun mit Jackson steht, bekennt sich auch damit meist zu dem Grundsatz der festen Vereinigung, während dem der Anti-Jacksonmann, wenigstens wie es scheint, den Nullifiers beistimmt. Doch ganz congruiren deßwegen die genannten Gegensätze nicht untereinander, und Jackson hat noch unendlich viele Gegner, welche dennoch die Nullifiers, deren Zahl überhaupt noch klein ist, aufs äußerste verabscheuen. Namentlich hat sich der Präsident durch seinen neuesten eigenmächtigen Schritt gegen die vom Staate privilegirte vereinigte Staatenbank, welche aber keineswegs darum eine Staatsbank ist, indem er ohne die von dem Gesetze vorgeschriebene Einwilligung des Staatsschatzmeisters, die öffentlichen Depositen aus der Bank zog, eine Masse Feinde, namentlich in den Handelsstädten gemacht. Die Streitigkeiten hinsichtlich der Freimaurerei wurzeln eigentlich doch zu wenig in der Gesammtbevölkerung, als daß man die Angreifer und Vertheidiger dieser Stiftung politische Parthei-Männer nennen könnte. Desto wichtiger und folgenreicher ist aber die Trennung in Anhänger und Bekämpfer der Sclaverei. Obgleich zwar Duden, vielleicht um seine spätere Deduction vorzubereiten, in dem ersten Theile seines 20sten Briefes behauptet, daß sich der Unterschied zwischen den Staaten, wo die Sclaverei erlaubt ist, und denen, deren Gesetze sie verbieten, noch nicht schneidend äußere, so reicht doch ein ganz kurzer Aufenthalt im Gebiete der vereinigten Staaten hin, um gerade das Gegentheil zu finden. Mit wahrer Erbitterung wird diese Frage sowohl

in Privatunterredungen als auch ganz besonders in den öffentlichen Blättern behandelt. Nun darf man zwar nicht glauben, daß hier noch große philosophische Streitigkeiten über das Princip selbst ausgefochten würden, nein die Anhänger des Sclaventhums können bloß ihr Interesse und eine Hinweisung auf das Elend, welches durch die Aufhebung für sie entstehen würde, angeben. Eine sogenannte sittliche Prüfung oder Würdigung des Instituts, mit einem für die Sache sprechendem Resultate, ein solches seltenes Produkt kann nur von einem deutschen Gelehrten geliefert werden. Es ist schwer, über diese „sittliche Prüfung" Dudens im 2ten Theile des 20sten Briefes ohne Leidenschaft zu sprechen. Im Ganzen reducirt sich seine schwerfällige und dunkele Deduction auf eine geschichtliche Begründung des Instituts, wie sie schon manche Hofpubliciſten und übergelehrte Historiker vor ihm zum Vorschein gebracht haben. Griechen und Römer, Franken und Longobarden werden aus ihren Gräbern citirt, um dem Egoismus und der Beschränktheit ihre Waffen zu leihen. Als wenn wir je gebunden werden könnten durch die Vorzeit, als ob wir die Grenze nie überschreiten könnten, in denen sich vor Jahrhunderten die Menschen herumgequält haben, als ob wir mit einem Worte nicht besser werden könnten! Kann denn die Gottheit mit keiner neuen Wahrheit beglücken, kann denn die Menschheit nicht nach Jahrtausenden um eine Idee reicher werden! Wenn sich die Alten und unsere barbarischen Voreltern der Befangenheit nicht entreißen konnten, und Glieder in ihrer gesetzlichen Ordnung hatten, die unsere reinere Erkenntniß ausscheiden muß, sollen denn wir mit solchen geschichtlichen Verrenkungen eigene Unmenschlichkeit entschuldigen! Doch ich will ja die Sache der Freiheit nicht schulgemäß vertheidigen, es wäre schlimm, wenn sie noch der Schützling juristischer und philosophischer Abhandlung seyn müßte. Ich will Dudens festgemauerte Vordersätze und seine soliden Schlüsse, seine Erstens, Zweitens, Drittens, seine Frag-Verengerungen und Erweiterungen, seine Streitgebietsverrückungen und seine durch zwanzig Mittelglieder herausgepumpten Resultate nicht angreifen, ich habe viel zu viel Ehrfurcht vor einer deutschen philosophischen Durchführung. Ich will lieber ein träger, unfähiger Kopf genannt werden, wie es in dem besagten Briefe heißt, und eingestehen, daß sich in meinem Geiste etwas entgegenstellt, das

wie ein unmittelbarer Ausspruch der Vernunft die Sclaverei verdammt, und daß ich damit die Sache für abgethan halte.

Was aber auch die Dudensche Philosophie dazu sprechen mag, ich wiederhole es, keine Partheien in den Vereinigten Staaten stehen so schroff einander gegenüber, als die der Freiheit und der Sclaverei. Man kann kaum glauben, mit welchem Abscheu in den freien Staaten von den Sclavenstaaten gesprochen wird. Selbst gemeinsam wirkende Gesellschaften, z. B. mehrere Bibelgesellschaften, haben alle Verbindung mit ihren früheren Mitgliedern in den Sclavenstaaten aufgehoben, und die Meinung ausgesprochen, daß der, welcher einem so unmenschlichen Grundsatz huldige, unmöglich in Wahrheit sonst große und edle Ziele verfolgen könne. Es steht zu hoffen, daß nachdem nun auch England in seinen westindischen Pflanzungen die Sclaverei aufgehoben hat, endlich auch die südlichen Staaten Nordamerikas diesen Fleck, der durch sie noch auf den ganzen Vereinigten Staaten liegt, abwischen werden. Sollte aber dennoch der Süden, ohnehin schon in Irrungen mit der Nationalrepräsentation (dem Congreß) wegen des Zolltarifs, und wegen der vom Congreß mit den Indianern in Georgien und ganz neuerdings in Alabama abgeschlossenen Verträge, bei dem Sclavenwesen beharren, so könnte hauptsächlich dadurch eine Trennung in zwei oder mehrere Theile herbeigeführt werden, welche natürlich nur in Folge eines heftigen Bürgerkrieges stattfinden würde. Aber selbst auch in diesem unglücklichen Falle werden die Staaten Amerikas [Censurlücke: dem europäischen Monarchismus] nie das Schauspiel unterdrückter bürgerlicher Freiheit geben. [Censurlücke: Der Republikanismus oder] die ins Leben getretene Vernunft, herrscht so durch alle Klassen des amerikanischen Volkes hindurch, daß wohl an eine Umgestaltung des Gesammtverbands, nie aber an eine Hingebung unter einen Alleinherrscher und an ein Aufgeben der Rechte, welche die Bürger sich selbst in ihren Urkunden zugesichert haben, gedacht werden kann. Vom Bewohner der reichen und blühenden Handelsstädte des atlantischen Meeres, bis zu dem dürftigen Ansiedler an der äußersten Grenze des Missouri durchweht Alle ein Geist der Unabhängigkeit und Freiheit, der sich niemals unterdrücken läßt. Man hat wohl auch in Europa vielfältig die Wohlthaten und Segnungen erkannt, die eine freie

Verfassung dem Volke bringt, aber nur wer hier in den Freistaaten gelebt hat, kann die umfassenden und durchgreifenden Folgen der Freiheit so recht einsehen. In Folge dieser freien Verfassung, die jeden erblichen Rang, jeden Anspruch der Geburt verwirft, hat sich in den Amerikanern, selbst in den Aermsten ein Gefühl der Menschenwürde und der Selbstständigkeit ausgeprägt, das bei der Masse des Volkes den Mangel einer besseren wissenschaftlichen Bildung wenigstens zum Theil ersetzt. Der einfache Bewohner des Landes, der nie in Städten oder in der sogenannten großen Gesellschaft sich herumgetrieben hat, benimmt sich mit einem gewissen Anstand und einer Leichtigkeit, die dem eingeschüchterten europäischen Bauer nie eigen, und in der Regel bei uns nur die Frucht einer besonderen Bildung ist. In Folge dieser freien Verfassung sind in Amerika tausend Vorurtheile gefallen, von denen der hellste Kopf in Europa sich oft nicht loszureißen vermag. Alle Standesunterschiede, Vorzüge dieser oder jener Verrichtung, Convenienzen und Höflichkeitsformeln sind hier begraben. Diesen freien Institutionen verdanken die Bewohner der vereinigten Staaten völlig freie Religionsäußerung und Denkfreiheit, welche der vernünftige Mann in Europa zwar auch seinem Mitmenschen zugesteht, doch nicht ohne sich dieses Zugeständniß zum Lobe anzuschlagen. Der Begriff von Duldung ist hier unbekannt, niemand denkt daran, daß eine Beschränkung in dieser Hinsicht möglich seyn könne. Während Religionsduldung bei uns eine Tugend ist, ist sie hier eine Eigenschaft, und jede Abweichung würde strafbares Laster heißen. Diesen freien Institutionen gemäß, findet man es hier unbegreiflich, wie Preßbeschränkungen, nicht öffentliche und dem Volk nicht anvertraute Gerichte irgendwo bestehen können. Niemand müh't sich hier mit Beweisen von der Nothwendigkeit und Vernünftigkeit der Preßfreiheit und Schwurgerichte ab. Wer das Gegentheil behaupten würde, fände ebensowenig Widerlegung als ein Verrückter, sondern würde nur bemitleidet [Censurlücke: und allenfalls ins Narrenhaus gesteckt] werden. Diesen freien Einrichtungen zufolge, sind die Beamten hier lediglich Diener des Volkes,[1] und sie können nur während

[1] Zum Beweise dieses Ausspruchs will ich die Antwort des Gouverneurs von Illinois an eine Versammlung mittheilen, welche in Cook County in der Absicht abgehalten wurde, um den Gouverneur zur Versammlung der Abgeordneten hinsichtlich einer Beschlußnahme zur Errich-

tung einer Eisenbahn zu bewegen. Dieses in allen Blättern des Staates Illinois und der Nachbarstaaten mitgetheilte Antwortschreiben ist hier nicht auffallend, und der Präsident des Congresses und die höchsten Staatsbeamten reden in keinem andern Ton. Nur als Gegenstück unseres Gerichts- und Kabinetstyls möge dieß an und für sich bedeutungslose Schreiben einen Platz finden.

Belleville, Illinois, 6. November 1833.

An Colonel Owen, Präsidenten, und Dr. Kimberly, Sekretär, einer zahlreichen und achtbaren Versammlung der Bürger von Cook County — dem von dieser Versammlung gewählten Ausschuß und den Bürgern der besagten County (Bezirk).

Meine Herren: — Ich hatte vor einiger Zeit die Ehre, die Abschrift der Einleitung und Entschließungen genannter Zusammenkunft zu erhalten, die mich, als den Gouverneur des Staates, auffordern, die Generalversammlung zu berufen und ihr den schleunigen Anfang einer Eisenbahn, die den Michigan-See mit den schiffbaren Wassern des Illinois verbinde, anzuempfehlen.

Ich habe es verschoben, Ihnen bis jetzt zu antworten, nicht aus Mangel aus Achtung für Sie, sondern um dem Volke des Staates Zeit und Gelegenheit zu geben, sich über diese Sache zu berathen.

Es freut mich sehr zu erfahren, daß Sie so eifrig bei der Vollendung der größten verbessernden Anlage im ganzen Westen interessirt sind. Es gibt keine Anlage, welche so vortheilhaft für das ganze Mississippi-Thal seyn würde, als diese Verbindung der See'n mit den schiffbaren Gewässern des Mississippi gerade auf diesem Punkt, und die zu gleicher Zeit so wenig kosten würde. Nach dieser Ansicht habe ich diesen Gegenstand den zwei vorhergehenden Generalversammlungn des Staates vorgelegt. Dessen ungeachtet jedoch muß ich nothwendig glauben, daß es zu dieser Zeit nicht räthlich ist, die Generalversammlung hinsichtlich dieses oder irgend eines andern Gegenstandes, der dem Volke jetzt vorliegt, zu berufen.

Der gedrückte Zustand unseres Schatzes (den der Gouverneur aus den Mittheilungen der Finanzbeamten ebenfalls öffentlich nachwies) und die übermäßigen Steuern (die aber gegen die Abgaben in allen Theilen Europas verschwinden) die das Volk schon bezahlt, veranlassen mich zu glauben, daß es keine weise Politik wäre, zu dieser Zeit eine außerordentliche Generalversammlung zu berufen. Ich habe die geeigneten Beamten aufgefordert, den wahren Zustand und die Lage unserer Einkünfte und Schulden anzugeben, welches Ihnen nach meiner Meinung die große Ungeeignetheit zeigen wird, irgend eine neue Schuld einzugehen, und die Leute, welche Steuern zahlen, können bezeugen, daß sie hinlänglich hoch sind. Ich will noch bemerken,, daß zwei Monate verstrichen sind, seitdem die Sache dem Volke vorgelegt worden ist, und daß ich keine andere Anforderung, eine Sitzung zu berufen, erhalten habe. Deßwegen ist der Schluß richtig, daß es nicht der Wille der Mehrzahl des Volkes ist, daß zu dieser Zeit eine außerordentliche Sitzung der gesetzgebenden Gewalt Statt finde.

Aber alle Beamte sind Diener des Volkes und dem Willen der Mehrzahl müssen sie gehorchen. Nach diesem Grundsatz handelnd würde ich, sollte ich überzeugt seyn, daß die Mehrheit des Volkes für gut halte, eine Generalversammlung zu berufen, es mit Freuden genehmigen und eine solche sogleich veranlassen. Ich bin mit Achtung Ihr gehorsamer Diener

John Reynold.

ihres Amtes eine gewisse Auszeichnung verlangen. Von einer Einbildung, besser zu wissen, was dem Volke gut sey oder nicht. [Censurlücke: von einer sogenannten weisen und väterlichen Fürsorge], von einer Vielregiererei weiß man hier nichts, und Ansprüche der Art würden auf der Stelle mit Macht vereitelt werden.

Diese freie Verfassung hat Amerika, — durch seine natürliche äußere Lage, wer mag es leugnen, noch besonders begünstigt — zu einem blühenden und mächtigen Reiche, [Censurlücke: zu dem Freistaate der Verfolgten und Gedrückten gemacht, zu einem Lande, in welchem der Gemeinsinn der Bürger mehr für die materielle Verbesserung gethan hat, als alle Fürsten Europas für ihre Unterthanen zusammen!] Diese freie Verfassung hat den schönsten Beweis hergestellt, daß der Bürger sich selbst überlassen, seine Vortheile am besten erkennt und verfolgt, und daß ohne fremdes Zuthun der Mensch am besten sich selbst beglücken kann.

Wohlstand und Blüthe des Landes, Frucht der vernünftigen Staatsverfassung, haben dem Amerikaner eine Ruhe und Freundlichkeit gegeben, wie wir sie in dem von Leidenschaften zerrissenen und vom Drucke verkümmerten Leben der Europäer selten finden. Dieser Wohlstand bewahrt auch vor so manchem Abwege, vor so vielen Lastern und sichert häusliches Glück und Frieden, die Grundlage alles bürgerlichen Gedeihens. Dieser Wohlstand und die Leichtigkeit, sich durch Talent und Fleiß die beste Existenz zu verschaffen, hat die elende Kriecherei entfernt, und die Furcht vor Auskommen, die kleine Seelen zum Stehen im Vorzimmer, zum Bücken, zum Schmeicheln und oft zu aller Schlechtigkeit verführt.

So erscheint allerdings die Masse des Volkes in den Freistaaten, wie auch Duden richtig bemerkt, sittlich auf einer höheren Stufe, als die Bevölkerung Europas. Sie ist vorurtheilsfreier und den Versuchungen zur Schlechtigkeit weniger ausgesetzt. Aber nur der schwärmende Idealist mag wähnen, daß er nur darum lauter Tugendhelden hier zu suchen habe, daß er nur edle uneigennützige Republikaner hier finden werde. Solche Träume werden auf Erden nie befriedigt werden. Es ist möglich, daß die Menschheit einst eine ziemlich vollendete Stufe erreicht, ohne daß aber darum jeder Einzelne weiser und tugendhafter als jeder Einzelne der Vergangenheit seyn wird.

Ich bin mir bewußt, in vorliegender kurzer Darstellung nach meiner innersten Ueberzeugung geurtheilt zu haben. Wer ihr einiges Nachdenken geschenkt hat, wird gefunden haben, daß ich keineswegs beabsichtigt habe, vor Auswanderungen überhaupt abzuschrecken. Ich habe nur auf drohende Entbehrungen, auf zu bestehendes Ungemach vorbereitet und aufmerksam gemacht. Nur wer lediglich eine günstigere äußere, eine bei weitem glücklichere Lage, als seine frühere auch nicht ungünstige im Auge hat, und wer unangenehmen Empfindungen bei Betrachtung des bürgerlichen Lebens im Vaterlande nicht ausgesetzt war, nur der mag vielleicht seine Entschließungen ändern. Die Meisten aber, die Europa, und vor allem Deutschland verlassen, ich weiß es wohl, werden nicht von Begierde nach Gewinn und Behaglichkeit getrieben. Sie folgen bei dem Verlassen der theuren Heimath dem Triebe, den jeder bessere Mensch fühlt, sich frei geistig und körperlich bewegen und entwickeln zu können, und verzweifeln an der Zukunft. Ein aus tiefer Ueberzeugung entspringender Entschluß wird sich nicht durch Aussicht auf Opfer und Entbehrungen erschüttern lassen, die am Ende doch durch die erlangte politisch und sittlich bessere Stellung aufgewogen werden; daß sie diese Opfer und Entbehrungen, wenn vorbereitet, dann auch leichter ertragen mögen, das war Zweck und Absicht meiner Zeilen.

THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE STATE OF COLORADO.

ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ECONOMICAL, INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE.

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INTRODUCTION.

The plan of the present investigation, carried on during three years' residence in Colorado, and by a subsequent correspondence of fifteen months duration, embraces a brief historical sketch of the Germans in the State, an exposition of their services in representative pursuits and their share in developing the resources of the State, and a summary, with specific examples, of the influence of the German element on the religious, educational, political and social growth of Colorado.

The printed book was the least source of material. The Morgan Collection of Colorado books, begun in 1885, by Edward W. Morgan, consists of over 1,800 volumes, but it requires only a glance at the titles some of which are included in the bibliography appended to this study, to be convinced that there is little of scientific value among them. Practically no attempt has been made to study the various national elements in the State. The 37th Anniversary edition (Jubiläums-Ausgabe) of the Colorado Herold published in 1907, contains an account of the Germans in Colorado and of various pioneer settlements, and a review of Colorado's industries.

The advantages and disadvantages attending research work in this vast field are readily apparent. An area of 100,000 square miles, crossed by the main range of the Rocky Mountains, and having within its boundaries wide stretches inaccessible by any of the accustomed means of travel, present unusual geographical difficulties. However these are largely neutralized by the genial cordiality of the people of Colorado.

The student in the cause of research is aided by a keen spirit of progress, a desire to encourage and spread knowledge. This was the welcome met on every hand, in all classes of society and in all callings, from the Governor of the State to the worker in the mine whose accent told his German birth. Several pastors of German churches manifested a deep interest in this work and supplied valuable information. To many more people of Colorado I owe the facts made use of in this study, and incidents and examples from which I draw conclusions.

Information concerning the most distant sections came often from my immediate circle. From distant mining camps and from isolated ranches came interesting data through the courtesy of students attending the State University at Boulder. Records of the University show a large German-American element among the students from its earliest days. Not only was information derived from them directly, but interest in certain localities was aroused by them, compelling a visit. Thus I have visited Denver, Pueblo, Boulder, Colorado Springs, Colorado City, Manitou, Cripple Creek, Victor and many smaller towns. I have had several hundred personal interviews with German residents and others,—pioneers, statesmen, politicians, professional men, students, bankers, farmers, industrial workers and tradesmen; I have visited Germans in their homes, in their churches, and in their social activities. In this way I gained much valuable information and an insight into the atmosphere and setting of the German population, which alone makes possible an estimate of the subject of the influence of the German element in Colorado.

An extensive correspondence was another prolific source of information. In reply to my questionnaire addressed to the school superintendents of the sixty counties, I received answers from all but three. Of these one, Moffat county, was newly created and had, doubtless, no information to give: the other two were almost entirely Mexican in origin and interests. Whenever possible, I verified through direct communication all information derived from published sources.

The oldest file that has been preserved in the Denver Public Library of the first daily newspaper in Colorado, the "Rocky Mountain News" for 1864, furnished items concerning the Germans in Colorado twelve years before the Territory became a state. The daily issues of the German newspaper, "Der Colorado Herold", for the years 1910 and 1911 show the interest and activities of the Germans in the State at the present time. It is from all of these sources that the material for the following pages was derived.

Colorado is no exception to the rule that the far Western frontier has always been characterized by a predominance of the native American element in its population.[1] We are presented with the fact in the United States Census Report of 1910, that the Germans constitute 43% of the foreign population of the State. The geographical distribution is shown to be well balanced. The two largest cities, Denver and Pueblo, have respectively the largest and second largest German population in the State.

These statistics show that the German stock could not become as conspicuous in Colorado as, for example, in Wisconsin or Missouri, where the German element numbers in some localities one-third to one-half of the population, nor could their influence become as strong. But surpassing the proportion of their numbers the Germans in Colorado have become an important element in the development of the resources of the State, material as well as social and educational.

[1] The 13th Census Report (that for 1910) shows that but 16% of the total population of Colorado was of foreign birth. Other figures in this Census are:

MOUNTAIN DIVISION.

Total Population	2,633,517
German born	42,898
German parentage (one or both native)	92,070
Total Germans	134,968
Total foreign born	955,809

COLORADO.

Total Population	799,024
German born	17,071
German parentage (one or both native)	38,811
Total Germans	55,882
Total foreign born	129,587

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF COLORADO FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

INFLUENCE OF THE GERMANS ON EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION.

It might seem a very simple matter to trace the history of a commonwealth that has not yet seen six decades pass since the period of its earliest settlement. But Colorado presents exceptional difficulties because of the loss of valuable records. The great fire of 1863 wiped out the whole business section of Denver, and the flooding of Cherry Creek during the spring of the same year, destroyed not only buildings, but valuable maps, papers, and court records. Thus the materials for the early history of the Commonwealth became very scant.

It was only a little more than one hundred years before Colorado became a state, that interest was first manifested in that section of the country. In July, 1776, two friars, Padre Silvestre Velez Escalante and Padre Atanacio Dominguez, undertook to explore a route from Santa Fe to California. To their efforts we owe much of our reliable information concerning the country at that time. In their descriptions they gave a glowing account of the grandeur of the forests and the beauty of the mountains and valleys, passing lightly over the roughness and impassibility of the country. Recent scholars deny the validity of all claims of exploration in Colorado previous to these of the latter half of the eighteenth century. They have also dispelled the once prevalent belief in the antiquity of the cliff dwellers, the ruins of whose civilization are still to be seen. To no distinct primitive race, but to the ancestors of the modern Pueblo Indians, are assigned the curiously inaccessible stone dwellings in canons and mesas.

The earliest authentic exploration in the Colorado territory took place in the period of the Spanish control. France had lost in 1762 the sovereignty over the tract west of the Mississippi known as Louisiana. In 1800 France regained and three years later sold this country to the United States. The

Louisiana purchase stimulated interest in the West. As a result, the expedition of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was organized. Zealous explorers had other difficulties to overcome than those resulting from natural causes. A striking example of the discouraging effect of a single unfavorable report was the following. Major Stephen H. Long represented the region extending for a distance of five hundred miles east of the Rocky Mountains as unfit for cultivation and habitation. To this report Bancroft attributes the delay in securing it for the United States. Although such circumstances had a retarding effect on colonization, private expeditions of traders, forerunners of the great fur companies, advanced from time to time into Colorado. The first important forts within the present limits of the State were erected by the Bent brothers in 1832. During the years immediately following, numerous trading posts were established, among them were Vasquez's, Sarpy's, Fort Lancaster, Fort St. Vrain and El Pueblo.

Authorities assert that nothing of importance took place in Colorado between the year of Long's expedition (1819) and 1858. In the year 1842 government expeditions were sent out under John C. Fremont, but no important discoveries were made thereby.[1] Hard times following the panic of 1857, and discoveries of gold in California aroused interest in the far west. Tales of successful prospecting along the Platte river reached the ears of westward bound adventurers, not a few of whom paused for personal investigation. Some, on returning to the east, organized expeditions for prospecting in Colorado. Green Russell, a Georgian, was a member of one of these pioneer expeditions. Of the original company of 42 persons that set out in the spring of 1858, Russell with a half dozen men were the only ones with sufficient persistence to remain until a moderate degree of success met their efforts.

The political development of Colorado began at the time of these earliest settlements. In the autumn of 1858 a mass meeting was held in the settlement called Auraria, on which

[1] Charles Preuss, topographer, Fremont's assistant and companion, and Henry Brant, both of direct German descent, accompanied this expedition. Cf. Eugene Parsons, *The Making of Colorado,* pp. 88-116.

occasion Colorado was organized as Arapahoe County. A representative was sent from this meeting to the Governor of Kansas to secure the sanction of the Kansas Legislature to this action. In the same year the first of a long line of petitions to effect the erection of a separate government under the name of the Territory of Jefferson was sent to Washington. It was not, however, until February 28, 1861 that Congress passed a law giving to the land between the 37th and 41st parallels of north latitude, and the 25th and 32d meridians of west longitude the name of the Territory of Colorado. With this single creative act the Territory had for some time to be content. At this time, with the Civil War impending, national affairs were too engrossing. Washington itself was threatened: Congress was occupied with business less remote than that of the distant Territory. The recently appointed Governor, William Gilpin, received verbal instructions to exercise his own judgment and to do his best, for there was no time to attend to his affairs.

Constitution makers in Colorado had vast experience before they at last gained their purpose. A State Constitution was framed in 1860 but failed to receive the approval of the people. At the third session of the 37th Congress, 1862-63, a bill urging the passing of an enabling act, allowing Colorado to form a constitution, met with defeat. Congress granted this permission the following year but the constitution met the same fate as its predecessor. Finally a convention called in 1865 submitted a constitution that was adopted. This act was confirmed by Congress but was vetoed by President Johnson. Similar bills were revived and defeated periodically during the next decade. On March 3, 1875 an enabling act was passed, authorizing the electors to vote on the question of a constitution. The Constitutional Convention was held, and in the following July the new state was admitted to the Union. These, in brief, were the events attending Colorado's political struggle for being.

Many obstacles attended Colorado's rise to her present secure position. For many years this country was harassed by the powerful tribes of red men who dwelt within the terri-

tory. Treaties with the Ogalalah, Brulé Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes are said to have existed as early as 1851. In 1862 the depredations of the Kiowas and Comanches were of such a nature as to demand military assistance. Some attribute this unrest of the Indians to the Civil War: Bancroft says that the savages did not choose to let the white men have a monopoly on fighting. An attitude of insolence became general, and in 1864 a combination was effected between the Sioux and the plains Indians with the purpose of driving out or exterminating the intruders—for such they regarded the white men. Outrages were committed and tales of repeated horrors were brought to the ears of the terrified citizens. Only a few miles from Denver a whole family was massacred. At this time the situation became very serious. Mail communication by the Overland Route was cut off. For a distance of 120 miles but one station on the route remained. The only connection with the rest of the world was by the ocean route to San Francisco. The red men continued their annoyances until forced to make peace by their too powerful foe.[1]

Indian wars were but one of the many discouraging elements to the early settlers of Colorado. In consequence of the drought of 1863 great numbers of stock perished. Fire worked havoc in Denver, destroying at one swoop $250,000 worth of buildings. But the trial was not yet hard enough: a winter of unusual severity followed drought and fire. With hay and grain at prohibitive prices and winter pasturage denied by climatic conditions, there was another tremendous cattle loss. The flood of the following spring was the final blow, though it proved to be the dark hour preceding the dawn. One million dollars worth of property was destroyed outright, farm lands were covered with a layer of sand and fruit trees were ruined. When we recall these almost insuperable difficulties and hardships, we are filled with all the greater admiration for the indomitable spirit of the pioneers.

The chief attracting power for Colorado has, until

[1] For an account of the German settlement at New Ulm, Minn., and the troubles with hostile Indians, see A. B. Faust, *German Element in the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 484-489.

recently, been her mineral wealth. Since coming into the dignity of statehood Colorado has seen two great "boom" periods. In the late seventies when gold digging was declining, a valuable discovery was made. The masses of carbonates that were cast aside by the seekers after the precious metal, were found to contain rich deposits of silver and lead. Soon the value of these metals increased many times, Immigrants poured into Leadville whose population in the first four months of the year 1879 grew at the rate of 1,000 a month; later this was tripled. The first smelter was completed here in 1878; by the end of the same year there were four others. In this beginning of the smelter industry two Germans were prominent,—Supt. Weise, of the original smelter, and A. Eilers who was owner of one of the first smelters in Leadville, and who later organized the Colorado Smelting Company at Pueblo.

A period of dullness in the years 1883-'85 was followed by a time of great prosperity. The advance of "dry farming," especially in Weld County, drew fresh flocks of immigrants. The year 1890 witnessed the founding of the richest gold camp in the world, at Cripple Creek, at which time was inaugurated the third great mining "boom". Having sketched briefly the history of Colorado from the time of its earliest exploration and settlement, let us examine the records to discover what part the Germans in the State took in these early developments.

The first city that was laid out and given a name in this new land was Montana, at the mouth of Dry Creek, six miles above the union of Cherry Creek and the Platte river. Later, the twenty blockhouses that constituted this settlement, were removed to Auraria, the first town of any importance in the region. In September 1858 St. Charles, the present site of East Denver, was incorporated. On November 17th it was reorganized and given the name of the former Governor of Kansas, John W. Denver. The claimants to the distinction of having built the first house in the new settlement were many. Philip Schweikert, of Columbus, Ohio, is said to have been one of the founders of Montana, and John J. Riethmann to have been the original builder in East Denver.[1] The latter was

[1] Hall, *History of Colorado,* Vol. I, pp. 181-82.

the eldest of four sons of Jacob Riethmann, a native of Canton Lausanne, Switzerland, who came to Colorado in 1859 and took a large tract of farm land about four miles from Denver. Through the provision entitling a settler who erected a house to thirteen lots, this enterprising family came into possession of forty odd lots which later became valuable property. These sturdy German pioneers were prominent both in industry and in financial fields. The elder brother, J. J. Riethmann, is said to have carried the first mail between Denver and Council Bluffs. He held also the position of first president of the German Bank.[1]

Another German who was well known as a progressive and philanthropic citizen, was Walter von Richthofen. By plotting and selling the suburban town Montclair, he had cleared a fortune, and then planned to furnish the people of the vicinity with a park for public pleasure. He had erected a castle in splendid German style and was engaged on the work of laying out the park, when the scheme was checked by his death.[2] Johan Ernst Madlung, a native of Reichenbach, Saxony, was one of the first settlers in the town of Harman, in whose growth and incorporation he took an active interest.[3] Another "first settler" was Charles Mater, a native of Cassel. He started the first building on the original town site of Leadville in June 1877. The grocery store which he opened, was a very successful establishment and became the headquarters of the town.[4]

Custer County became the seat of one of the most important, though shortlived German colonies in the State. The leaders, Carl Wulsten, Theodore Hamlin and Rudolph Jeske, impelled by a desire to ameliorate the unfavorable conditions

[1] *History of Denver*, pp. 556-571. A brother, Emile, for several years Swiss consul for Colorado, filled various political offices,—representative to State conventions, county commissioner, etc. In the latter capacity, he secured for his locality excellent road and bridge facilities. Two other brothers, Frederick and Louis, and two sisters, Mrs. John Milheim and Mrs. Foreman, came also to Denver.

[2] Hall, III, p. 285.

[3] *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 607.

[4] Fossett, *Colorado*, p. 410; Kent, *Leadville*, pp. 130-131.

of Germans working in Chicago, selected a colony site at the extreme southern end of the Wet Mt. Valley in December 1869. Early the following spring the colony, consisting of 65 families, (in all 367 persons) arrived and established the town named Colfax. Many reasons have been advanced to account for the early collapse of the colony, which lasted but six months. According to one authority, the colonists, being accustomed to city life, found themselves at a loss here and proved ungrateful.[1] Another says: "Lack of religious and social principles, and absence of military discipline left the colony to fall to pieces from inherent weakness."[2] At any rate the benefit aimed at is generally conceded to have been achieved independently of organization. Some took land claims, which subsequently became very productive. Others removed to different parts of the Territory, but all are said to have remained in it.

The earliest settlements in Saguache County were made by German pioneers. In 1865, a number of Germans, members of Company 1, 1st Colorado Volunteers, among whom were Captain Charles Kerber (Körper), Lieutenant Walters, and George Neidhardt, settled at Kerber Creek. Peter Luengen, a native of Rhine Prussia, was one of the earliest

[1] Bancroft, p. 595; Hall, Vol. I, p. 542.

[2] *History of the Arkansas Valley*, p. 694.

Soon after his arrival, Wulsten was made Brigadier General of the State Militia. He is the man to whom the community, and especially Custer County, owes more than it will ever repay. Through his tireless energy, he became one of the wealthiest citizens of the county. His reputation as man, miner, mine manager and engineer is an enviable one. It is said that his maps of mining properties may still be found in New York mining offices. Early in his experience in the colony (1871) his opinions concerning the mineral wealth of the region were published in the *Pueblo Chieftain*. These predictions have been tested by time and proved reliable. Concerning the Chicago Colony, the report was spread broadcast that it was an attempt on the part of the government to reclaim southern Colorado from democratic folly, which attempt, if successful, would be repeated in the San Luis Valley and elsewhere. Then when Colorado should become a state, the Republican party would be assured of its support. What truth, if any, was attached to this rumor is not known.

Another native German among the creators of Custer County was the Hon. Charles Sieber, a native of Neissen in Prussian Silesia. He was State Representative in the first session of the Legislature.

—*History of Custer County*, 694ff

pioneers in the country. He is still fond of relating his early experiences. One of his narratives shows why the German pioneer was often through diplomacy able to win out when others, with less tactful methods, failed. While crossing the plains, Mr. Luengen encountered on the North Platte a band of Indians, 52 in number. As was customary on such occasions, a conference preceded any action on either side. During this interview, Mr. Luengen sat enthroned on his horse and won the hearts of the red men by trading with them for their buckskins. In exchange for a skin he dealt out a cup of flour and a slice of bacon, and gave evidence of the shrewdness necessary for business success.

With few exceptions the Germans in Colorado came as individuals rather than in colonies, and the instances are very rare where they clung together clannishly. This fact indicates the possibility of ready assimilation that the American nation delights in seeing in her immigrants. What the influence of the German pioneers in Colorado would have been had a more clannish spirit existed, no one can say. But what the Germans there have done in braving the terrors of the frontier, in producing order out of chaos, in developing material resources and in planting the institutions of a higher civilization in the new land can be learned from specific instances, selected here and there from the mass of material obtainable. The Germans in Colorado furnish an example of the typical German characteristics, long-suffering endurance, patient plodding, strict business integrity, respect for law and order, keen initiative in agricultural and commercial lines, accurate training and efficiency both in the foregoing and in professional fields, a sense of the importance of recreative enjoyment and a fine show of public spirit in the advancement of philanthropic and educational projects. These were far from being the qualities that characterized their forerunners, the early trappers and traders. The task of these later comers, the German pioneers, was a difficult one. Henceforth thrift, economy and industry were to be in the lists with utter improvidence, wastefulness and sloth. Randall Parrish describes the easy access into a western community in these words: "The West asked no question of

any man; all that he had been in other days, east of the Missouri, was blotted out. Here he stood eye to eye with his fellows, and no voice challenged him." [1]

To review the facts gained in this brief historical outline of the colonization of Colorado we found first that the year 1859, perhaps the most interesting in the history of settlement in Colorado, brought several influencial Germans to this frontier community. The original builder in East Denver, and one of the founders of Montana were both Germans, John J. Riethmann and Philip Schweikert, respectively. The pioneer work of von Richthofen as public benefactor was noted. Carl Wulsten, another of Colorado's progressive German pioneers, was the founder of the Chicago Colony. At the organization of the Pioneers' Association (June 22, 1866) which was to include only settlers of the years 1858-'59, there were present Andrew Sagendorf, John J. Riethmann and George Schleier. In various sections of the state Germans were among the earliest settlers. The first permanent settlers in Castle Rock, Douglas County, where now fully 75% of the population is said to be German, were Jacob Bower, and the two brothers Benedict and Jacob Schultz. In Buena Vista, Chaffee County, a native German, Gustav Krause, started a pioneer tent-grocery.[3] Fremont County has always had prominent Germans among its residents. Of them we call attention to the following pioneers: William Kroenig, George R. Schaffer, August Heckscher, Mark Schaffenburg, Charles Boettcher, Frank P. Schaeffer, Michael Dueber, Rudolph Jeske, Augustus Sartor, Julius Ruf, and Albert Walter.[4] In Park County too, we learn of many German settlers. Jefferson County is proud to recall among its prominent residents the following native Germans: Adolph Coors, a Prussian by birth, Joachim Binder, born in Wittenberg, Peter Christensen, a native of Schleswig, Adam Ochus, a native of Hesse-Cassel, Adam C. Schock, a Bavarian,

[1] Randall Parrish, *The Great Plains*, pp. 337, 340.

[2] Hall, I., p. 396.

[3] *History of Chaffee County*, pp. 477-543.

[4] *History of the Arkansas Valley* (Fremont County), pp. 543-689.

and Henry F. Wulff, born in Schleswig-Holstein.[1] Elbert County had among its German settlers August H. Beuck, a native of Kiel, Holstein, who, in his adopted country became a prominent ranch man.[2] Another successful German rancher was Henry Gebhard, a native of Baden.[3] Other Germans of note in Elbert County are Anton Schindelholtz, J. George Benkelman, J. J. Kruse and John Hoffman.[4] Prominent Germans in Gilpin County are Jacob Kruse, mayor of Central City, 1874-'76, the Kountze brothers, bankers, Judge Silas B. Hahn, Charles Weitfle, photographer, Henry Altvater, Theodore Becker, Andrew Bitzenhofer, Maxwell Bolsinger, Henry Bolsinger.[5] A progressive farmer of Larimer County, John Hahn, was also a native German. Another German, Samuel Clammer, wins words of the highest approval from his historian.[6] Some of these men will receive more detailed mention later in this paper, but, in a list of the Germans who aided in the pioneer work of settlement, they could not be omitted.

CHAPTER II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GERMANS IN COLORADO ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATERIAL RESOURCES:—MINING AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES.

With much of the West still unpopulated in the middle of the 19th century, there was needed an especial attraction to draw colonization to one section more than to another. This attraction, and a very sensational one in the case of Colorado,

[1] *History of the Clear Creek Valley*, pp. 558-599.

[2] *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 266.

[3] *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 378.

[4] Supra, 519, 625.

[5] Hall, III, p. 408.

[6] Watrous, *History of Larimer County*, pp. 364-365.
Other Germans in the vicinity are Rudolph Boeram, Dr. Schofield, Dr. Moench, Chris Molly, Watson Ziegler, Rev. Burghardt, Louis Wetzler, Frank Wicks, Peter Kern, Peter Scheldt, Vincent Demmel, John L. Herzinger, August Rohling, and Emil Loescher.

was furnished by the tales of unprecedented wealth to be found in her gold mines. Gold mining, or indeed, mining of any sort, did not long retain its popularity in the Centennial State, but to it belongs the credit of having served as the initial stimulus to immigration. The history of mining in Colorado, pictorially represented, would resemble the main range of the Rocky Mountains that extends north and south through the State, with three great elevations separated by depressions. The elevations, or "boom" periods represent the Pikes Peak "gold fever" of 1859, the silver discoveries in Leadville in the late '70's, and the almost unparalleled gold discoveries in Cripple Creek in 1890. When one studies the thrilling accounts of mining in Colorado with a desire to learn what connection the Germans in the State have had with this industry, two closely related facts come to light. First, many Germans who were intimately involved in the mining interests in Colorado, advanced during their connection with these interests, the cause for which they strove, and won thereby fame and wealth. Secondly, the cases are rare in which the Germans remained for a long time in this pursuit. This fact is easily explained. Mining is the most fascinating and perhaps the most tragic game of chance, absolutely incompatible with the typical German characteristic, thrift. When the German miner made his little "pile", he invested it straightway in a safer and steadier enterprise and turned to a profession or to a pursuit adapted to a life of peace and contentment. Shrewdness and perseverance are native German qualities which are of inestimable service in mining ventures. There are, in mining deals, many illustrations of the one characteristic without the other,—of dogged determination with no foundation on which to rest, and again, of shrewdness so calculating that it never ventures,—but it is the happy blending of the two that seems to produce the best results.

A sufficient number of Germans have engaged and are still engaged in mining in Colorado, so that a history of her mining industry becomes also a page in the history of the German element. The thrilling tales of adventure that make up the story of the mining "booms", as well as the tragic despair that

followed not only in the times of general depression, but also upon individual failure, are too well known to require repetition here. A recital of the accomplishment of German miners in Colorado would prove almost as familiar a tale, but a roll-call of some of the more significant names is highly desirable, that we may see how large a part the Germans have taken in developing this important resource. A veritable king among miners was a native of Minden, Prussia, August Rische, by name, who came to Colorado during the first decade of the mining excitement (in 1868) and made the valuable discoveries that founded his wealth.[1] Another native German who won distinction in mining circles, was Charles A. Martine, who began his mining operations in Colorado by opening an assay office in Central City in 1866. Impelled by the silver excitement, he removed the following spring to Georgetown where he made the pioneer demonstration of ore sampling and stamping in Colorado. To him belongs the credit of being the first man in the State to manufacture silver bars, as well as being the original shipper of ores from Clear Creek County.[2] Philip Mixsell, of German parentage, erected the first custom stamp mill in Idaho Springs, owned several large mines and was proprietor of the Mixsell Tunnel, formerly the largest project of the kind in the State.[3] The famous Prussian Mine in the Gold Hill district was discovered in April 1861 by George Zweck, a native German who, recognizing at once the value of the ore, carried out his project of developing the mine though it was at great personal sacrifice.[4] A noteworthy example of a German who was attracted to this country by the tales of mineral wealth, but who did not long continue in the pursuit of mining interests, was Charles Mater, a native of Cassel.

[1] Kent, *Leadville,* p. 127; *History of the Arkansas Valley,* 207-388. Mr. Rische discovered valuable fissure veins at the head of the Arkansas, also the "Little Pittsburgh." Owned large interests in the New York Mine and in the San Juan and Rico districts.

[2] *Denver and Vicinity,* p. 479; *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys,* pp. 521-522.

[3] *Denver and Vicinity,* p. 419.

[4] Bancroft, Vol. XXV, p. 649, footnote.

His long and active life in Colorado to which he came in 1860, was devoted to mercantile pursuits and to civic interests.[1]

We may conclude this brief sketch[2] of Colorado Germans in mining ventures with a typical tale of the hardships endured by the men who came as pioneers to the west in quest of gold. Charles Lerchen, a pioneer of 1859, was a member of a party of four that set out from Davenport, Iowa, to investigate the celebrated gold country. While on their journey they were met by men returning discouraged from the very land to which they were going. Their unfavorable reports disheartened Mr. Lerchen's companions, who decided to abandon their mission. At Fort Kearney they deserted the more persistent German, leaving him, as his only assets besides his indomitable will and courage, a yoke of oxen and a sack of flour. He joined forces with another company which also turned back within 200 miles from the goal. Finally after a trip of 90 days, Mr. Lerchen reached Denver, alone.[3]

As before said, Colorado began its career as a mining State. The gold seekers came with no other thought than to make their fortunes and then return to "the States". But many of the pioneers of 1859-1860, failing in their mining ventures, turned their attention to the cultivation of the soil. Before 1870 when the Greeley Colony attacked the problem in earnest, agriculture in Colorado was a primitive kind. The average rainfall of eastern Colorado is estimated at 6-15 in. per annum. This arid region was indeed, in early days, considered a desert, unfit for the home of civilized man. Some

[1] *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp. 207-368.

[2] Others who deserve mention here are John Zinsendorf, E. H. Gruber, Caspar S. Desch, Henry Kneisel, Christian Manhart, Fred Buckman, William Tick, John C. Kaufman, C. C. Miller, Joseph S. Beaman, Andrew Bitzenhofer, Barnard Schwartz, Samuel Neuhaus, Frederick Kohler, Henry Neikirk and Erl von Buddenbrock. Of these all but two, whose parents were Germans, were native Germans.

[3] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 635. Mr. Lerchen was born near Dresden in 1839. He at first engaged in mining in the Blue river country. At various times he was occupied with copper and silver lode mining in Custer and Huerfano Counties, and himself discovered several gold mines. In less than three years he had left mining for other pursuits.

of the pioneers were familiar with artificial irrigation as it was carried on in California and in the Rio Grande valley of New Mexico. They made attempts at a similar sort of irrigation along Clear Creek, the Platte river and Boulder Creek and thereby established the fact that the soil was fertile and would under proper conditions, produce with abundance. Even as late as 1874 it was believed that the uplands were incapable of cultivation, but when it was discovered that the soil of the bluffs was as rich and as productive as the lower land, changes in the manner of ditch construction took place. It was then that the big canal corporations came into existence. The construction of great irrigation canals in northern Colorado, in the San Luis Valley and in the valleys of the Arkansas and the Grande rivers brought water to thousands of acres thus opening the land to settlement. The advantages of irrigation farming are everywhere recognized. The increased production soon replaces the original outlay for canals and water works. The increased gain both in quantity and quality of produce is causing Colorado to forge ahead as a farming State.[1]

The men who were active in organizing companies for the construction and maintenance of irrigation systems in Colorado, laid the foundation for her agricultural career. In the front rank of these pioneers were many German citizens. Chief among them were George Stearly and Andrew Kluver who were instrumental in constructing the canals of the Water Supply and Storage Company, one of the largest and most important irrigation systems in northern Colorado.[2] Others who have taken active part in construction and management of irrigation systems are David Birkle, Fritz Niemeyer, Alex-

[1] At present water rights go generally with the land at the time of its purchase, which, when unirrigated, is of little value. Private companies build storage reservoirs and canals to convey the water from them o. from streams to the land to be irrigated, the main canals being tapped by many laterals. From each lateral small ditches are dug with scraper and plough to carry the water to the various fields. Colorado farmers began early to show their pride in raising produce of unusual excellence. *The Rocky Mountain News* of September 3, 1864, tells of the remarkable stalk of yellow corn bearing six large, full grown, perfectly formed ears, that was brought to Denver by A. Sagendorf from a farm 11 miles up the Platte.

[2] Cf. Watrous, *History of Larimer County*, pp. 482, 484.

ander Milheim, Andrew Hagus, John H. Behrens, Joseph C. Cramer and Ernst von Buddenbrock. Five of these men have filled the office of president of various ditch Companies, Kluver, president of the Water Supply and Storage Company, Birkle of the Meadow Island Ditch Company, and also of the Beaman Ditch Company, Andrew Hagus of the Fulton Ditch Company, and Ernst von Buddenbrock of the Model Land and Irrigation Company. The latter company, one of the late constructions, reclaimed 20,000 acres of desert land. Other important offices such as treasurer and superintendent have been filled by some of the above mentioned Germans, and all of them have been actively engaged in the promotion of artificial irrigation in Colorado.

Once given a fertile soil, perhaps the foremost condition for success in agriculture is a taste for, or even better, a scientific knowledge of soil tilling. Many adventurous pioneers, lured by the generous distribution of homestead land, failed or met with but meager success in agriculture, because they knew no more about it than they did about prospecting, and in farming chance played a smaller part. The German pioneer, however, peculiarly adapted to agriculture from long and thorough acquaintance with it, almost invariably succeeded. The Germans too, possessed the desirable characteristics of steady plodding industry and persistent effort. Many of the wealth seekers had imagined Colorado to be an enchanted land, the very sands to contain shining gold, the streets to be paved with silver and the bushes to yield treasure. Such, naturally, were disappointed at the grim reality. Whether or not the Germans shared this belief, they did not give up in despair when its falsity was established. The adventurous spirit of the west seems to have infused a little of its dash into the native Teutonic apathy. The same disposition that we saw was so successful in the pursuit of mining, willingness to take a good risk, mingled with a great deal of caution, met with an equal degree of good fortune here.

The industry in which Colorado leads all States is sugar beet culture. This has been a wonderful incentive to colonization and to the development of the State; it has suggested to

other lines of agriculture its own intensive methods and it has brought about many of the great irrigation projects. Sugar factories have been established at Eaton, Greeley, Loveland, New Windsor, Longmont, Fort Collins, Sterling, Brush, Fort Morgan, along the Arkansas valley at Rocky Ford, Lamar, Las Animas, Holly, Swink and Sugar City, and along the Grand river at Grand Junction, Monte Vista and Delta. These factories are reported to be successful, and they are aiding the various commercial, manufacturing and agricultural industries of the State. The development of this industry has, in a few years, built railroads, towns and irrigation works. Population and wealth have increased rapidly and capital has been attracted toward building up the enterprises that make for the greatness of a State.[1] In many of the districts where the great sugar beet fields are under cultivation, Germans are prominent among the workers. The people accustomed to similar employment in Europe seem to have responded to the call for laborers here. Many of them, especially in Larimer and in Delta county, are Russo-Germans, that is, Germans who formed colonies in Russia under very favorable conditions made by that government which subsequently were endangered. Peculiarly fitted for this work, thrifty and economical as they are, these recent arrivals have met with great success.[2]

[1] Cf. *Colorado State Board of Immigration*, pp. 10-13. For dairying, truck gardening, poultry and bee keeping, etc., see p. 13 ff.

[2] Peter the Great offered privileges to German colonies in Russia,—among them, exemption from taxation and from military service for a term of years. In 1783 Catherine II imposed a poll tax on the peasants in the Baltic provinces in order to prevent their developing in a way that would bring about estrangement from Russia. She was too wise and liberal not to see that the independent German culture of the Baltic provinces was far ahead of the rest of Russia, and instead of becoming a menace might serve as a model.—Dr. Otto Hoetzsch, Professor in the Royal Academy, Posen. Cambridge, *Modern History*, Vol. VI, p. 694. It seems very probable that the ancestors of the Russo-Germans in Colorado might have been among the emigrants from West Prussia, the foundation stone of whose colonization was the manifest of the Russian empress, Catherine II, July 22, 1763. This promised unhindered immigration privileges to all foreigners in Russia; choice of home in city or country; to poor families, assistance with travelling expenses and liberal aid from the State treasury by the erection of factories; freedom from taxes for some time; especially, complete religious freedom and the right to settle in groups on their own strips of land, to

They find it possible to live at about the minimum cost; they are all, including the women, accustomed to field work, and by the combined efforts of steady industry and strict economy they are rapidly gaining comfortable competencies, and in a small way, becoming landed proprietors. They manifest an ambition to rise from the state of mere hirelings; their interest in their adopted land is strong enough to cause them to desire to remain in it. As they are, in many cases, still ignorant of the English language, they are very clannish in religious and social life. They are rated among the best workers, and set a high standard of efficiency, thus producing among the other inhabitants a sentiment favorable toward their nationality.[1]

A few examples of typical German farmers in Colorado will serve as reminders of the kind found here, while a catalogue of names of others recall many who have assisted in developing the State. A prominent farmer, a Prussian by birth, Frederick Gross, had, previous to his departure for the new country, mastered at home the art of intensive farming. This knowledge, together with his energy and industry, enabled him to outstrip his neighbors in annual yields. He soon became known as "the farmer who never failed to raise a good crop." He gradually made purchases of land and added thereto improvements until he ranked as one of the foremost men in his vicinity.[2] Another example of the success that follows

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build churches and schools, to appoint their own pastors, and to have the inner management of such colonization in the hands of their own officials. Such colonies were to be free from military service and to enjoy the favor of the government. These colonists were, in religion, Mennonites. In view of the military developments of West European peoples at the end of the 18th century, it was becoming more and more difficult for these people to retain their peculiar position in the State (their religion forbade them to bear arms). Russia had, however, great territories along the Black Sea in which she wished to replace the nomads of Mongolian blood living there, by people experienced in tilling the soil, and many German colonists settled there, with exemption from military service. In the age of universal military service this privilege was in danger of being abolished, owing to the jealousy of less fortunate neighbors, and emigration of German Mennonites from Russia to the United States began. Cf. Wedel, III, p. 120 ff.

[1] "Kleine Gruppen suchten auch in Colorado fortzukommen," we read in Wedel, IV, p. 191.

[2] Cf. *History of Larimer County*, p. 485.

unremitting labor, is furnished by the experiences of Andrew Hagus, a German pioneer of 1859. After a few months' trial at mining he started an entirely new product in this region. He began to raise vegetables to supply miners and had splendid results in this much needed line. He introduced on his farm the first mowing machine, rake, etc., ever seen in the county (Arapahoe). His brother, John G. Hagus, who followed him in 1860 to Colorado, illustrates by his success the power of energy and determination.[1]

A very close relationship exists between forestry and irrigation. The establishment of forest reservations has been largely in the interest of agriculture and irrigation. Although the science of forestry is still new in this country, Colorado is fortunate in having one well trained forester among her pioneers. He was a native German, Frederick J. Ebert, who came to Denver with an engineering corps from St. Joseph, Missouri, and made the first survey west of the Missouri river. As he was aware of the advantages of forestry laws and regulations, he was eager at the very opening of the country, to encourage necessary legislation. Truck and landscape gardening have always been largely in the control of the Germans in Colorado.[2] In this calling they have furnished very creditable results. As early as 1869, George Neare, popularly called "Dutch George," was a truck gardener at the mouth of Lone Pine Creek.[3] Peter Fischer, a native of Nassau, was a pioneer nurseryman on Cherry Creek, about one and one-half miles from Denver.[4]

Fruit growing, now the leading industry in several large districts of Colorado, was, a few years ago, believed to be impossible. Now, the names of Delta County, the San Luis Valley and Rocky Ford are celebrated, far and wide, for ex-

[1] *Denver and Vicinity,* 246 ff.; Hall, IV, 484. At the New York Land Show, November 1911, the two prize winners for the best exhibits of sugar beets were Coloradoans. One of them was V. Deich of Julesburg.

[2] Cf. Denver Real Estate and Stock Exchange, *Annual Report,* 1891-'92.

[3] Cf. *History of Larimer County,* p. 193. Mr. Neare removed later to Elkhorn Creek where, in 1871, he was killed by a bear.

[4] Cf. *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys,* p. 564.

tensive fruit culture. Colorado is now entitled to fame as a horticultural State. The leading fruit raising counties of the northern part of the State are Boulder, Jefferson and Larimer. The Arkansas Valley, with its center in Canon City, is probably the site of the first successful orchards in Colorado. The valleys of the Grande, the Uncompahgre and the Gunnison and, on the western slope, Montrose, Delta, Mesa and Garfield Counties are all important fruit raising sections.[1] The first fruit orchard in the Mountains is said to have been planted by a native German, Louis Wetzler, who came to Greeley in 1871. He was at first subjected to the scorn of his neighbors, who declared his undertaking an impossibility. Later, he was able to prove that they were wrong. By his example he encouraged many others to follow in this pursuit.[2] Another native German who disproved the theory that fruit could not be successfully grown in Colorado was John G. Bader, a pioneer farmer on Left Hand Creek in Boulder County.[3] Albert G. Snyder, a native of Canton Berne, met with very favorable results with his large orchards, also his crops of grapes, strawberries and blackberries.[4] John D. Stickfort, a native of Hanover, planted on a very uninviting tract of wild prairie land in Jefferson County in 1882, an apple orchard which was said to be the best producer in the county. In 1897, Mr. Stickfort gathered from it more than 1,000 barrels of apples.[5] In 1859, William Hoehne came to Las Animas County where he was the first farmer settler and one of the most enterprising of the German pioneers. He is credited with having built the first mill, with having introduced the first threshing machine and with having started the cultivation of strawberries, apples, cherries, etc., in the county. He conducted his farming in a progressive fashion. For example, he conceived the idea of planting crabapples and cottonwood trees in alternate rows, thus affording wind breaks

[1] Cf. *Jubiläums-Ausgabe des Colorado Herold*, p. 45.

[2] *History of Larimer County*, pp. 416-417.

[3] Cf. *History of Boulder Valley*, p. 611.

[4] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 750.

[5] Cf. Supra, p. 1024.

and timber protection. For several years, he operated 1,000 acres of land on which he raised splendid crops.[1] Among the many other successful fruit growers and gardeners among the German settlers in Colorado we would mention especially Frederick C. Schroeder in the Clear Creek Valley, and Frank W. Ricks in the Little Thompson Valley.[2]

Although Colorado was long famed for its cattle ranges, it took considerable time for the stockmen to discover that they could increase their profits enormously by employing other methods than, as formerly, shipping the cattle to eastern markets.[3] Among men who were not content to follow the beaten track, were several alert German citizens who turned their attention to the dairy industry. Prominent among them were George Rittmayer, Johann Madlung, Emile Riethmann, Frederick Affolter, Charles Bangert, T. U. Bausinger, William Bramkamp, Ferdinand Ebert, Eugene Farny, P. W. Snyder, Jacob Wolfensberger, all of whom were native Germans with the exception of Mr. Snyder who was of German ancestry, and Messrs. Riethmann and Wolfenberger who were both born in Switzerland.[4]

The Denver Stock Exchange was first organized in 1887, but the pioneers had made small but successful beginnings with the cattle business previous to that time. Especially in the beet raising districts, sheep raising is of importance. The two are supplementary as the beet tops and pulp have proven to be the best diet for the animals, thus providing a use for the waste product. The sheep industry is said to have produced the greatest clear profits of any of Colorado's agricultural

[1] Cf. Hall, IV, p. 194.

[2] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 1024; *History of Larimer County*, pp. 383-384.
Gustav Hermanhofer, Park Superintendent of Pueblo, had set out in City Park 400 various plants (according to the *Colorado Herold* for February 27, 1912), in order to establish the fact that they will grow in akaline soil.

[3] In this connection, cf. F. L. Paxson, "The Cow Country," in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 1 (October, 1916).

[4] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 598, 725, 879, 995, 1089; Hall, IV, 396ff.

industries. Among the early pioneers who carried on an extensive business in this line was a man of German descent, Ernest Bartels.[1] A native German pioneer of 1860, Jacob Scherer who was born near the city of Dresden, was one of the early cattle men who from humble beginnings achieved great wealth. Unless a cattleman had control of great capital he had to be content to isolate himself and to "rough it". There was, however, a way for a man with persistence to build up a fortune. The big drivers who had in their care 800 to 1,000 head of cattle, had no time to care for the sick cattle or for the calves that were born on the way. Thus the man who was willing to submit to personal sacrifice and hardship, could follow the trail from Texas to Montana and pick up these unfortunates and with them form the nucleus of a profitable business. Charles Lerchen, another native German, carried on a stock ranch in Arapahoe County as early as 1868. He is said to have brought into the State more finely bred bulls than any other man, and he is the first man in the State to give premiums for prize cattle. John Walters, later head of one of the largest firms in Denver and one of the largest sheep raisers and dealers in the West, laid the foundation for his business by purchasing several hundred head of sheep in New Mexico and driving them to the Denver market. His interests extended later to sheep breeding and raising in Wyoming, also to buying and ranging in Utah, Colorado, Kansas and Nebraska. He was a member of the Standard Meat and Live Stock Association of which another native German, Frank X. Aicher, was also a member.[2] Jacob Scherrer, a stock man since 1868, was at one time owner of the Denver Stock Yards, the first establishment for supplying the beef market of the city.[3] August Beuck, whose native city was Kiel in Holstein, was owner of 1,000 acres of land in Elbert County and also of nearly as many head of cattle, and was a member of the Colo-

[1] Cf. Hall, IV, pp. 333-337.

[2] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 726. Mr. Walter's father was born in Würtemberg.

[3] *History of Denver*, pp. 601-602. Mr. Scherrer of German and French descent.

rado Cattle Growers' Association.[1] Another German member of this Association was Henry Gebhard, who after spending ten years in Elbert County buying, selling and shipping cattle, became a member of the Burghardt Packing Company and later organized the Colorado Packing and Provision Company, the largest packers of beef and pork in the State. To its founder is attributed the prosperity of the organization. Anton Schindelholz and John G. Benkelman are also on the roll of members of the Colorado Packing and Provision Company. Elijah Bosserman is general manager of the Denver Live Stock Commission Company, which he organized in 1886. This was the first company to locate at the Union Stock Yards in Denver. Jacob Schütz whose tract of 2,500 acres of land in Douglas County was in 1860 a wild, unimproved claim, by his strenuous efforts adapted the same to his purposes and made a great success with raising thoroughbred, shorthorn cattle.[2] In the instances cited above, we again see many Germans taking the lead in an important agricultural industry.

Many of the successful farmers in Colorado, and among them are Germans, have achieved their prosperity through a kind of farming elsewhere unknown, the so-called "dry farming". It seems logical that the land that produces wild

[1] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity,* p. 226. Mr. Beuck was one of the first stockmen to dehorn cattle.

[2] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity,* pp. 332, 378, 425, 519, 923. Also, for Benkelman, *History of Denver,* p. 332.

Among other stockmen, "old-timers," deserving of their success and among the most substantial and most highly respected citizens of their respective communities was John Hahn, for thirteen years stock raiser in Larimer County. Mr. Hahn, a German by birth (see Supra, 933, and *History of Larimer County,* 391), acquired by his judgment and energy 1,240 acres of excellent land. Here also we mention John L. Mitch, of Prussian parentage, part owner of 3,500 head of sheep in Bent County; Ludwig Kramer, a native of Wittenberg; William Barth, a native German, president and organizer of the Denver-Texas Cattle Company; Charles Snyder, whose father was a native of Canton Berne; Ferdinand Ebert, George C. Fahrion, Andrew Hagus, Christian Killkopf, J. E. Madlung, George Stearly, and Lewis Hagus, all of German birth, and Rudolph Koenig, born in Switzerland, and Frederick Schroeder and Michael Leuhart, of German descent. For detailed accounts of the above see *Denver and Vicinity,* pp. 208ff., 768, 773, 786; *History of the Arkansas Valley,* pp. 765-889; Hall, IV, 449-450, 484, 494, 529, 503; *History of Larimer County,* pp. 476, 484.

the cactus and sage brush should yield valuable agricultural products. The secret, in this arid country, lies in producing a soil that hinders the moisture from being absorbed by the hot, dry air. In order to make the lower layer of soil as yielding as possible to a large water content, the surface is kept finely pulverized but firm and compact. The Colorado "dry farmers" have accomplished the remarkable results that a rainfall of 12 inches can be so conserved that it yields better effects than are attained in regions where the average moisture is 24 inches. Ten thousand square miles of desert land where only cactus, sage brush, sunflowers and prairie grass once grew, are, as a result, now yielding rich harvests of wheat, corn and clover. To this branch of agricultural industry the German farmer has adapted himself readily. He realizes that tireless industry is the price set upon a good harvest and he pays this price willingly. We cite here only a few of the many instances that show how the German immigrant by persistent efforts, strict economy and shrewdness has made for himself a solid place.

The case of Andrew C. Kluver is typical. When he came to Fort Collins at the age of 25, he put to immediate use his only capital,—a span of horses, a wagon and cash amounting to $31. He occupied himself, at first, with odd jobs of teaming; later, he ran a threshing machine and baler. In less than two years after his arrival he was owner of three teams which he traded for a small stock of groceries, engaging then in the mercantile business. His success was remarkable. He became owner of a good farm in the Cache La Poudre Valley, of the Craddock ranch at Livermore, and of a well stocked cattle ranch on Rabbitt and Meadow Creeks. He acquired as well, large interests in financial organizations,—in banking and in the Water Storage and Supply Company.[1] Another native German, Lewis Schroers, who settled on a farm on the Platte River near Island Station in 1860, since then so improved his land that it became one of the finest farms in the county. He is described as possessing "the usual steady, persevering energy

[1] Cf. *History of Larimer County*, p. 398.

characteristic of the Germans."[1] Anton Schindelholtz came to Colorado in 1860 with no capital save physical strength, steady determination and thrifty habits. It did not take him long to discover that his dream of gaining sudden wealth was an idle one. Sober judgment gaining the mastery over his enthusiastic visions, he bought a ranch, stocked it with cattle and conducted a successful dairy, becoming thereby a man of wealth and position.[2] Another tale of "Poverty to Prosperity" is illustrated in the experiences of Emile Riethmann, a pioneer of 1859, whose history has already been considered in the pages treating of the German pioneers in Colorado. The oft repeated assertion that prosperity seems to have followed the Germans, is unconsciously explained by those who testify: "There are few shiftless ones among the Germans."

Native Germans and their sons have engaged in nearly, if not indeed all the industries that flourish in Colorado. The brewing and bottling business is practically monopolized by them. Prominent names in this industry which has, in Colorado, ranked high, are Coors, Endlich, Frederick, Fuelscher, Burghardt, Neef, Lammers, Suess and Zang, all of whom with but a single exception are of German birth. Philip Zang who was born in Bavaria in 1826, arrived in Denver in 1869, where he entered the employ of John Good as superintendent of the latter's brewery. In July 1871 he purchased the Rocky Mountain Brewery, the pioneer establishment in Denver, which later was said to be the largest brewery between St. Louis and San Francisco.[3] Adolph Herman Joseph Coors was born at Barmen, Rhine Prussia, February 4, 1847. He went to America in 1868, to Denver in April 1872. In June of the same year he started a bottling business with John Staderman. In October 1872, in company with Jacob Schueler, he established a brewery in Golden. He later purchased his partner's interest in the brewery which became one of the

[1] Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 587.

[2] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 519.

[3] Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 651; Hall, IV, p. 631; *Denver and Vicinity*, 5496. See also *Jubiläums-Ausgabe des Colorado Herold*, p. 60.

largest and best equipped in the State. Agencies have been established at Denver, Pueblo, Trinidad, Colorado Springs, Aspen, Fort Collins, Louisville, Blackhawk, Como, Meeker, Buena Vista, Del Notre, Creede, Gunnison, and Aquilar.[1]

German bakers enjoy wide fame and Colorado does not detract therefrom. Starting with the earliest times, when in 1859 Henry Reitze opened the first bakery in Denver and offered to accept gold dust in exchange for his products,[2] and going to the time when Otto P. Baur became owner of one of the city's largest candy establishments which still bears his name, there have been many Germans in Colorado prominent as bakers and confectioners.[3] Among the pioneer German bakers were Hans J. Kruse, Adolph Schinner, J. J. Riethmann, and Albin Maul.

Hotel keeping has been a close second to brewing with the Germans in Colorado as far as popularity and success are concerned. Charles Eyser, a native of Holstein, was in the early 60's proprietor of the "German House" in Denver.[4] Another native German, Otto Kappler, has held the position of manager of both the Metropole and the Brown Palace, one of Denver's finest hotels.[5] Other Germans prominent as hotel owners and keepers are John Zimmermann, Frederick Christman, E. Menig, Charles F. Hertel, Conrad Frankle and Charles Nachtrieb. Zimmerman, a native Swiss, founded a celebrated mountain resort when, in 1880, he constructed a few rough cottages near his sawmill. As the resort became popular, the commodious hotel, the Keystone, was erected. Christman was the founder of a favorite road house in Virginia Dale in Larimer County. Menig was a successful hotel keeper in Denver in the early days, being connected with the Fremont

[1] Biographical material furnished by a member of the Coors family.

[2] This distinction is disputed by the bakery of J. J. Riethmann and John Milheim, pioneers of 1859. Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 518.

[3] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 637. Mr. Baur was born in Würtemberg.

[4] Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 426.

[5] Cf. Hall, IV, p. 492.

House and later with the Milwaukee House, which he built, and conducted until 1889. Hertel came to Colorado in 1860 and had many thrilling encounters on the frontier with hostile Indians, in which he proved himself a man of valor as well as of enterprise. Frankle who constructed the Washington Hotel on 5th Street in Denver, and Nachtrieb, the builder of an excellent hotel at Northrop Station, Chaffee County, were both successful German hotel keepers.[1]

Several German families in Colorado have made a signal success along mercantile lines. Pioneers among them were the three Bartels brothers, Louis, Gustave and Julius, natives of a small town near Göttingen. The former came with his original stock of merchandise in the summer of 1861, crossing the plains with an ox team. Nine years later he and his brothers were successfully conducting the houses they had established at Pueblo, West Las Animas, Walsenburg and San Antonio.[2] William and Moritz Barth, who were born in Dietz, Nassau, were pioneer shoe manufacturers and wholesale dealers in Colorado, whence they too came in 1861.[3] August and Philip Rohling, two brothers from Dielingen in Westphalia, conducted large stores in Blackhawk and in Fort Collins.[4] Edward Monash, another native German started in 1866 the first department store in Denver, "The Fair", where, by his energy and good judgment, he built up a profitable business.[5] Other prominent pioneer merchants among the German residents of Colorado are George Tritch who first offered for sale a varied assortment of farm implements;[6]

[1] For details of the above, see *History of Larimer County*, pp. 370, 466; *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 486; *History of Denver*, 426; Hall, IV, 530, 600; *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp. 477-543.

[2] Cf. Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography*, p. 343; *History of Denver*, 329.

[3] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 205-208ff.

[4] Cf. Supra, pp. 399, 977; *History of Larimer County*, p. 392.

[5] Monash was born in Posen. Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 369.

[6] Tritsch was born in Baden. Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 612-613.

John J. Lindner, plumbing and hardware merchant;[1] Samuel Strousse, Hyman Schradsky and Julius Berry, clothing dealers;[2] Gustav Krause,[3] Adolph Brocker,[4] grocers; Herman H. Cordes, carpet dealer;[5] Ignatz Haberl, jeweler and lapidary;[6] Henry P. Nagel and J. J. Hense, both jewelers in the 60's.[7] Another pioneer merchant of 1864 whose advertisement shows how infused he was with the spirit of the west, was George Teiklar. He claims the following: "I will furnish my customers with every variety of meats from a mutton chop to an ox".

The name of Maximilian Kuner, the "grand old man of the business world of Denver", stands very near the head of the manufacturing industry in this locality. His genius for organizing is responsible for the Colorado Manufacturers' Association, established in 1906, an association for mutual assistance and protection to the shippers of the State.[8] His brother, J. C. Kuner, who preceded him to Colorado, started the Denver Pickle Works in 1872. From a very small beginning,—Mr. Kuner at first did his own "teaming" in a wheelbarrow,—the company of which Mr. Kuner is president has grown to such proportions that it is reported to supply the

[1] Father was a native of Würtemberg. Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 1080-1081.

[2] All three native Germans. Cf. Supra, pp. 1104-1105; *History of Arkansas Valley*, pp. 765-825; Hall, IV, p. 581.

[3] Krause was born in Germany. Cf. *History of Arkansas Valley*, pp. 477-543.

[4] Brocker was born in Prussia. Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 349.

[5] Cordes born in Bremen. Cf. Supra, p. 376.

[6] Haberl born in Hanau, near Frankfort on Main. Cf. Byers' *Biography*, p. 444.

[7] Nagel born in Schleswig-Holstein. Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 537. Among the hundreds of successful German merchants in Colorado are I. H. Kastor, Edward Kerstens, F. L. Rohlfing, George Hamburger, Albert Abel, Fred Mueller, Maximilian Spanier and George Reinhardt. For above see *Rocky Mountain News* for 1864.

[8] Born in Lindau, Bavaria. Cf. *Sketches of Colorado*, 1911, pp. 256-2557. *History of Denver*, p. 490. Data also from residents of Brighton.

trade in all the western States. The main factory is located in Denver, branches existing at Brighton, Platteville and Greeley, on which hundreds are dependent for support. Charles Boettcher, a Prussian by birth, was a leading promoter of the Colorado Sugar Manufacturing Company of Grand Junction, and was one of the builders of the first sugar beet factory in Colorado.[1] In Loveland he built another plant similar to the one in Grand Junction. This factory is the property of the Great Western Sugar Company of which Dr. Franz Murke, another native Prussian, is chief consulting chemist. The celebrated "Blackhawk" wagon which has won a reputation throughout the country, was invented by William Tick, a native of Stargard, Pommerania, and sprang from the need of a better equipment for hauling ore and for general mountain service.[2]

Attempting to fill long-felt wants many of Colorado's German pioneers have advanced the progress of the community by inventions. August Pirch, a native of Prussia, was one of these men. He invented a "Sulky Ditching and Sidehill Plow", an ingenious contrivance incorporating several new features, and also a tool called the "Improved Blacksmith Wagonmaking combined machine", an article adaptable for the operation of hammer, shears, reciprocating saw, drill, punch, chisel, etc.[3] The names of Robert Bandhauer and Henry F. Meine, both native Germans, are familiar in Denver, both men being distinguished for splendid mechanical skill and for ingenious inventive power. The latter, a skilled cabinet maker, invented and patented a combination billiard and game table.[4] A German who has resided in Denver since 1880, Jacob Fitting, established in 1892 the Pioneer Iron and Wire Works. Today his business is said to rank among the greatest of its kind in

[1] Cf. *Sketches of Colorado,* p. 150.

[2] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity,* p. 1024.

[3] Cf. *History of Denver,* p. 548.

[4] Cf. Supra, pp. 342, 518-519.

the west.[1] His is the distinction of introducing the first wire fence manufactured in Colorado. Adolph Rauh, a Bavarian, engaged on coming to Denver in 1870, in the marble cutting business with F. R. Trotzscher. A year later he constructed a steam saw mill in West Denver. He expended large sums in the search for stone quarries and was successful in locating the first in the State, among them the famous Castle Rock Quarry and those at Canon City and Pueblo. He is entitled to credit for having established the first steam marble works in Denver.[2]

John J. Bitter came to Denver in 1879 and five years later started his business as contractor[3] and builder. It is of interest to note that the first bridge constructed in the Colorado Territory was ascribed to George C. Schleier, a native of Baden. On his way to the Gregory Gold mines he was checked near Golden by high water in Clear Creek over which he erected a bridge at a cost of $600. Mr. Schleier is said also, to have erected one of the first two-story buildings in the State. In the severe winter of 1858-'59 he hauled timber for the purpose a distance of 25 miles.[4] A German woman, Mrs. F. C. Bray, formerly Miss Agnes Braum who was born in Berlin, is a capable member of the Laundrymen's Association. She has proved herself an efficient business woman in the laundries which she successfully conducts.[5]

The German element in Denver has aided the city's development through the active part taken by its representatives in real estate interests. Among the early members of the Denver Real Estate and Stock Exchange were Walter von Richthofen, H. C. Mentzer, Max Baer, Niesz & Company and

[1] Mr. Fitting was born in Westhofen. Cf. *Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, p. 46.

[2] Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 562.

[3] Father of Mr. Bitter was a native of Oldenburg. Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 511.

[4] Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 605-606.

[5] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 567. For many other instances cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 450, 533, 630-631; Hall, IV, pp. 434-435, 475.

G. O. Shafer.[1] Alfred H. Gutheil, a native German, bought and plotted the Gutheil Gardens in 1889. Seven years later, the Gutheil Park Investment Company organized with Mr. Gutheil as president and general manager.[2] Another section of Denver bearing the name of the German settler who preempted it originally, is Wagner's Addition, named for Herman Wagner.[3] Some of Denver's finest building sites were comprised in the section of land, or "Addition", named for Adolph Schinner, a native German who, in 1860, came to Colorado on horseback.[4] W. H. Buchtel, son-in-law of the celebrated P. T. Barnum, for whom he named the town which he laid out, has been a strong factor in developing Denver real estate.[5] Peter J. Frederick, whose parents were native Germans, held at the time of his death the following offices: Vice-president Zang Realty and Investment Company, Welton Street Investment Company, St. James Investment Company, German-American Trust Company and Lakeside Realty and Amusement Company.[6] E. H. Asmussen, a native German, and John Milheim, a Swiss, have engaged with success in real estate ventures in Denver.[7] As a real estate undertaking of quite a different sort we recall the amusement resort at Lindenmeier Lake, whose originator was William Lindenmeier, Jr., of German descent.[8]

The actual beginning of the smelting industry in Colorado was made at Malta in 1877 when August R. Meyer erected in California gulch a small smelter to reduce ores. As he was in need of lead ores the following winter, he experimented with the mineral on the dump of the Rock mine and found the result very satisfactory. Later the smelting industry attained

[1] Cf. *Denver Illustrated*, p. 38.

[2] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 258.

[3] Cf. Hall, IV, p. 623.

[4] Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 594-595.

[5] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 297.

[6] Cf. *Sketches of Colorado*, p. 409.

[7] Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 518; Hall, IV, p. 366.

[8] Cf. *History of Larimer County*, pp. 281-282.

to great proportions in that part of the Arkansas Valley.[1] Frank Guiterman, a German of the second generation, holds the highest position in his line in the United States. He is General Manager for the American Smelting and Refining Company, Colorado Department.[2] Rudolph Koenig, a native German, pioneer of 1867, was for nine years President and General Manager of the Gold Smelting Company.[3] A. Eilers, a prominent native German in the smelting industry in Pueblo, first became identified with that industry in Colorado, when in 1879 he erected a smelter in Leadville. Later he organized the Colorado Smelting Works at Pueblo.[4]

On a slightly different level from the preceding stands banking, a business which suggests always that the persons participating in it inspire an unusual feeling of trust. In the early days, when financial institutions in Denver were purely personal ventures, Charles and Luther Kountze, two of the four sons of Christian Kountze, a native of Saxony, organized and successfully operated a banking house in that city. This became later the Colorado National Bank whose president and cashier respectively, were Luther and Charles B. Kountze. The latter, at the time of his death, November 18, 1911, was reported to be the wealthiest man in the State.[5] The German Bank, later incorporated as The German National, was organized in 1874 with J. J. Riethmann, George Tritch, C. A. Fischer, L. F. Bartels, J. M. Eckhart and Conrad Walbrach among its officers and directors.[6] Mr. Bartels was also active in promoting the Colorado Savings Building and Loan Asso-

[1] Cf. Hall, IV, p. 431.

[2] Cf. *Sketches of Colorado*, 1911, p. 165.

[3] Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 809.

[4] Mr. Eilers was born in Germany and educated at the Mining School at Claustal and at Göttingen. Cf. *Who's Who in America?*

[5] Cf. *Rocky Mountain News*, August 25, 1864. The Rocky Mountain National Bank was established by the Kountze Brothers in Central City in 1866. Of C. B. Kountze, the *Boulder Herald* for November 18, 1911, said: "The career of C. B. Kountze in large part is the history of Denver, the story of Colorado."

[6] Cf. Hall, II, pp. 210-211; III, pp. 198-202.

ciation, whose purpose is to aid the poorer classes in erecting homes.[1] The German-American Trust Company, established in 1906, is one of the large and flourishing banking houses in Denver at the present time. Its President, Godfrey Schirmer, and Cashier Dieter are much respected German citizens who have made their way through difficulties from small beginnings. Mr. Schirmer was honored a few years ago by the Order of the Crown, 4th Class, conferred by the Kaiser. The two brothers, William and Moritz Barth, were prominent in the City National Bank of Denver, the former as vice-president, the latter as director.[2] In the Bank of San Juan and Del Norte, they were both directors and stockholders. Frederick J. Ebert, a prominent German pioneer who has been mentioned in other connections, was stockholder, director and, at one time, president of the Exchange Bank.[3] From the annual statements given out by the banks of Denver, in December, 1911, it is easy to see what a large proportion of bank officials are at the present German either by birth or by extraction.[4]

Summarizing what has been told in the preceding sketch of the men of German blood in Colorado's industrial life and their influence on the development of her material resources, let us recall the prominence of these citizens in the mining industry. Although, as we have noted, this is a hazardous pursuit unsuited to characteristically German qualities, the Germans in Colorado have been fairly well represented as pioneers, as promoters and as successful constructors of mines. And aside from the part they have played in developing the mineral resources of the State, they have exerted an influence

[1] Cf. Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography*, p. 343; *History of Denver*, 329.

[2] Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 342-343, 345.

[3] Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 416-418; *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 400.

[4] In the above mentioned list occurred the following names: John E. Hesse, F. A. Eickhoff, B. F. Salzer, H. M. Hubert, Dr. Charles Jaeger, Otto Sauer, Henry Gebhard, Thomas S. Hayden, Meyer Friedman, E. S. Kassler, August Schmidt, J. C. Burger, E. J. Weckbach, G. M. Hauk, G. B. Berger, Harold Kountze, William B. Berger, J. H. Kolb, A. J. Bromfield, Luther M. Beck, William F. Huffman and Ernest R. Stadler.

needed here, perhaps, more than elsewhere. Teutonic calm, sometimes miscalled "stolidity", often produces order in chaotic situations and saves the venture from ruin. Again, as we turn to the agricultural industry, the close and prosperous rival of mining in Colorado, we find a great predominance of Germans among the leaders. In irrigation projects, in general and truck farming, in cattle raising, sugar beet culture, fruit growing, forestry and in the comparatively new line of dry farming, Germans have excelled. Finally, in practically all of the State's industries are to be found representatives of the German element. Especially prominent in brewing, bottling, baking and hotel keeping, they are also at the fore in mercantile lines, in the manufacture of farming implements, wagons, etc., and in smelting. We have also seen them filling important positions of trust in financial circles and promoting real estate projects.

CHAPTER III.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GERMANS IN COLORADO ON THE RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE.

From the very beginning of settlement in Colorado the Germans, individually or in groups, have been working for the betterment of the community. Hand in hand with the development of the material resources that we have studied in the preceding chapter, has come branching along cultural lines. Colorado has just passed the fortieth anniversary of its statehood but, as a whole, it bears little resemblance to a pioneer State. Its citizens have been ready to work for its intellectual and social growth and, from the first, Germans have been prominent in educational, professional and philanthropic undertakings. The church and the school have about equal claim to precedence in the field, and both have played an important part in the education of the people. The first year of important colonization in the Territory, 1859, saw the Rev. J. H. Kehler, of direct German descent, conducting the first Episcopal church in the region, St. John's in the Wilderness.

He was for several years pastor of this church, which he himself established. He served also, as Chaplain of the First Colorado Cavalry, accompanying them on the campaign against the Texas rangers. In 1873 the first German church was erected in Denver. At present there are in that city nine churches whose services are conducted in the German language. Throughout the cities and towns of the State German churches appear in numbers corresponding to the population.[1] In the beautiful Montezuma valley, in the southern part of the State, are two German colonies that bear a marked religious character. The Lutheran settlement is at Thompson Park, about 20 miles from Durango, and at the other end of the valley, about 7 miles from Dolores, is the so-called "German" settlement, Catholic in faith. No one can follow the press notices of the social and religious services of the German churches in Colorado without being aware of the flourishing condition of these organizations. We make no claim for the service of the German church in Colorado in influencing the religious development of the community other than that rendered by every prosperous church or religious organization, but we do hold that the German church has had a powerful cultural effect in that region in that it has kept alive in its worshippers the language of their fathers. In many cases, the church provides the only opportunity to the younger generation for practicing the German language. On their neighbors, the zeal with which the German citizens strive to preserve their native

[1] Denver has 3 Evangelical, 2 Methodist, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Congregational, 1 Baptist and 1 Catholic church in which the German language is used. Pueblo has 1 German Lutheran, 1 German Methodist and 1 German Catholic church. There are in Colorado over twenty places where services are conducted under the government of the German Lutheran Synod. Berthoud has a German Congregational church. Fort Collins has a thriving German Evangelical congregation. The pastor, Rev. Paul Burghardt, conducts services also in the Christ Congregational church (German) at Wellington. This is one of four churches in the town which is an important shipping point. Loveland, with a total of 16 churches, has 5 German organizations. (See *History of Larimer County*, pp. 198, 207, 211, 259.) The Society of Seventh Day Adventists have 4 German churches in Colorado, located at Brighton, Hygiene, La Salle and Loveland. H. A. Aufderhar, a member of the executive committee of the Seventh Day Adventist Association of Colorado, has charge of the work among the Germans.

tongue, produces a deep effect, and in them is aroused an interest in this language. An understanding and appreciation of a people whose customs differ from our own has a broadening influence. No doubt the tolerant attitude for which the west is celebrated, is due to the existence of many national stocks in an environment whose tradition has been neighborly cooperation and social equality.

As we examine the field of education, we see that the Germans on the frontier lost none of their native desire for it. Even when their means were very limited, they contributed generously to the maintenance of schools. In the fall of 1859, the same year that the Mission church was established by the Rev. Kehler, F. B. Steinberger started a little school in Denver with but 14 pupils. Amos Steck was another German citizen who was early identified with educational work in Denver. One of the two men to whom is ascribed the successful establishment of the Denver School system and its subsequent management is Frederick J. Ebert, a German prominent also as engineer and surveyor. Among other important positions, Mr. Ebert was at one time President of the Board of Regents of the State University, of which Board he was for years a member. Other German citizens who in official positions on school boards have promoted the cause of education in their communities, are Eugene Farny, an Alsatian by birth, Peter Theobaldi, a native of Bavaria, William H. Meyer, John H. Behrens, Jacob Schütz, George Tritch, Max. Herman, Oscar J. Pfeiffer and others.[1]

From the very earliest days, Germans have played an important part in making and improving journalistic opportunities in Denver and in the other cities of the State. The founder of Denver's oldest newspaper, the "Rocky Mountain News," the first daily issue of which appeared August 18, 1860, was the Hon. Wm. N. Byers, a German of the second generation. As manager and editor Mr. Byers did much to attract settlers to Colorado by publishing articles explaining the

[1] The report of the secondary schools in Colorado for 1912 as to the Modern Foreign Languages taught gives the following: 98[illegible]% of the schools offer German, 12% French and 15% Spanish.

resources of the State, the advantages for stockraising and farming, the mineral wealth and the fine climate. The early files of this paper are one of the best sources for a history of Colorado. The general tone of the earliest issues of the daily is progressive. With daring and breadth of thought, improvements are suggested in civic life and subjects foreign to the average pioneer are discussed. From the continual reference to the Germans and to things pertaining to the Germans, it is evident that these subjects were expected to interest a large class of readers.[1] A lively editorial entitled "The Value of Amusements" says: "It is impossible to suppose that a human being can labor exclusively. He must be amused, he must laugh, sing, dance, eat, drink and be merry." [2] This sentiment, precisely opposite to that of the early American colonists, was that preached and put into practice by the Germans. They were the hardest workers and probably the most habitual players in whatever community they were found. Among the pioneer settlers of the west they instilled the principle of the blessedness of innocent enjoyment. Among other German pioneers who were effective journalists in the employ of American newspapers in Colorado was Herman Beckurts who in 1875 purchased the "Denver Tribune", said to be the leading

[1] An editorial of November 17, 1864, has the following: "'Ausgespielt'—this Teutonic synonym for 'played out' is very expressive when pronounced with the broad German accent." "What do you mean by Teutonic as you apply it in your items occasionally?" is quoted January 14, 1865, and, after an excellent analysis of the word, he sums up: "Teutonic, therefore, may mean an intelligent German, a flaxen-headed Hollander, a lager-loving Dutchman, a persevering Prussian or a peddling Pole." A news item, August 5, 1865, says: "The Germans do not have the words 'churchyard' and 'burying ground' to designate their places of interment; they use the beautiful and suggestive expressions 'God's Acre' and 'Court of Peace'." The editor calls Denver "a bookless burg" and, after giving his readers a severe rating for their remissness, he makes many practical suggestions for improving conditions.

[2] In announcing the performance of "The Robbers," February 1, 1865, he says: "The author of the 'Robbers', which will be performed tonight, was J. C. F. Schiller, a great German poet, dramatist and historian." Following this was an excellent biographical sketch of Germany's beloved poet. The educational character of many of the short items is evident. For example, there are articles on "The Drama," "War in Ancient Times"; he encourages reading of good books, and expresses a desire for a public library.

paper between the Pacific and St. Louis. As a result of his efforts at reconstruction, the paper quadrupled its circulation in three years.[1] Frank Kratzer and John P. Heisler were for twelve years newsgatherer and editor respectively of the Daily Herald.[2]

The *37th Jubiläums-Ausgabe des Colorado Herold,* published in 1907, furnishes a complete survey of German journalism in Colorado. The first number of the first German newspaper in the State, *Die deutsche Presse des grossen Westens* appeared July 16, 1870. Its short life of but three months is attributed to the lack of business qualities in the genial editor, Augustin Knofloch, and in no way to the Germans of the State, whose enthusiasm was great. Early in the summer of 1871 appeared *Die Deutsche Zeitung,* edited by Frank Kratzer, but before spring this, like its predecessor, had passed away. The fatal blow was struck, it is thought, by the business depression under which Denver was at the time suffering. On May 4, 1872, William Witteborg edited the first number of the *Colorado Journal.* Like its predecessors, it appeared once a week, the first two numbers in editions of 3,000 copies each. The paper received hearty support from the increasing German population throughout the west, the editor possessing the desirable requisites for making his undertaking a success.[3] The paper went into the control of a corporation, of which Mr. Witteborg retained control until 1879, when both the daily and

[1] Born in Brunswick. Cf. *History of Denver,* pp. 313-314.

[2] Cf. Hall, IV, pp. 472-473, 490-491.

[3] Born at Soest, Westphalia. Cf. *History of Denver,* p. 635.—Meanwhile there were numerous unsuccessful attempts to found a second German newspaper. Some ended in failure, others became fused into the *Colorado Journal.* There is record of the following: *Colorado Courier,* 1873; *Colorado Post,* 1879; *Sonntagspost,* 1880; *Colorado Staats-Zeitung,* 1882; *Denver Herold, Denver Fidibus,* 1883; the *Denver Herold* and *Denver Fidibus* became united under the name *Fidibus-Herold.* In Leadville, during the "boom" period, a German newspaper made its appearance. For some time Pueblo supported the *Pueblo Anzeiger,* but it was finally superseded by the *Colorado Herold* and the *Denver Herold.* In the middle of the '90's, during the silver agitation, several numbers of the *Silberglocken,* an eight-page weekly in quarto form, appeared. The *Harugari Ordensblatt,* 1896, gave rise to the weekly, the *Colorado Vorwärts.*

weekly were turned over to Wyl von Wymetal. He, in turn, was succeeded by Roesch and Company in 1883, subsequently by Kratzer and Reinhold, who retained the management until 1893, when it was assumed by R. Walter from whom it passed into the hands of the German Publishing Company.

We can get some information concerning the service rendered by the paper in a study of its columns. The purpose of the paper as stated in its anniversary edition, is "Pflege der deutschen Sprache, Sitten und Gebräuche". This purpose seems to be in the mind of the editor throughout, in advertisements as well as in the editorials. The former, by furthering the interests of both subscribers and supporters, serves the community, and the editorials are typical examples of the courage of conviction. By granting them press notices, the *Colorado Herold* aids and encourages all the German interests, commercial, political, religious, educational and social. The paper exerts a linguistic influence in that it is expressed in comparatively good German, which it keeps alive in the community. In its four page supplement which is issued each Saturday, there appear stories, short scientific articles and long novels in serial form.

With music everywhere in the United States guided so generally by German residents, it were idle to add long lists of the people who, in Colorado, support and in many cases furnish the music. One public-spirited German citizen of Denver, Mr. Fritz Thies, who is accorded universal praise for his generosity and zeal in securing the best music for his city, must be mentioned. It means more to a pioneer community, which the west still remains in matters of the fine arts, to get the rarest musical treats, than an outsider can imagine. Scattered here and there throughout the State one finds often in the most unlooked for spots, Germans disseminating their music and encouraging a taste for this and other fine arts.[1]

[1] A typical case was that of a German mining expert, Mantius by name, who in the barren mining community of Georgetown, during the silver excitement, made his humble home an attractive center for those of the pioneers who enjoyed music. He was himself a good musician. There are many instances of prosperous German music masters in Colorado.

Both the German and American newspapers give prominent mention to the organized life of the German societies in Colorado. Of these there are more than a score in Denver alone,[1] some of them beneficial in character, all of them encouraging the perpetuation of interest in the particular section of the fatherland from which their adherents came. This may be seen from their entertainments. For example, the *Schwäbischer Unterstützungsverein* on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee, March 10, 1912, presented in Suabian dialect, a peasant wedding ceremony. Masked balls, with prize awards for the best Swiss costumes, are a favorite form of entertainment with the *Schweizer Maennerchor.* The *Denver News* of January 12, 1912 published an illustrated account of the 25th Anniversary of the Bavarian Society. In the chorus of 125 male voices that furnished part of the entertainment, were several who had participated in the Passion Play at Oberammergau, one of the performers, indeed, being related to John Lang, the *Christus* in the play. The *Edelweiss,* dainty flower of the Alps, was imported for decoration and for souvenirs on this occasion. Not alone from their nature and development, but from their very ideals, the *Turnvereine* are separated from the other societies. The latter are organized chiefly for the promotion of local or social interests, but the *Turnverein* stands for the education of the masses, and forms an important factor in the progress of American civilization. The Germans themselves give the following estimate of its value (cf. *Colorado Herold,* May 3, 1912): "Von allen Gütern, welche der deutsche Einwanderer von seiner alten Heimat nach den Gestaden Amerikas gebracht, ist das edelste und bedeutendste die deutsche Turnerei". That this society was in a flourishing condition as early as 1870, we learn from the "Colorado

[1] Denver has the following benevolent and social organizations conducted wholly or in part by the Germans: Alsace-Lorraine; Badischer Unterstützungsverein; Bavarian Verein; Bavarian Verein, Ladies' Section; Colorado Lutheran Men's League; Colorado Pioneers; Deutsch-Amerikanischer Unterstützungsverein; East Denver Turnverein; Schweizer Männerchor; Socialer Turnverein; West Denver Turnverein; there are nine lodges of the Deutscher Orden der Harugari; five lodges of the Orden der Hermanns-Söhne; also the German Krieger-Verein. Cf. *Denver Directory,* 1912.

Gazetteer", a publication that appeared in that year, and which gives the following: "This German society, so well known and so much revered by the children of the Fatherland in every country, has already been firmly established in the principal cities of the Territory".

The principal *Turnvereine* of Colorado are the East Denver, the West Denver and the Social Turnverein, all three in the capitol city, the Leadville and Grand Junction Turnverein. Formerly societies existed at Central City, Pueblo, Cheyenne, and Albuquerque. As early as 1862, the East Denver organization was firmly established. The regular schedule of these societies perpetuates a live interest in the members themselves. The daily announcements in the German newspaper under the heading, "Heutige Versammlungen" serve as a guide to the life and activities of the Germans in Denver and vicinity.[1] The character of the social evenings of the *Turnvereine* is such as to stimulate regular attendance. The reports of new members admitted at each meeting indicate a steady growth. The influence of these societies is that they have given encouragement and instruction in athletics, thus developing the idea of producing a sound body in which the mind will the better dwell, and teaching the value of healthful exercise not only as a health preserver but as a means of wholesome enjoyment. They were in the field before the Young Men's Christian Associations, on whom they have exerted a helpful influence. They have supplied instructors for these

[1] The National *Bundesfest* was held in Denver in the summer of 1913. Preparatory to it the three societies of Denver held a great "Schauturnen" in the Auditorium on May 3, 1912. A feature of this exhibit was the film of motion pictures showing the great *Turnfest* at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and also the last *Bundesturnfest*, held in Cincinnati. One of the many appeals to the "gesammten Deutschtum," showing in what inspiring words the exhortations to their national feeling were expressed, was as follows: "Es war die deutsche Turnerei, welche vor hundert Jahren den zerbröckelnden germanischen Stämmen neuen Halt und neue Lebenskraft verliehen hat. Es ist die deutsche Turnerei, die dem Deutschtum hier in Amerika eine Heimstätte zur Pflege deutscher Ideale geschaffen hat. Es sind die deutschen Turnerschaften von Denver, welche am 8. Mai im Auditorium einen neuen Geist heraufbeschwören wollen, damit unseren Deutschen Ehre und Achtung zuteil werde.—Das grosse Bundesturnfest pocht an die Tür; die Augen der Welt sind auf uns gerichtet."—April 27, 1912.

societies and many of the schools in the State. On the public schools, too, the *Turnvereine* have had a stimulating effect in that they have been influential in introducing and promoting systematic gymnastics in the schools. On Sunday, May 19, 1912, an imposing demonstration by 10,000 of the school children of Denver was given in City Park under the direction of the leaders of the three *Turnvereine,* Jacob Schmitt, Ernst Klaffe and Adolph Schmidt, assisted by Robert Schmitt, Robert Koch and a number of the public school teachers. Various gymnastic exercises, athletic games, drill and Maypole and aesthetic dances made an interesting program. The influence of the *Turnverein* is nowhere greater than on the children, who, however unconsciously, are receiving unaltered one of the best things the Germans have to offer. On the occasions of such public exhibits as was cited above, there is tremendous enthusiasm in the audience and a universal feeling that the German "Turners" are performing an inestimable service in Denver. A more subtle influence of these societies is that they stimulate a love for the German language. A young man whose parents were German, but whose training in the language of his fathers was very slight, confessed that it was with feelings of the deepest humility and regret that he observed his failing, when in attendance on the class exercises in the *Turnhalle.* It is customary with German parents, even with those who do not feel the importance of teaching their children German, to send them to the Turner halls to receive gymnastic instruction. In this way many receive the first real impetus to attain a proficiency in the German language.[1]

Again, in the theatre, Germans have exerted an influence on the social development of Colorado. Denver boasts a well

[1] The *Colorado Herold* says: "Die Deutschen im ganzen Lande — und besonders die Deutschen im Westen — haben eine hohe Kulturmission zu erfüllen, um einerseits den Beweis zu liefern, dass sie auf der Höhe der Zeit stehen und den Fortschritt auf erzieherischem Gebiet mit Thatkraft und Unternehmungsgeist zu würdigen wissen, andererseits den Amerikanern durch Veranschaulichung ihres besten Könnens und Wissens zu bezeugen, dass die nativistischen Angriffe, die allenthalben gegen die Ausländer gemacht werden, gänzlich aus der Luft gegriffen sind und der Wahrheit entbehren. Es ist deshalb Pflicht des gesammten Deutschtums, sich eine Ehre daraus zu machen . . . . fortwährend für die gute Sache einzulegen."—April 4, 1912.

managed German theatre where plays are produced in the German language, modern pieces that have been successful in Germany, as well as classical pieces. Like the *Turnverein,* the theatre exerts a manifold influence. It is a factor in the educational and cultural life and it stimulates public amusement.

Scores of German citizens in Colorado have ably followed professional careers, thus quietly aiding in the social betterment of the community. There have been many examples in the medical profession of Germans who have won marked distinction. Among them was William Harmon Buchtel,[1] whose father was a native of Stuttgart, and who for many years practiced medicine in Denver. He became well known both for his large practice and through his connection with various medical associations. David H. Coover,[2] likewise of German parentage, is another of Denver's distinguished medical scholars, also Oscar Joseph Pfeiffer, at one time visiting surgeon of St. Luke's hospital, T. J. Horn, who, by the way, was a lineal descendant of Martin Luther,[3] Louis Auerbach, J. Ernest Meien and John Elsner. In legislative and judicial lines, Germans have shown marked ability. Already in 1860, we find a German, Charles Dahler, serving as election judge. The Hon. Frederick J. Ebert was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1876 and assisted in framing the fundamental law of the State. The Hon. Silas B. Hahn who was of German ancestry, was a member of the Colorado Territorial

[1] Dr. Buchtel has been associated with the State Medical, Denver and Arapahoe County and the American Medical Association, was a charter member of the Western Association of Obstetrics, was professor in the Gross Medical school and physician to St. Luke's Hospital.

[2] Dr. Coover held the position of clinical ophthalmology and otology in Gross Medical College; he was especially famed as specialist in diseases of the eye and ear. He was an active member of the American Association of Railway Surgeons, the American Medical Society, the Colorado State Medical Society, the Denver Pathological Society and the Denver and Arapahoe County Medical Society. Cf. *Denver and Vicinity,* pp. 297, 500.

[3] Cf. *History of the Arkansas Valley,* pp. 389-476, 207-208; *History of Denver,* p. 308; Hall, IV, p. 428.

Legislature of 1870.[1] Among the pioneer dentists of German blood in Denver, we mention especially R. H. Bohn and George B. Hartung. The sign, "Deutscher Zahnarzt" is now very familiar in Denver.

Robert S. Roeschlaub, a native of Munich, is the architect to whom Colorado owes many fine buildings. Two years after opening his office in Denver (1873), he was appointed architect to the School Board. Nearly all the school buildings are said to have been erected under his supervision. Critics grant him wider commendation than any other American architect for excellence in design and uniform superiority of construction.[2]

Scarcely any profession has figured more prominently in the development of Colorado than civil and mining engineering. The celebrated founder of the German Colony in the Wet Mountain Valley, Carl Wulsten, worked untiringly at this profession, becoming an authority in surveying, draughting, map-making and engineering. Another German, Max Boehmer, a native of Lüneburg, located in Colorado in pioneer days and, during the years 1879-1898, was consulting mining engineer at Leadville.[3] Frederick J. Ebert came to Denver in 1860 with an engineering corps to survey the Kansas Pacific Railroad. Two years later, he drafted the first map of the Territory and assisted in making the first land survey. In 1863 he was appointed city engineer of Denver. His surveys are said to

[1] The Hon. A. W. Rucker, while judge of the criminal court of Lake County, distinguished himself for his ability, and for the fairness with which he carried out his decisions. Cf. *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp. 207-388. John Heisler, as member of the House of the General Assembly, 1892-'94, introduced several important bills, among them the bill to charge tuition to students from other States attending the State University. Cf. Hall, IV, 472. Hon. Simon Guggenheim, of German parentage, was United States Senator from Colorado, 1907-'13. E. P. Jacobson, a native Prussian, was for many years a leading lawyer in Denver.

[2] Cf. Hall, IV, 345, 551-552. *History of Denver*, pp. 561. Many public buildings in Colorado owe to Mr. Roeschlaub their origin, among them the State Normal School at Greeley, the State Institute for the Deaf, Mute and Blind at Colorado Springs, many of the buildings of Denver University and the Trinity Methodist Church of Denver.

[3] Cf. *Who's Who in America?*—1908-1909, p. 178.

be the only ones that have stood the test of time and of the law.[1]

The pages of Colorado's political history abound with examples of German citizens who, in office and out, have striven successfully for large and important issues. William H. Meyer and Frederick J. Ebert, as members of the Constitutional Convention, aided in the perfecting of Colorado's statehood. William N. Byers, another public-spirited German, labored incessantly for the admission of Colorado to the Union. A recent Governor of the State, the Hon. John F. Shafroth, a German of the second generation, had, before rising to the dignity of the gubernatorial chair, an excellent record in the practice of the law. While member of Congress (1894-1898), he introduced bills providing for the opening of forest reserves to exploration and to mining claims, and helped secure the passage of a bill providing for water reservoir sites at numerous points in Colorado and also providing for the protection of the forests from fire.[2] Hon. E. P. Jacobson, a Prussian by birth, while a member of the Colorado State Senate, introduced and vigorously championed a bill for railway regulation. Among the German pioneers of 1860 who were members of the legislature were Hans J. Kruse, a native of Holstein, Louis F. Bartels, of Hannover, and Judge Amos Steck, a German by descent.[3] As State Senator, Henry Suess, a native of Hesse-Cassel, filled well his position as chairman of the roads and bridges improvement committee of the legislature, 1885-1886. Likewise, in city and county offices, many German citizens have held important positions, as: John H. Behrens, a native German, mayor, city treasurer, etc., of Evans, Colorado; Edward Monash, born in Posen, President of the board of Public Works and Park Commissioner, Denver; Rudolph Koenig, mayor of Golden; Samuel Clammer, mayor of Fort Collins; John L. Herzinger, mayor of Loveland; also August

[1] Name originally Eberhart. Cf. *History of Denver,* pp. 416-418. *Denver and Vicinity,* p. 400; Hall, IV, p. 431.

[2] Cf. *Western Press Bureau,* 956 Gas & Electric Bldg., Denver. By permission of Gov. Shafroth.

[3] Cf. Hall, IV, pp. 485-486, 490. *History of Denver,* pp. 587-588.

L. Rohling, Joseph C. Cramer, Charles Seitz, Michael Dueber, Albert Walter and Joseph Schutz, who have held positions in city councils, etc.[1]

Summarizing the results found in the present chapter, it has been shown that the Germans in Colorado have, like their fellow countrymen everywhere in the United States, been active in religious organizations. They have established and supported a large number of German churches in proportion to their numbers, besides giving their support to many in which the English language is spoken. In addition to their religious work, the German churches exert a broadening influence on their environment and an educating influence on their attendants. As it is to Germany that the world has long looked with deep respect in matters pertaining to education, so it was to the Germans in Colorado that we looked with keen interest to learn what they have done for the intellectual life of the State. It has been shown in the foregoing pages that they have not been found wanting, but that they have been active in promoting the cause of education. German journalism in Colorado strives to inculcate the doctrine of the value of relaxation. By keeping this in mind, the German element performs a recog-

[1] County elections for the fall of 1864 had among the successful candidates the following: Arapahoe County, judge, H. J. Bredlinger, A. Hanauer, Samuel Brantner, William Hess, George C. Schleier; Gilpin County, Assessor, Frank Messenger; U. S. Assessor, Daniel Witter; Member of House of Representatives, Lake County, Jacob Ehrhart; Alderman, Tritch Kasserman. Cf. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 6, 1864.

The Territorial Government had the following German representatives:

1st Provisional Government—D. Shafer (of a council of 8).
3d Legislature 1864—Charles W. Walter, President, J. A. Koontz, H. Henson.
4th Legislature 1865—Hiram J. Brendlinger, J. H. Ehrhart.
5th Legislature 1866—Louis F. Bartels, T. C. Bergen, J. C. Ehrhart.
6th Legislature 1867—Jaocb E. Ehrhart, W. J. Kram.
7th Legislature 1868—Amos Steck, J. E. Wurtzbach, W. J. Kram, C. Leimer.
8th Legislature 1870—S. B. Hahn, Amos Steck, W. H. Meyer.
9th Legislature 1872—B. W. Wisebart, Frederick Steinhauer.
10th Legislature 1874—F. Steinhauer, J. H. Uhlhorn, W. H. Meyer, J. Koontz.
11th Legislature 1876—S. B. Hahn, Frederick Kruse, H. O. Rettberg, Herman Duhne.

nized service. By encouraging the people to relax they helped to produce a better balanced community, one possessing a keener zest for work and a capacity for greater accomplishment. We have seen the struggles of the attempts at a German newspaper in Colorado arrive at a happy conclusion. German societies, as we have noted, perpetuate the national customs for which, unfortunately, many of our immigrants find no adequate substitute in the new country. The *Turnvereine* stimulate interest in systematic exercise and in the intelligent care of the body. In arousing an interest in the German language, these societies influence, as well, the intellectual life of their members. Half a dozen professions, not including religious and educational fields, have been adorned by men of German blood in Colorado. They have, as pioneers, in several cases hewn their way through perplexing and disheartening conditions, they have promoted the cause in which they were especially interested, thus benefiting the entire community. Finally, in political life, we have seen many Germans filling important positions of trust. From the earliest days, they were conspicuous in advancing the cause of the Commonwealth, and their zeal has continued up to the present. The Germans in Colorado have never been office seekers; when the situation was calm, they were rarely heard in public affairs. It needed only the suggestion of a critical situation, however, to call forth their reserve of fighting strength for what they felt to be right and conducive to the best interests of the commonwealth.

Rudolf Brand.

Ganz unerwartet verstarb am Freitag, den 24. März 1916, in San Diego, Cal., wo er sich niederlassen wollte, Herr Rudolf Brand, welcher seit ihrer Gründung der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois als Mitglied angehörte.

Herr Brand, welcher ein Alter von 65 Jahren erreichte, war in Rheinhessen geboren und trat nach einer gründlichen Jugenderziehung, die den Grund für seinen weiten Geschäftsblick legte, im Jahre 1866 als Lehrling in eine kleine Brauerei in Gutersblum am Rhein ein, wo er das Brauereigewerbe von Grund auf erlernte. Bereits im Jahre 1868 kam er nach Chicago, wo er in der Brauerei der Busch & Brand Brewing Company Anstellung fand. Da Herr Rudolf Brand von dieser Zeit an fortwährend mit dieser Brauerei verbunden war, so ist es angebracht, einige Bemerkungen über diese Brauerei hinzufügen, weil sich damit auch ein Teil der Lebenstätigkeit unseres verstorbenen Mitgliedes wiederspiegelt.

Die Brauerei, welche von Herrn Valentin Busch und Herrn Michael Brand gegründet wurde, hatte ihr Hauptgeschäft zuerst in Blue Island, doch unterhielt sie noch ein anderes Geschäft in No. 29 und 31 Cedar Straße, Chicago, wohin im Jahre 1863 die Hauptgeschäfts-Office verlegt wurde. Kurz vor dem verhängnisvollen großen Chicago Feuer, bei welchem auch die Brauerei an der Cedar-Straße in Flammen aufging, trennten sich die Teilhaber der Firma und Herr Michael Brand übernahm die Brauerei an der Cedar-Straße für sich und betrieb dieselbe unter dem Namen der Michael Brand Brewing Company weiter. Es spricht Bände von der Tatkraft und dem Geschäftssinn der damaligen Besitzer, daß bereits drei Monate nach dem Feuer die Brauerei wieder vollständig in Betrieb war. Im Jahre 1878 wurde die Brauerei zu einem Malzhause umgewandelt und im selben Jahre wurde an Elston Avenue und Snow Straße eine neue Brauerei, die im Jahre 1889 durch Verkauf und Verschmelzung an die United States Brewing Company überging, errichtet.

Seit dem Rücktritt des Herrn Michael Brand in diesem Jahre stand Herr Rudolf Brand an der Spitze dieses Unterneh-

mens und blieb seinem Lebensberufe bis zum Januar dieses Jahres treu, als er sein Amt niederlegte, um seinen Lebensabend in Muße zu genießen. Es war dem stets tätig gewesenen Manne nicht vergönnt, sich der Ruhe, die er so redlich verdient hatte, zu erfreuen. Er hatte sich zuerst in Los Angeles niedergelassen, beschloß aber bald nach San Diego überzusiedeln und dort seinen Wohnsitz aufzuschlagen. Kurz nach seiner Ankunft in San Diego erkrankte der überaus rüstige Mann und starb trotz der besten, sofort zu Rate gezogenen Aerzte. Als er vom Tode ereilt wurde, befanden sich seine Gattin, sowie sein Sohn Alfred Brand und dessen Gattin bei ihm, während ein zweiter Sohn, Philipp Rudolf, sich in Chicago befand, um die vom Vater übernommenen Pflichten zu erfüllen.

Trotz der großen Ansprüche, die die Führung seines ausgedehnten Unternehmens an ihn stellten, fand Herr Brand doch Muße, auch öffentliche Pflichten, zu denen er von seinen Mitbürgern berufen wurde, auf sich zu nehmen und treu und gewissenhaft zu erfüllen, und so bekleidete er das Amt eines Stadtschatzmeisters und war auch Mitglied der Schulbehörde.

Die Beisetzung der Ueberreste des Verstorbenen fand auf dem Graceland Friedhofe in Chicago statt.

Sophus Dabelstein.

Durch das Ableben des Herrn Sophus Dabelstein am 31. Mai 1916 verlor die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois ein treues Mitglied, welches immer und zu jeder Zeit für den deutschen Kulturgedanken in Amerika seine Opfer zu bringen bereit war.

Geboren am 26. Juli 1867 zu Altona, Holstein, als der Sohn des zu Hamburg verstorbenen Kaufmanns Wm. Dabelstein widmete er sich nach Absolvierung seiner Schulzeit dem Studium der Philologie, konnte aber infolge des Todes seines Vaters das Studium nicht vollenden und entschloß sich im Frühjahr 189[illegible] nach Amerika zu reisen, wo er sich sofort nach Chicago wandte. Kurz nach seiner Ankunft gelang es ihm, zunächst eine Anstellung an der „Illinois Staats-Zeitung" zu erhalten, welche Stellun[illegible]

er jedoch bereits nach einem Jahre auf Rat eines Arztes aufgab und war er dann etwa zwei Jahre lang als Inspektor in einer Zweirad-Fabrik tätig. Seit dieser Zeit war Herr Dabelstein als Rechtsanwalt tätig und gelang es ihm auch infolge seines wirklich vornehmen Wesens, viele Freunde um sich zu sammeln und zu fesseln, die sein vorzeitiges Ableben innigst bedauern. Auch als Redner hat sich Herr Dabelstein einen Ruf weit über die Grenzen des mittleren Westens hinaus erworben.

Herr Dabelstein, welcher in den Kreisen der deutschen Freimaurer, besonders in der Lessing Loge, welcher er angehörte, dem Holsteiner Sängerbund, der Ben Hur Loge und manchen anderen deutschen Vereinen eine endlose Zahl von Freunden besaß, war unverheiratet geblieben und hinterließ seine alte, bejahrte Mutter und eine Schwester, mit welchen er sein Heim gemacht hatte.

Am 4. Juni 1916 wurden seine sterblichen Reste auf dem Graceland Friedhofe unter der zahlreichen Beteiligung seiner Freunde beigesetzt.

Sechzehnte Jahresversammlung

der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois,

abgehalten am

Samstag, den 19. Februar 1916, um 4 Uhr nachmittags, in Zimmer 1615 Mallers Gebäude, 5 Süd Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Der Präsident, Herr Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, eröffnete die Versammlung in üblicher Weise, worauf auf Antrag das Protokoll der letzten Jahresversammlung ohne weiteres Verlesen angenommen wurde, da dasselbe bereits dem Druck übergeben war.

Der Schriftführer verlas darauf seinen Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft im vergangenen Jahre wie folgt:

Infolge eines Beschlusses der letzten Jahresversammlung wurde ein Komite bestehend aus den Herren Mannhardt und Kalb ernannt, welches in Gemeinschaft mit Ihrem Präsidenten den Auftrag hatte, sich mit der University of Chicago Preß in Verbindung zu setzen und zwar zu dem Zwecke, eine Vereinbarung zu treffen, wodurch die Verbreitung unserer Publikationen in weitere Kreise gebracht werde. Als Grundlage dafür wurde angenommen, daß die University of Chicago Preß im ganzen Lande und auch im Auslande Vertreter zum Vertrieb ihrer Publikationen habe und die von ihr verlegten Bücher überall anerkannt und hoch geschätzt werden und dementsprechend einen leichteren Absatz finden, was dadurch noch mehr erzielt wird, weil die University Preß regelmäßig Zirkulare an Lehranstalten und Bücherfreunde aussendet, worin die Publikationen angezeigt und empfohlen werden, was sicherlich zum weiteren Bekanntwerden unserer Publikationen beitragen würde.

Dieses Komite hatte daraufhin am 25. März 1915 eine Zusammenkunft mit Herrn Newman Miller, dem Direktor der University of Chicago Preß, und wurde ein Kontrakt vorgelegt, welcher in ähnlicher Weise abgefaßt war wie der, welcher zwischen der Chicago Historical Society und der University of Chicago Preß abgeschlossen worden war und durch welchen die University of Chicago Preß den Vertrieb der Publikationen der Chicago Historical Society übernommen hatte.

Nachdem in dieser Besprechung ein allgemeines Einverständnis erzielt worden war, legte die University of Chicago Preß einen ausgearbeiteten Kontrakt vor, welcher von Herrn Mannhardt geprüft und gut befunden und am 1. April 1915 von Ihrem Präsidenten und Sekretär für die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois unterzeichnet wurde, womit die University of Chicago Preß den Vertrieb aller Publikationen unserer Gesellschaft übernahm.

Dem abgeschlossenen Kontrakt zufolge hat die University of Chicago Preß das ausschließliche Recht des Vertriebs unserer Publikationen für die Dauer des Kontrakts, welcher zunächst bis zum 30. Juni 1916 in Kraft besteht und dann von Jahr zu Jahr weiterläuft, bis derselbe von der einen oder anderen Seite gekündigt wird, was sechs Monate vor Ablauf des Vertrages durch eingeschriebenen Brief geschehen kann.

Die University of Chicago Preß wird jedes Jahr bis zum 15. August für die im verflossenen Jahre verkauften Bücher Abrechnung geben, doch sei hier bemerkt, daß die Mitglieder und regelmäßigen Abonnenten die Zusendungen von der University Preß erhalten und wofür dieselbe keine Vergütung und nur den Ersatz für Verpackung und Postauslagen erhält. Für den Verkauf der Bücher ist die Vereinbarung getroffen, daß unsere Gesellschaft ein Drittel des Verkaufspreises, also $1.00 netto per Buch erhält, während aus den übrigen $2.00 die University Preß alle Unkosten bezahlt und ihren Gewinn zieht.

Infolge dieses Vertrages wurde am 1. Juni 1915 der ganze Bestand unserer alten Drucksachen mit Ausnahme der Nachdrucke, wie aus nachfolgender Aufstellung hervorgeht, an die University of Chicago Preß abgeliefert — mit Ausnahme einiger weniger Exemplare, welche für Arbeits- und Rezensionszwecke zurückgehalten wurden.

Vol.	No.	Jahr	Einband	Anzahl	
Vol. 1.		1901	Buckram-Einband	22	Kopien
2.		1902	Papiereinband	120	"
2.		1902	Buckram-Einband	2	"
3.		1903	Papiereinband	120	"
3.		1903	Buckram-Einband	13	"
4.		1904	Papiereinband	120	"
4.		1904	Buckram-Einband	14	"
5.		1905	Papiereinband	120	"
5.		1905	Buckram-Einband	13	"
6.		1906	Papiereinband	120	"
6.		1906	Buckram-Einband	14	"
7.		1907	Papiereinband	120	"
7.		1907	Buckram-Einband	13	"
8.		1908	Buckram-Einband	10	"
8.	No. 1 Januar	1908	Papiereinband	120	"
8.	No. 2 April	1908	do.	122	"
8.	No. 3 Juli	1908	do.	120	"
8.	No. 4 Oktober	1908	do.	120	"
9.	No. 1 Januar	1909	do.	119	"
9.	No. 2 April	1909	do.	120	"
9.	No. 3 Juli	1909	do.	120	"
9.	No. 4 Oktober	1909	do.	120	"
10.	No. 1 Januar	1910	do.	120	"

10.	No. 2 April	1910	do.	.........119 Kopien
10.	No. 3 Juli	1910	do.	.........120 "
10.	No. 4 Oktober	1910	do.	.........120 "
11.	No. 1 Januar	1911	do.	.........120 "
11.	No. 2 April	1911	do.	.........120 "
11.	No. 3 Juli	1911	do.	.........120 "
11.	No. 4 Oktober	1911	do.	.........120 "
12.	Jahrbuch	1912	do.	.........324 "
13.	Jahrbuch	1913	do.	.........120 "

Zu gleicher Zeit übernahm die University of Chicago Preß auch das inzwischen von der Klein Printing Company fertiggestellte Jahrbuch 1914, wovon indessen nur 550 Exemplare an die University Preß und die übrigen 50 für Arbeits- und Rezensionszwecke bei Ihrem Sekretär abgeliefert wurden.

In der Zwischenzeit hatte Ihr Sekretär auch eine genaue Liste der Vereinsmitglieder, Abonnenten, Gesellschaften, mit welchen Bücheraustausch stattfindet, und der Zeitungen und Personen, welche bisher unsere Publikationen frei zugestellt erhielten, angefertigt und der University of Chicago Preß zur Verfügung gestellt, welche sofort mit der Verteilung begann, und sind soweit keine Klagen über vernachlässigte oder verzögerte Ablieferung eingelaufen.

Nach der angefertigten Liste wurden 4 Exemplare an Ehrenmitglieder, 38 an Lebenslängliche Mitglieder, 133 an Jahresmitglieder in Chicago, 51 an Jahresmitglieder in Amerika außerhalb Chicago, 17 an Bibliotheken, 13 an historische Gesellschaften, 41 an Zeitungen und Professoren zur Rezension, 36 an Freunde und Abonnenten in Deutschland und 10 an Freunde hier in Amerika für Empfehlungszwecke geliefert.

Was sich noch im Besitze der University of Chicago Preß befindet, kann erst nach dem 15. August festgestellt werden, nach Abrechnung über den Vertrieb unterbreitet worden ist.

Aus unserer Verbindung mit der University Preß ist bereits jetzt in soweit ein Ersparnis zu verzeichnen inbezug auf die Unkosten in der Verteilung der Bücher. Während in früheren Jahren eine oder mehrere Personen mit der Verteilung der Bücher beschäftigt wurden, soweit das auf Chicago Bezug hat, wurde diese diesmal von der University Preß vorgenommen und betrugen die gesamten Unkosten, die wir an dieselbe zu vergüten hatten, $45.20, während im Jahre 1913 $84.75 und im Jahre 1914 $88.65 dafür ausgegeben wurden.

Während des Jahres lief eine Anzahl Bestellungen ein, die alle an die University of Chicago Preß zur Ablieferung und Berechnung überwiesen wurden.

Daß die Bekanntmachung des Jahrbuches durch diese Verbreitung bereits ihren Einfluß geltend macht, geht aus den vielen Anfragen her-

vor, die uns zugegangen sind. Leider waren viele darunter, in welchen um Austausch oder um direkte Schenkung gebeten wurde, doch wurden alle solche Gesuche mit Ausnahme desjenigen von der Missouri Historical Society abschlägig erwidert, oder den Betreffenden angeraten, sich an die University of Chicago Preß zu wenden.

Nach den eingegangenen Berichten wurde unserm Jahrbuch 1914 ein sehr ehrender Empfang zuteil, indem die Kritiken und Rezensionen von Privatpersonen und Zeitungen die denkbar günstigsten waren und haben wir auch einige neue Mitglieder dadurch gewonnen.

Sogleich nach Erscheinen des Jahrbuchs 1914 begann Herr Dr. Michael Singer von der „Illinois Staats-Zeitung" eine Serie von Artikeln über deutsch-amerikanische Geschichte in der „Staats-Zeitung" und der „Freie Presse" zu veröffentlichen, welche Artikel verschiedene unserer alten Freunde aufrüttelten, sich an ihre Pflicht unserer Gesellschaft gegenüber zu entsinnen, und auch von auswärts ging uns auf Grund dieser Artikel ein Anfnahmegesuch zur Mitgliedschaft zu.

Wenn die große Zeit, in welcher wir leben, und in welcher wohl ein Jeder sein Scherflein dazu beiträgt zur Heilung der durch den Krieg geschlagenen Wunden, vielleicht wohl dazu angelegt ist, ein regeres Interesse für das Gebiet deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichte wachzurufen, so darf doch unter den Umständen auch angenommen werden, daß es vielleicht etwas verfrüht sei, eine besondere Anstrengung für den Erwerb neuer Mitglieder zu machen, und sollte dieser Punkt dann erst besonders ins Auge gefaßt werden, wenn in den blutgetränkten Gefilden der Welt die Friedenssonne sich durch die Nebel der Voreingenommenheit und Verfeindung hindurchdrängt und in diesem Lande die allgemeine Stimmung wieder ruhiger und klarer geworden ist, sodaß unser zielbewußtes Streben in jenen Kreisen Eingang finden kann, die sich zur Zeit vorurteilsvoll und abweisend gegen Alles verhalten, was an Deutschtum erinnert, und selbst wenn es nur das deutsche Kulturwerk in diesem Lande ist, das sie nun sicherlich nicht zu würdigen imstande sind oder vielmehr nicht würdigen und anerkennen wollen.

Um auf die Mitgliedschaft unserer Gesellschaft zurückzukommen, so ist bereits vorhin auf die Zahl der ausgegebenen Jahrbücher darauf hingewiesen worden. Wir können hier bemerken, daß wir 262 Mitglieder zählen, von welchen aber nur 186 zahlende sind, wirklich eine kleine Zahl, ein kleiner Kreis unter der großen Menge der Deutsch-Amerikaner.

Durch den Tod haben wir in den letzten Tagen einige Mitglieder verloren, besonders die Herren Heinrich Schoellkopf in Chicago und H. H. Emminga in Golden, Illinois, welchen an passender Stelle in gebührender Weise gedacht werden wird.

Abbestellt haben fünf Mitglieder und eine große Zahl ist mit ihren Beiträgen im Rückstande geblieben, wie aus dem nachfolgenden Finanzbericht hervorgehen wird.

Das im Jahre 1915 für das Jahr 1914 veröffentlichte Jahrbuch hat einen Umfang gehabt, welcher von manchen Seiten als überreichlich erklärt wurde und sind auch die Kosten dafür recht bedeutend gewesen. das Jahrbuch 1914 hat nämlich einschließlich der Nachdrucke $1088.65 gekostet, und zwar lautete die Rechnung wie folgt:

600 Kopien—693 Seiten @ $1.05	$ 727.65
Veränderungen auf der Linotypemaschine	120.00
Veränderungen im Handsatz	31.00
Einbinden 600 Kopien	30.00
6 verschiedene Nachdrucke	170.00
600 Kartons	10.00
Im Ganzen	$1088.65
worauf die Klein Printing Company jedoch einen Rabatt erlaubte von	30.00
sodaß also der wirkliche Kostenpunkt	$1058.65

ausmacht. Von dieser Summe wurde aus den Geldern der Gesellschaft $600.00 bezahlt, während der Restbetrag von $458.65 von Herrn Dr. Schmidt in seiner üblich freigebigen Weise übernommen wurde.

Das Jahrbuch 1915 ist bereits in den Händen des Druckers, der Firma Fred Klein Company, welche das Buch wiederum für $1.05 die Seite drucken wird. Herr Professor Goebel wird darauf sehen, daß wenige Veränderungen im Text vorgenommen werden, um die Kosten so niedrig wie nur möglich zu halten. Die Geo. Banta Pubishing Company, Menasha, Wis., hatte sich ebenfalls um den Druck des Buches bemüht, doch wurde die Fred Klein Company vorgezogen.

Um nun auf den Finanzbericht zurückzukommen, so hatte die Gesellschaft am 1. Januar 1915 in den Händen des Schatzmeisters die

Summe von	$ 426.66
Es gingen ein von Herrn E. W. Kalb, wie jedes Jahr	10.00
Von Herrn Edward Reder, auch ein lebenslängliches Mitglied, in Dayton, Ohio	10.00
Von Herrn Dr. Alexander Wiener	10.00
Zwölf Jahresmitglieder zahlten je $5.00	60.00
Zwei Mitglieder je $6.00	12.00
An alten Buchrechnungen wurden bezahlt	18.25
144 Mitglieder zahlten je $3.00, worin indessen mehrere enthalten sind, die ein oder mehrere Jahre im Rückstande waren, sodaß die wirkliche Zahl nur 140 beträgt	432.00
Der Schwaben-Verein hat uns in großmütiger Weise zugewiesen	50.00
und betragen demnach die ganzen Einnahmen bis zum 31. Dezember 1915	$1028.91

Dem stehen gegenüber:

Zahlung an Fred Klein Company für das Jahrbuch 1914	$600.00	
Unkosten an University of Chicago Preß	45.20	
Besondere Expreß- und Portokosten, Drucksachen, Briefbogen, u. s. w.	45.67	
Im Ganzen		$ 690.87

was am 1. Januar 1916 einen Bestand von...... $ 338.04 in den Händen des Schatzmeisters ließ, wozu natürlich die Eingänge von rückständigen Mitgliedern kommen werden, um die Kosten für das Jahrbuch 1915 zu decken.

Der Bericht wurde mit großem Interesse entgegengenommen und entspann sich eine lebhafte Besprechung über die Mitgliederfrage und wurde auch die Frage angerührt, ob es nicht angebracht wäre, wieder auf die frühere Form einer Vierteljahrsschrift zurückzufallen, um die Unkosten zu verringern.

Der Bericht des Schriftführers wurde daraufhin auf Antrag des Herrn Mannhardt entgegegenommen.

Herr Dr. Schmidt machte darauf aufmerksam, daß sehr wahrscheinlich eine lebhaftere Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft nach Außen hin und zwar in der Gestalt von Vorträgen entwickelt werden könnte, doch hänge dieses von Umständen ab.

Die Frage der Mitgliederschaft wurde von den Herren Dewes und Uihlein aufgenommen, besonders mit Bezug auf die Beiträge für die lebenslängliche Mitgliedschaft, und gaben verschiedene der Anwesenden die Erklärung ab, daß sie von nun an $10.00 per Jahr als Mitgliedsbeitrag entrichten würden, was mit großer Genugtuung und dem Wunsche, daß sich recht viele Mitglieder dazu bereit erklären würden, entgegengenommen wurde.

Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung wurde die Wahl von fünf Direktoren anstelle von fünf ausscheidenden Direktoren vorgenommen.

Die ausscheidenden Herren waren: Heinrich Bornmann, Quincy; Dr. E. P. Raab, Belleville; H. von Wackerbarth, Chicago; Philipp H. Dilg, Evanston, und Fritz Mees, Chicago.

Das Nominationskomite empfahl daraufhin die Wahl der folgenden fünf Herren als Direktoren der Gesellschaft für die Jahre 1916 und 1917: Henry Bornmann, Quincy; E. G. Uihlein, Chicago; H. von Wackerbarth, Chicago; Ph. H. Dilg, Evanston, und Fritz Mees, Chicago, und wurde die Empfehlung des Nominations-Komitees einstimmig gutgeheißen, worauf der Vorsitzende die genannten Herren für die Amtsdauer von zwei Jahren für gewählt erklärte.

Auf Antrag des Herrn Girten, unterstützt von Herrn Seifert, wurden die Beamten der Gesellschaft alle für das laufende Jahr einstimmig wiedererwählt.

Herr Huttmann, Vorsitzender des Finanz-Ausschusses, versprach sein Möglichstes zu tun, um eine rege Propaganda für die Erwerbung neuer Mitglieder ins Leben zu rufen.

Nach einer weiteren allgemeinen Besprechung für die Wohlfahrt der Gesellschaft, an welcher sich besonders die Herren Uihlein, Dewes, Girten, Mannhardt, Seifert, Mees, Dilg und Huttmann beteiligten, trat Vertagung ein.

Ergebenst unterbreitet,

Max Baum,
Schriftführer.

Beamten der Gesellschaft.

Verwaltungsrat:

1. Jahr:	2 Jahre:
F. J. Dewes	Heinr. Bornmann, Quincy
E. W. Kalb	E. G. Uihlein
Dr. O. L. Schmidt	H. von Wackerbarth
H. W. Huttmann	Ph. H. Dilg
Rudolf Seifert	Fritz Mees

Beamte:

Dr. O. L. Schmidt	Präsident
F. J. Dewes	1. Vize-Präsident
H. v. Wackerbarth	2. Vize-Präsident
A. Holinger	Schatzmeister
Ph. H. Dilg	Finanz-Sekretär
H. W. Huttmann	Vorsitzer des Finanz-Ausschusses
Max Baum	Sekretär

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Professor F. J. Herriott, Des Moines, Iowa.
H. A. Rattermann, Cincinnati, O.
Professor Hermann Oncken, Heidelberg.

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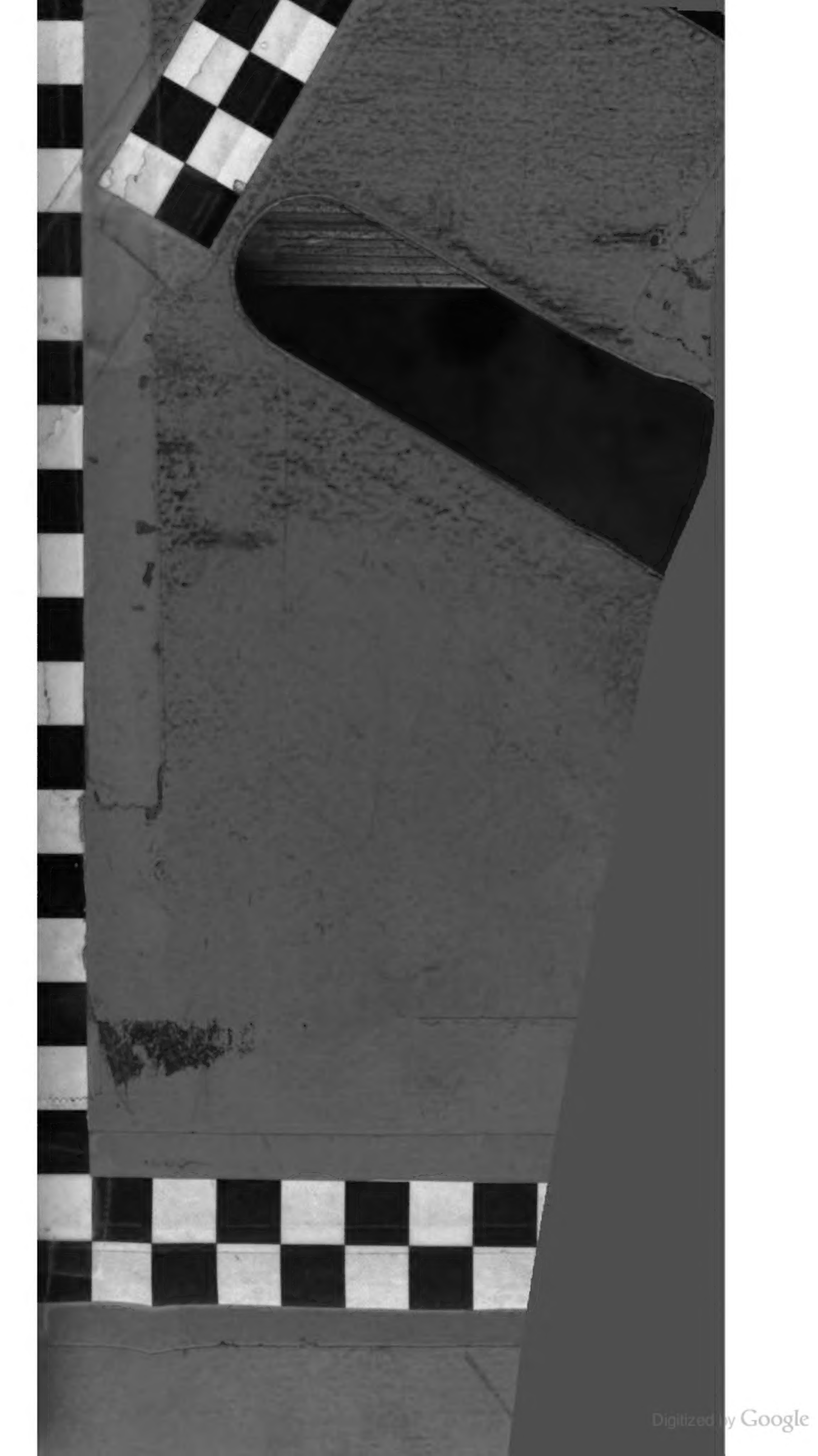
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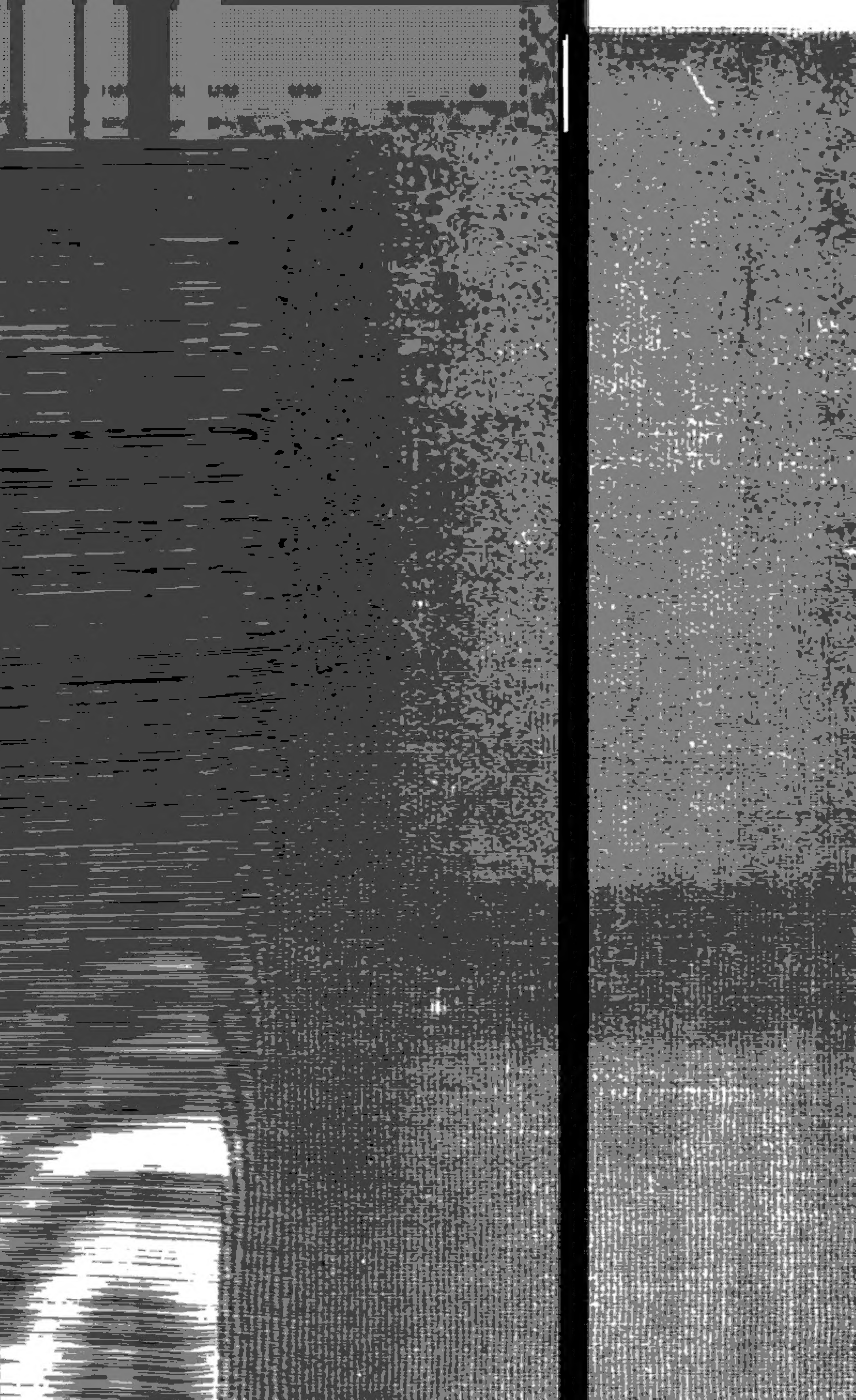


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